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26 September 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 14, 16 July 1980

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No. 14, 16 July 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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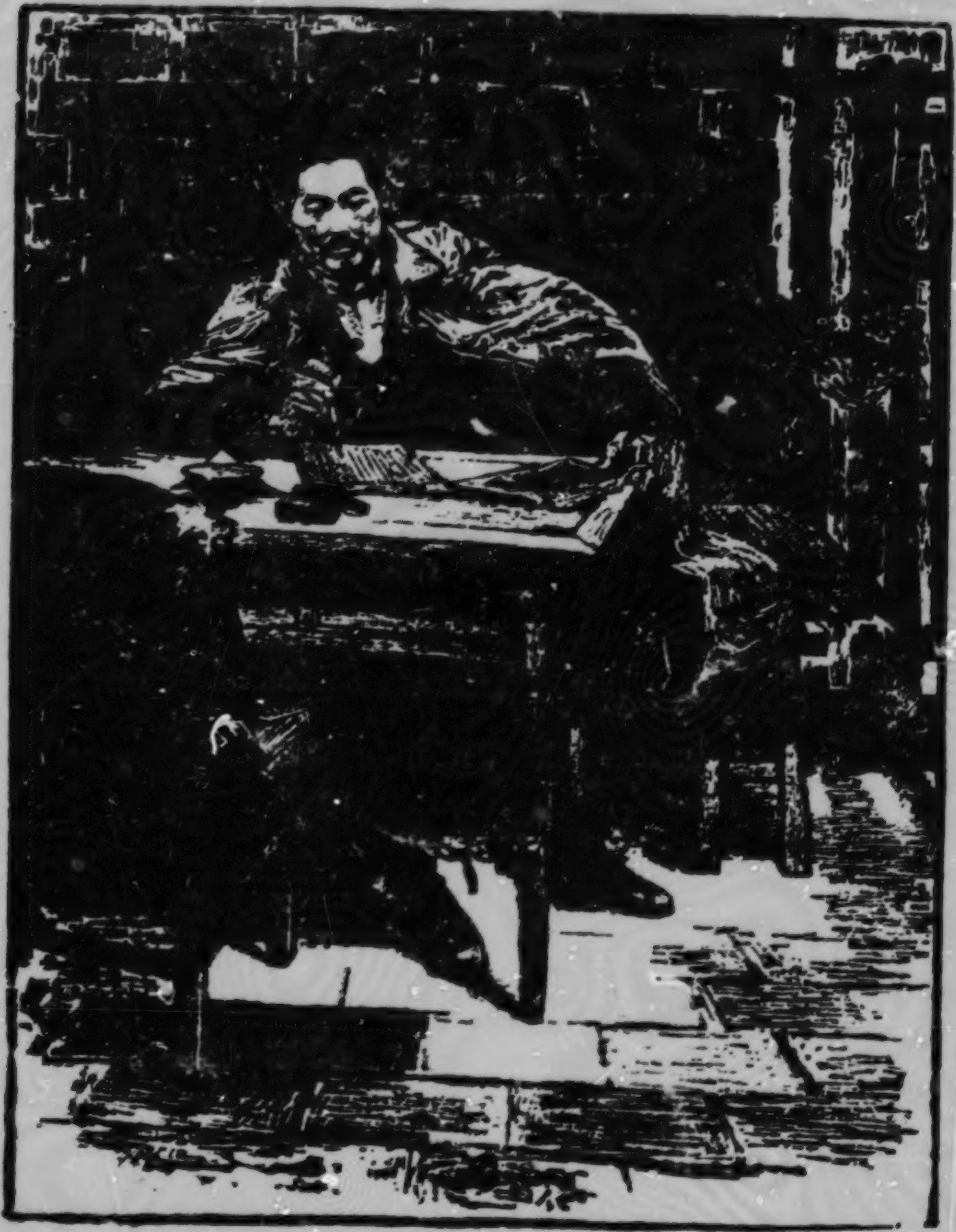
COMRADE FANG ZHIMIN IN PRISON

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Zhang Huaijiang [1728 2037 3068]]



CSO: 4004

THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT AND BUREAUCRACY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 2-5

[Article by Liu Shaoqi]

> [Text] Editor's Note: This is a speech made by Comrade Liu Shaoqi at the party school of the Central China Bureau in 1941 and has been revised based on the records at that time. We have omitted some repetitive sentences and changed some quoted passages so that it is now published in its present form.
>
> On the basis of the actual situations in China and our party, this article makes use of the historical materialist view and studies and analyzes the questions of democracy and bureaucracy and puts forth and expounds some important principles on how to correctly handle relations within the party and among the people. Comrade Liu Shaoqi noted: "We must educate the Chinese masses in the democratic spirit, and it is also necessary for us to conduct this education within our party." This not only played a significant role in party building and the building of the democratic political power in the revolutionary bases at that time, but was and still is of very great significance in correctly implementing democracy within the party and among the people and in effectively preventing and overcoming bureaucracy, both after our party became the ruling party and during our present course of developing the four modernizations.

Our present revolution is called the democratic revolution, our government is called the democratic government against Japanese aggression and our bases are called the democratic bases against Japanese aggression. In fact, we talk about democracy in everything we do. However, what exactly is democracy?

What is democracy? "Democracy" actually is a foreign term. The two declarations of the bourgeois revolutions we read about, that is, the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, noted at the very beginning that all men are created by God and are born equal. They then added that the state belongs to the people and should be ruled and enjoyed by them. This is the so-called "of the people, by the people and for the people." That is to say, all people enjoy the most fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, residence and movement. The people's rights and duties toward the state are equal. This is the democratic substance advocated by the bourgeois revolution.

As you comrades all know, there are different kinds of democracy. The bourgeoisie has its bourgeois democracy, and we the proletariat have our proletarian democracy. They are not only different in form but also different in nature and substance. Bourgeois democracy has its bourgeois substance and form, and proletarian democracy has its proletarian substance and form.

The bourgeoisie talk about equality and the people's rights in many instances, yet they can allow those absolutely unequal economic positions. The bourgeoisie possess hundreds of millions in wealth, yet they do not care about scores of millions of people who are suffering from a shortage of food and clothing. The state and society are founded on an economic structure. The methods of production of material wealth, the productive forces and the relations of production constitute the foundation of society. Since people are economically unequal, they are therefore unequal in all other respects. Equality under the law is hypocritical. In fact, it only insures the freedom and right of the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers. This is the real substance of bourgeois democracy.

Proletarian democracy is totally different from bourgeois democracy. It not only requires legal equality and equality in political rights and duties, but also--what is most significant--requires economic equality and the elimination of capital and private property. During the Russian October Revolution there was a law: "He who does not work, neither should he eat." This law eliminated the economic inequality. Everyone will have to work; and those who do not work should have nothing to eat, no matter how much money they have. With economic equality it is thus possible to have equality in politics, social positions, law, education and all other aspects.

Apart from permitting economic inequality, the bourgeoisie also impose restrictions on political and legal equality (the present fascists simply write off democracy); and especially there is inequality regarding nationalities. For instance, the United States talks about equality, yet it treats the black people unequally. In addition, there also are restrictions on religion, sex and so on. Proletarian democracy breaks all these dividing lines. So only proletarian democracy is complete democracy. This is the difference in substance.

Apart from the difference in substance, there also is a difference in form. The form of government of the bourgeois democratic states--for example, the parliamentary system--talks about democracy on the one hand and deceives the people on the other. Only proletarian democracy can truly enlist the laboring masses to participate in the administration of the state. As soon as the proletariat secure political power, they carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the counterrevolutionaries and stipulate that the reactionary exploiting class are stripped of their democratic rights. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the proletariat are in a leadership position. Apart from truly enjoying the fundamental rights of freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly, all the people also enjoy the rights to work, to rest and to receive education. This is possible only after the economic inequality is broken.

Now let us turn to the question of the democratic spirit.

What is the democratic spirit? It is the spirit of equality. The bourgeoisie talk about democracy in words only. They actually cannot practice democracy. Only the communists can truly maintain equality. We the revolutionaries must have the spirit of equality. We hold that no one has the right to oppress or exploit another person, nor does he have the right to humiliate the dignity of another person. If I can exploit your labor and you can do nothing but willingly accept my order, then this is inequality. This shows a lack of the democratic spirit.

However, people's innate natures are different: there is the difference in intelligence development; some are tall while some are short; some have great physical strength while some have little; and there are men and women. Everyone has his own special conditions, and these are in fact inherent differences. In addition, because of the difference in people's social status and environment, there is a division of labor in society, including all the differences in jobs and duties as well as functions and powers. For example, in our army there are commanders and fighters, and there are senior commanders and junior commanders. They are different in their duties and authority; the commanders must give orders and the fighters must obey orders. There are responsible people and irresponsible people in the party, and there are leaders and those being led. However, despite their innate differences and their differences in work, duties, functions and powers, all of them are basically equal. There is no inequality in the rights of man. A commander does not have the right to beat or abuse other people or exploit another person; otherwise he will be violating the democratic spirit. In dealing with the people, including foreigners and China's minority nationalities, if I may beat them and order them to work for me, then this amounts to a lack of the democratic spirit. In China, because of the long history of feudal society, man seemed to be of a higher rank and woman of a lower rank: the man may beat the woman but the woman may not beat the man. Of course, I do not mean to favor the woman beating the man. However, society seems to hold that the man beating the woman is something that ought to be. This shows a lack of the democratic spirit. For another example, in our work we need an assistant to help us in doing some jobs. However, if we think that the assistant is of a lower tank that we, then this again shows a lack of the democratic spirit. Apart from assisting us in doing some jobs and apart from the difference in duties, the assistant has not lost any of his rights, obligations and personal dignity. I think we should understand the democratic spirit in this manner.

Let us take a look at how Stalin talked about the democratic spirit. First, at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigaders, Stalin noted that he originally did not intend to speak at the congress, because several comrades had said before him all that had to be said and had said it well and to the point. "But as you insist, and the power is in your hands, I must submit." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 212) This is what we called the democratic spirit. Stalin did not think that since he was the leader he could either speak or not speak as he wished.

The 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army have true democratic spirit. It is indeed not easy to distinguish between the officers and soldiers in the armed units. This is a very good spirit and must be developed in the future. The united front has had some undesirable influence on some cadres. These cadres and comrades not only do not carry forward and maintain our democratic tradition, but also deliberately make themselves different from others. We must eliminate the mentality of ranks which says that we are high above other people. It is against democracy and is intolerable. The mentality of ranks and the hierarchical system are things of the feudal society. Hitler in fact acted in this way. There is not enough democratic spirit among many of our cadres. They really think that other people are of a lower rank while they themselves are of a higher rank, without realizing that the differences in duties and authority are but transitory. Today when a person is a commander he has various functions and powers; but tomorrow when he is not a commander he will become an ordinary person. When the United States' first president, Washington, retired from office he became an ordinary citizen. So even the bourgeoisie in the United States can adhere to democracy in this manner. Nevertheless, there are those among our party members who feel dissatisfied when they are required to retire from office and become ordinary people. There is the same phenomenon among the intellectuals: for example, when people become university students they will think that they are of a higher rank than secondary students. Not all of our comrades are able to truly and profoundly understand democracy and possess the democratic spirit. There are not many who can understand democracy and truly treat other comrades and party members with the democratic spirit in their work. In developing the democratic revolution, if we want to stand above the people, then this will not mean that we have won a victory in revolution but that we have bred a large number of bureaucrats in the revolution. Therefore, in developing the democratic revolution we should first of all possess the democratic spirit ourselves. We must practice democracy politically and organizationally, enhance the party members' democratic spirit and eliminate our nondemocratic spirit. This is necessary in developing our democratic revolution.

However, the spirit of equality or the democratic spirit does not mean egalitarianism. At present there are among our comrades on the one hand the manifestation of inadequate democratic spirit, and on the other hand the manifestation of the phenomenon of ultrademocracy regarding certain egalitarian demands. They negate the organizational spirit, negate the fact that there are commanders and those being commanded among our ranks and negate the fact that there are leaders and those being led within the party. The spirit of equality and the democratic spirit are literally absent in these kinds of egalitarian and ultrademocratic demands. Under existing conditions, people are different in their standards of education, abilities, the responsibilities they shoulder and the contributions they make. Each has his own special features. Therefore, there are differences in duties and remunerations. Some people have heavy responsibilities. They have attendants, have horses to ride and have slightly better food. This is because they do more work, work harder and expend more energy. So it is necessary to have such differences in order to make them equal. Otherwise they will be treated unequally. Egalitarianism negates the differences in functions, powers and remunerations. This is not correct. Nevertheless, these people must not think that they are therefore of a higher rank because of such differences, because this will be against the democratic spirit.

The democratic spirit is a very significant question. China is a country which lacks the democratic tradition; the ordinary people have not received any training in democracy and know nothing about democracy. There are also many party members within our party who do not understand democracy. We are somewhat different from the people of Europe and the United States, who have gone through the democratic revolution and scores of years of training in democracy. When some comrades went to work in various localities they knew nothing about democratic methods, and as a result they have made themselves bureaucrats. It is therefore very necessary to talk about the democratic spirit today, and it is also necessary to talk about it within our party. We must educate the Chinese masses in the democratic spirit, and it is also necessary that we conduct this education within our party.

Bureaucracy is the opposite of democracy. An absence of the spirit of democracy means bureaucracy. It is a form of domination in all societies of the exploiting classes. Bureaucracy often attaches special importance to the external forms of matters and does many things in a decent manner in order to deceive the masses. Therefore, all exploiting classes are concerned about face-saving. Otherwise they will not be able to survive as bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy exists not only among the ranks of the exploiting classes, but also among the ranks of the proletariat, in the Communist Party and in the proletarian countries. In particular, when those of the proletariat and their political party become the ruling party, bureaucracy also becomes a serious problem. Lenin said: "Our country is a workers' country with the illness of bureaucracy." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 7) So there is also bureaucracy within the Communist Party. In some places in our democratic bases against Japanese aggression, bureaucracy is quite strong. Where does the bureaucracy among our ranks of the oppressed classes come from? Lenin said: "It is possible to expel the czar--expel the landlords--and expel the capitalists. We have actually achieved this. However, we can neither 'expel' nor 'completely eliminate' bureaucracy in a peasant country. We can only gradually reduce it through obstinate efforts." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 490) "And not because the laws prevent it from being so, as was the case under the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, our laws assist in this respect. But in this matter laws alone are not enough. A vast amount of educational, organizational and cultural work is required; this cannot be done rapidly by legislation but demands a vast amount of work over a long period of time." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 152)

Bureaucracy exists within our party because the influence of the non-proletariat within the party is very strong, and it is more so because of the inadequate standards of education of China's proletariat and laboring masses. Bureaucracy exists today and will continue to exist in the future. Therefore, the elimination of bureaucracy is a matter of scores of years and even a much longer period of time. Today there are many people who write articles and slogans demanding the elimination of bureaucracy. It is certainly necessary to eliminate bureaucracy. However, it cannot be eliminated overnight. Stalin said: "So much is being said about bureaucracy that there is no need to expand on it. That elements of bureaucracy exist in our state, cooperative and party apparatus there can be no doubt. That it is necessary to combat the elements of bureaucracy, and that this task will confront us all the time as long as we have state power, as long as the state exists, is also a fact." "But one must know how far one can go. To carry the struggle against bureaucracy in the state apparatus to the point of destroying the state apparatus, of discrediting the state apparatus, of attempts to break it up--that means going against Leninism, means forgetting that our apparatus is a soviet apparatus, which is a state apparatus of a higher type than any other state apparatus in the world." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 273) Compared with the apparatuses of the Japanese bandits, the traitor Wang Jingwei and the diehards, our apparatus has far less bureaucracy, and it is also of a different nature. However, until the standards of education of the proletariat and the laboring masses are eventually raised, so long as the state political power still exists and until the difference between mental labor and physical labor is eliminated, bureaucracy cannot be completely eliminated.

Why will the inadequate standards of education of the proletariat and the laboring masses breed bureaucracy? Bureaucracy is founded on the masses' ignorance and backwardness, which makes it easier for the exploiting classes to dominate and deceive the masses. When the masses' standards of education are low, it is possible that they will be deceived and it is possible that bureaucracy will exist. When the standards of education of some of the people are relatively high, and when some jobs can only be done by those with high standards of education, then they give orders and thus develop themselves into bureaucrats. I used to engage in the work of workers and peasants movements. I judged the situations and told them how to organize themselves and how to wage struggles. When the struggles turned out to be victorious, they all applauded and thought that I had done them favors. They attributed all the achievements to me alone. That is to say, the masses want to uphold and support you as bureaucrats. As we have now learned something about democracy, when the masses want us to stay above them we will step down ourselves. Nevertheless, only people who have the democratic spirit can do this. There are some people who, when the masses want them to stay above them, will not come down. Thus they become the bureaucrats. Of course, if you are bad bureaucrats, the masses will still oppose you. Enhancing the masses' standards of education, and especially their democratic spirit, and conducting education in democracy are our significant methods in opposing bureaucracy. Removing the bureaucrats from office only serves to bring about a temporary solution. Democracy must be practiced in all work and organization systems to insure the launching of the struggle against bureaucracy. All Communist Party members and cadres must have adequate democratic spirit and the spirit of equality and must supervise and spur themselves and other people with democratic actions. In this way we shall be able to continuously prevent and gradually overcome bureaucracy.

CSO: 4004

REFORM THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 6-15

[Article by Xue Muqiao [5641 2550 2890]]

[Text] Since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee we have summed up the experiences of our economic work over the past 30 years in accordance with the spirit of seeking truth from facts and have carried out the readjustment of the national economy and the reform of the economic management system. We have scored marked success in our work. Of course, this is a strenuous and complicated task and cannot be completed within 1 or 2 years. We will constantly encounter new things and new problems in our work. To deal with them we should emancipate our minds and rack our brains to present different views and plans. At the same time we should analyze and compare them, so that the central authorities will select the best among them. I would like to express my personal views in accordance with the guiding principle put forward by the central authorities.

1. Diversified Management Forms of the Socialist Economy

The theories of Marx and Engels on scientific socialism are constantly being developed in practice. In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels summarized their theories as "abolishment of private ownership," which would lead to the abolition of exploitation and classes. After the failure of the Paris Commune, Marx explicitly pointed out in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" written in 1875: The transition from capitalism to communism should undergo a period which is still stamped with the traditions and birthmarks of the old society. In the book he also expounded the principle of distribution according to work. Due to the fact that he believed that proletarian revolution would first win its victory in the most advanced capitalist countries, all he had in mind was the public ownership of the society. In such a society there was no exchange of commodities, and labor certificates could be used to replace currency. This was a great ideal. However, owing to the fact that there was no socialist practice in the time of Marx and Engels, it was impossible for them to work out every detail of socialism.

After the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin summed up both positive and negative experiences of wartime communism and the New Economic Policy, pointing out that commodities and currency would exist for a protracted time in the period of socialism. Under the leadership of Stalin, the collectivization of agriculture was accomplished. In his report delivered in 1936 on the problem of the constitution, Stalin said that there were two kinds of socialist ownership in socialist society and that there were working class, peasant class and intellectual strata in such a society. This was a new development in the socialist idea. Whether there should still be commodities after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was the point at issue in the Soviet Union. In his old age, Stalin summed up the experiences of socialist construction. He explicitly pointed out in his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR": So long as there are two kinds of socialist public ownership, there should still be exchanges of commodities, and the law of value still plays its role. This was another new development in the socialist idea. However, Stalin failed to mention whether commodity exchange still existed after the two kinds of ownership had merged into one, namely, public ownership by the entire society. This was also a point in debate. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: There might still be commodities after the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people. Comrade Liu Shaoqi also said that, so long as the principle of distribution according to work is not abandoned, commodities should not be abolished.

Stalin committed mistakes in dealing with the following problems: He wrongly thought that in such a big country as the Soviet Union, where the economic development of various areas was unbalanced, ownership by the whole people could only follow one and the same pattern. He failed to take into account the differences between areas and enterprises. To him, this was also the case with collective ownership. In the meantime, he also maintained that essential means of production (land and agricultural machinery) could only be nationalized. While dealing with the matter of the state purchase of agricultural products, he violated the principle of exchange at equal value. Although Stalin admitted that the exchange of products between the two kinds of ownership was an exchange of commodities, he denied the role of the law of value in regulating agricultural production. Furthermore, he maintained that the exchange of products between enterprises under ownership by the whole people was no longer an exchange of commodities. He therefore adopted an economic management system which only attached importance to the readjustment of plans but neglected the regulation of markets.

The level of economic development in old China was lower than that in czarist Russia. In old China the economic development of different areas was unbalanced, and the backward areas lagged behind the advanced ones by several centuries. In such a country it was more necessary for the proletariat, after its seizure of political power, to study in a scientific way the methods of building socialism by applying the theories of historical materialism. China spent only 8 years accomplishing socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. In the past our efforts were regarded as completely successful. Judging by present standards, we discover that we advanced a bit too fast during the first and second years and overdid our work in some respects. In 1958 we organized people's communes on a big scale, and tendencies to effect the transition to communism prematurely were greatly encouraged. Afterward we gradually retreated in the subsequent 2 or 3 years. However, the ideas of one-sidedly hankering after the basic characteristics of "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership" have not been overcome to date. We learned from the Soviet experiences to establish ownership by the whole people and collective ownership based on one and the same pattern. We tried to abolish collective ownership in towns and cities, and in rural areas we banned various kinds of economic activities which suited the local conditions. We also tried to eradicate the remnants of private economy prematurely. Influenced by such guiding thought we only attached importance to the readjustment of our plans but neglected the regulation of markets. We overemphasized centralized unity and economic management systems which were unsuitable to the actual conditions.

In our country's vast rural areas the commodity economy is least developed. Without developing the commodity economy and making use of the role of markets, it is impossible to expand socialized large-scale production. As a result, we will not succeed in building socialism. Socialism in the rural areas today is immature, because it is based on a seminatural economy. Construction should not always be limited within the scope of communes. Instead, we should expand the economic ties between the city and the countryside. Most of the capitalist industry and commerce in our country never reached a stage of monopoly capitalism. In the meantime, we never developed various kinds of economic organizations (such as trusts) to promote economic integration. Beginning in the 1950's, we utilized the experiences of the Soviet Union and adopted administrative management systems which lacked coordination. We cut off some existing market economic ties and recklessly abandoned the market economic structure suitable for modern and large-scale production which has been developed in the capitalist world over the past 200 to 300 years. We devised our own economic patterns which hampered the development of productive forces to a certain extent. We must realize that socialism does not come from the brains of a handful of people and that it is developed on the actual social basis. Therefore, it is against the Marxist theories of historical materialism to try to skip over the development stage of commodity economy, abruptly abolish the inevitable differences in the actual society and establish a homogeneous and "pure socialism."

Under the conditions whereby socialist public ownership occupies a dominant position, China's socialist economy should allow the coexistence of diversified economic management forms and a small number of other economic sectors within certain limits. Ownership by the whole people should not follow only one pattern. Various trades and services as well as areas should be allowed to have varying degrees of mechanization. Different kinds of large, medium and small enterprises should also be allowed to adopt different kinds of business management methods. Enterprises under collective ownership should not follow one pattern either. Due to the fact that various economic units acquire different degrees of public ownership, the collective economic sectors should be allowed to be included in the economy under the ownership by the whole people. Private economic sectors should also be allowed to exist in the economy under the collective ownership. Collective ownership in towns and cities is different from that in the rural areas. It is also different from the ownership by the whole people. Owing to the fact that the differences in economic conditions in various areas are so great, it is more necessary for collective ownership in the rural areas to adopt different kinds of management forms. "Three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit," is basically in accord with the level of development of productive forces in most areas throughout the country. In a small number of communes where the commune-run and brigade-run enterprises are highly developed and the incomes of communes and production brigades far exceed those of production teams, the collective ownership there has developed into an ownership by the production brigade, or ownership by the commune in some particular cases. Most of these economic management forms are correct. However, in a tiny number of areas throughout the country, production teams are still unable to satisfy the commune members' minimum needs in their livelihood. To deal with this problem, apart from encouraging the commune members' initiative for collective economy, we should utilize their initiative for private economy. In particular, in the remote and mountainous districts as well as pastoral areas where population is sparse, if we impose large-scale collective production on them, their labor productivity inevitably will drop, and extensive waste will result. Therefore, a more flexible method should be adopted to deal with the problem of ownership there. Determining which kind of ownership is the best is judged by its role in expanding social productive forces and in increasing labor productivity, as well as in attaining the most powerful economic effects. It is a fanciful idea to talk about the basic characteristics of "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership" if we stray from such a principle.

I believe that enterprises under collective ownership in towns and cities throughout the country still have a vast field for development. It is wrong to abolish collective ownership. The "big collective ownership" currently followed in towns and cities is actually a "small ownership by the whole people." It is only slightly different from the state-run enterprises in terms of administrative management, payment for labor and so forth, with the exception that enterprises under the Second Ministry of Light Industry are allowed to set aside a small portion of profits for their own use. After 1970 a great number of enterprises under "small collective ownership," namely, neighborhood enterprises, were set up in towns and cities. They did not completely follow the principle of collective ownership. Once they developed they were expropriated without any compensation and upgraded to state-run enterprises or enterprises under "big collective ownership." It seems that people have been influenced by such an idea for a long time; that is, that collective ownership in towns and cities is obsolete. To solve the problem of employment, last year many towns and cities set up a number of cooperatives or cooperative groups which assume sole responsibility for their profits or losses. However, many people wrongly regarded this as a temporary measure to solve the problem of employment. To them, all these cooperatives and cooperative groups were reserve armies of labor for state-run enterprises. Once state-run enterprises invited applications for jobs, members of these cooperatives rushed to snatch the "iron rice bowl" one after another. Enterprises under collective ownership in Beijing have been run well, but members of the cooperatives still viewed them as "paper rice bowls." People doubted whether enterprises under collective ownership would exist permanently. Many cooperatives were set up through administrative orders, and the basic principles of cooperative ownership, such as voluntariness, sole responsibility for profits or losses, sharing out bonuses, democratic management and so forth, were neglected. Although the municipal party committee decided to treat equally, without discrimination, enterprises under ownership by the whole people and those under collective ownership, some departments were reluctant to implement the policy. As a result, organizations under collective ownership were still inferior to others. Under such circumstances it was difficult to consolidate organizations under collective ownership. Private laborers who did not exploit others naturally were discriminated against.

In some poor rural areas the system of allocation of work responsibility to groups was adopted last year. In a small number of areas work responsibility was even allocated to households or individuals, and a distribution system based on output was also adopted. Marked results in increasing production were achieved. The allocation of work responsibility to households or individuals is different from the allocation of land to individual households. Land is still owned by the public. Production teams work out unified plans and exercise unified leadership. Collective labor should be carried out provided that it is beneficial to some farm work.

To raise the level of public ownership of agriculture we should not rely entirely on expanding collective production. Peasants can be organized on a larger scale by expanding the relations between supply and marketing. In Yugoslavia individual peasants have accounted for a larger percentage. However, the agricultural, industrial and commercial complexes have organized state farms, cooperative farms and individual farms into agricultural, industrial and commercial communities through the relations between supply and marketing. They are larger in scale than our people's communes, and their levels of commercialization, mechanization and socialization are higher than ours. It is obviously a fairly good organizational form to organize agricultural laborers through the channel of circulation. Prior to the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in our country, we also organized peasants through supply and marketing cooperatives. Of course, we have a vast population and insufficient land in our country. A household with 10 mu of land cannot carry out mechanization, and such a family will encounter great difficulties in leveling land and obtaining irrigation. Therefore, these families should be organized. However, the collectivization of agriculture should be in line with local conditions and adopt various kinds of management forms. Any form of management we adopt should be beneficial to raising labor productivity and achieving economic effects.

The law on joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investment promulgated last year will give rise to a new economic sector in our country. While permitting capitalist countries to invest in China, we should also encourage Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao to expand their investments in the motherland. Since last year this kind of joint state-private enterprise has begun to develop in many areas. The Association of Industry and Commerce in Shanghai recently organized a patriotic construction company. It has raised funds amounting to 50 or 60 million yuan. It will build houses for Overseas Chinese and provide loans for some medium and small enterprises, and enterprises under collective ownership in particular. Similar kinds of companies have also been set up in Tianjin and Beijing. I believe that the funds of these patriotic people and their experiences in business management and market regulation will benefit our socialist construction. Our constitution stipulates that the state allows individual workers to engage in individual labor involving no exploitation of others. I believe that this kind of individual labor will develop to a certain extent in the next few years. Service trades in towns and cities, such as catering, tailoring, repairing, and others, are manual operations and suitable for decentralized management. All these trades are preferably managed by cooperatives, individual workers and cooperative groups which assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses. Socialist public ownership in our country has been strongly consolidated, and the existence of a small number of semisocialist or nonsocialist economic sectors will never shake the dominant position of the socialist economy. Under the staunch leadership of the socialist state-owned economy, taking a great number of collective enterprises as aids to the state-owned economy and a small number of other economic sectors as its supplementary parts is an inevitable course in our socialist construction.

2. Promote Strong Points, Avoid Weaknesses and Give Full Play to Advantages

Ours is a big country with a population of 970 million and an area of 9.6 million square kilometers. We should establish an independent and fairly complete economic system throughout the country. The principle we put forward during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan was completely correct. However, we later pursued the practice of establishing a complete economic system in every economically coordinated region or even in every province. This was a wrong practice. Different parts of our country differ greatly in their natural conditions, and each area has its own peculiarities. The principle of our economic construction should encourage the practice of promoting strong points, avoiding weakness and giving full play to advantages. Division of labor and coordination should be carried out throughout the country, and mutual help to make up what the other lacks is absolutely necessary. Each area has its own strong points and weaknesses. Shanghai is the most developed industrial area, but it lacks various kinds of natural resources. Many places in the northwest and southwest areas are backward in their industries but rich in natural resources. These two different kinds of areas should carry out divisions of labor and coordination, help meet each other's needs and give full play to each other's advantages. This will be most beneficial to both areas.

To compete in world markets we should also follow the principle of promoting strong points, avoiding weaknesses and giving full play to our advantages. In the international market competition, sufficient manpower, low cost of living and abundant natural resources are our advantages, whereas insufficient funds and low technological and management levels are our weak points. Therefore, over a fairly long period of time we should utilize our abundant natural resources and develop more industries which require a great amount of manpower. In the meantime, we should avoid developing too many industries which require a large amount of funds and sophisticated techniques. By giving full play to our advantages we can gradually accumulate funds and raise some of our important industries to the advanced world level.

While making overall economic arrangements at home, each and every area should also promote its strong points, avoid weaknesses and do everything possible to give full play to its advantages in accordance with local natural conditions. Influenced by the guiding thought that each and every area should establish a complete economic system, some areas which were poor in such mineral resources as coal and iron tried hard to establish industrial bases of coal and iron. As a result, money and manpower were wasted. Insofar as agriculture is concerned, the principle of making grain the key link was carried out in mountain and pastoral areas and subtropical zones. In this way the local natural resources were severely sabotaged. During the past 30 years it was our subjective intention to speedily reduce the distinction between different areas. Actually, such distinction was widened. Our failure can be attributed to two reasons. First, we adopted a wrong guiding principle for construction. In mountain areas we ruined forests in order to reclaim land. In pastoral areas we destroyed grasslands in order to plant crops. This caused soil erosion and expanded the desert areas. Second, we had insufficient accumulations, and people's living standards were extremely low. Some agricultural areas were unable to maintain even simple reproduction, but they blindly carried out large-scale farmland capital construction. Even the remaining meager manpower, material resources and money were not properly used to increase production and yearly income and improve the people's livelihood, which remained unchanged for several years. Even their poor accumulations were wasted. Actually, mountain and pastoral areas with vast land and sparse population have abundant natural resources, such as bamboo, furs and a variety of other local products. These are badly needed at home. A great number of local products sell well on international markets after processing and refining. If all these areas had given full play to their advantages in a planned way over the past 30 years, the advanced industrial areas would not have run short of raw materials, and light industry would have developed more speedily. In the meantime, backward areas would have increased their income, and their economic backwardness would have been changed.

Generally speaking, capitalist countries develop their agriculture first. Later, they develop their light industry. Finally they exert their efforts to develop heavy industry. Socialist countries can shorten such a process but cannot change it. Advanced and backward areas at home should share the work and cooperate with each other. If advanced areas demand perfection and try to be self-sufficient, they will not be able to give full play to their advantages. Backward areas should make full use of their advantages to develop their agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery and so forth. They should, first of all, center their efforts on expanding raw material supplies and then gradually develop their unskilled and skilled processing industry. To solve the problem that our country is running short of raw materials for light industry, backward areas should also make full use of their own favorable natural conditions to develop the production of raw materials. This is also an important aspect of giving full play to their advantages. These areas have a vast territory and are abundant in natural resources. In this respect, plain areas are very inferior to them. If they adopt a policy in line with local conditions and give full play to their advantages, the income of the people in mountainous and pastoral areas will probably exceed that of the people in plain areas or even of workers. Several countries in northern Europe export timber, and Australia exports wool, and they have gained large profits from their export business. Why should our mountainous and pastoral areas not use the experiences of these countries for reference?

Ours is a socialist country. We have to work out an all-round plan in order to give full play to the advantages of various areas. There are defects and shortcomings in our present price and commercial systems. It is necessary for the central authorities to make an all-round arrangement in order to give full play to the advantages of various areas. For example, Heilongjiang Province exports a large amount of oil, timber, coal and food grain.

With these four "trump cards" at hand, Heilongjiang enjoys great advantages, because all these products are badly needed throughout the country. However, the prices of these products are low, and, with the exception of oil, they do not bring much profit to the province. Instead of earning profits, Heilongjiang Province sometimes loses money in developing these products. Before the prices of timber, coal and grain are increased, I suggest that we follow a reasonable method of calculating the prices of these products so that the deficits incurred in the business will be made up while we work out a financial budget. In addition, Heilongjiang Province will not get cash payment locally, because all these products should be shipped to other provinces and sold there. This will result in regional inflation and stringent supplies. Therefore, while making a state plan for commodity circulation we should pay attention to supplying Heilongjiang with products from light industry approximately equal in price to the products it exports to other provinces, in accordance with the principle of exchange at equal value. Otherwise, Heilongjiang Province will not be able to give full play to its advantages. Cattle hides, wool, meat, milk and so forth produced in Nei Monggol are also badly needed. Today the income of herdsmen in the Nei Monggol pastoral area is higher than that of peasants in grain-producing areas. This has partly shown the advantages of the pastoral area. However, after exporting a great number of livestock products, herdsmen in the pastoral area still lack articles for everyday use. Therefore, trade departments should adopt a principle of exchange at equal value and supply herdsmen with articles of daily use so that they will lead a bountiful life.

To give full play to the advantages of various areas we should gradually increase the prices of agricultural, livestock, forestry and aquatic products, provided that conditions permit. In the meantime, we should also change the one-way and planned system of allocation and transfer of goods so that the amount of imports and exports will be approximately equal. At present, after reaching the targets set in the state plan for the allocation and transfer of goods, areas which produce raw materials should be allowed to exchange their goods with other provinces for products they need at a "negotiable price," or to send their raw materials to other provinces for processing and then share the profits. The same principle should also be pursued in the allocation and transfer of goods between the cities and the countryside to encourage the production of agricultural, livestock, forestry and aquatic products as well as the production of other raw materials. If we follow these principles, we will not only encourage various areas to give full play to their advantages, but also gradually reduce their distinction.

3. Protect Competition and Promote Unity

During the 3-year recovery period and the period of the First Five-Year Plan, the state-run and privately operated enterprises actively competed with each other. At that time the state-run enterprises were full of vitality, and they speedily defeated the capitalist economy. After the basic accomplishment of socialist transformation, state enterprises monopolized everything. Due to the fact that we pursued the practice of a high degree of centralism and of monopolizing everything and eliminating competition, bureaucratism in our economic management developed increasingly. This gradually ossified our economic structure and activities. After the third plenary session we carried out a reform of the economic management system on a trial basis and combined the readjustment of plans with the regulation of markets. Guided by state plans, we give full play to the role of markets. For a year or so we changed the usual systems of purchasing and distribution by the state (means of livelihood) and planned distribution (means of production). In other words, the production of many kinds of articles for everyday use is decided by sales volume. Commercial departments have the priority to select and purchase them, and factories themselves are allowed to sell the goods which commercial departments do not want to buy. Meetings for ordering capital products and sales exhibitions are held in some main cities. Those products which are not included in the plans for allocation and transfer can be exchanged for goods from other areas without interference from the state plans. In the past, supply and marketing cooperatives monopolized the purchase of agricultural and subsidiary products. Commercial departments were not allowed to go to the countryside, and supply and marketing cooperatives were not allowed to go to the cities. The exchanges between city and countryside were thus hampered. We have now begun to remove the barriers between the cities and the rural areas. Some areas allow their communes and production brigades to sell their products in the cities. Although the amount of products which factories, communes and production brigades can sell for themselves is small, some competition in markets will be encouraged. Due to the direct contacts between the buying and selling parties, the departments concerned know what kinds of products sell well and what kinds of products have no market. Thus, the production departments can readjust their production plans, and commercial departments can readjust their purchasing and selling plans. In the meantime, the dislocation between production and demand will be reduced. Some factories send their staff members to sell their products so that they can acquaint themselves with the demands of customers, or they put up advertisements to promote sales. Some department stores have begun to improve their attitude in waiting on customers because there is competition. All these new things have just occurred. So long as we make the best use of the new situation and promote its development, we will score marked success.

To pursue a policy of market regulation we should allow competition and protect it. Due to the fact that free competition is a principle of the capitalist economy, during the past 30 years we did not dare mention competition, and we only allowed emulation. Competition and emulation are entirely different. Through competition the winners will gain more profits and their staff members more bonuses. This has become a motive force for improving productive technology and business management. Of course, socialist competition is different in principle from that of capitalist society. Our competition is based on public ownership of the means of production and the guidance of the state plans. It is not free competition. Competition should be combined with material interests. Otherwise, competition will not play its role of encouraging and rewarding the advanced units and spurring on the backward ones. For many years in the past we opposed competition which was combined with material interests. No different treatment was given to enterprises which made profits or lost money or to staff members who worked hard or did a shoddy job. This impeded the improvement of our productive technology and business management and caused a dislocation between production and markets. Due to the fact that we attached no importance to economic effects, enormous waste was incurred. Some comrades were afraid of competition because they thought that it would widen the differences. In fact, such differences will become a motive force for encouraging and rewarding the advanced units and spurring on the backward ones. Differences exist objectively, and we cannot speedily eliminate them in accordance with our subjective wishes. Now we admit difference in order to swiftly develop production and create conditions for eliminating these differences in the future. Equalitarianism which reflects the petty bourgeois ideas is not scientific socialism.

The protection of competition not only is ideologically hindered but also contradicts our rules and regulations in force. According to our present rules and regulations, all trades and services take on everything, and each and every area "restricts its own activities to a designated sphere" without interfering in the other's business. Competition is limited or banned. Therefore, to protect competition we should change some of our rules and regulations which impede competition. Partition and blockade between areas, services and trades should be lifted. The protection of competition will probably contradict the partial interests of certain areas and departments. During the past 20 years we called on various areas to establish a complete industrial system. The "five small industries" were founded all over the country. A large number of products produced by these "five small industries" were poor quality, expensive to produce and cost a lot, and inevitably they were eliminated in competition. To protect these backward enterprises, some local authorities did not allow the departments concerned to order or buy goods from advanced units in other areas. It was obvious that this interference by the local authorities was not beneficial to the development of enterprises in these areas.

The protection of competition also contradicts our current price management system. Price is an important tool in competition. If we only accept one price in all markets throughout the country, such a practice will be detrimental to competition between various areas and enterprises (including companies). At present all enterprises must pursue a unified pricing system. The prices of goods which sell well cannot be raised, whereas the prices of products which have no buyers cannot be reduced. In other words, enterprises are not allowed to pursue the principle of raising the prices of high-quality products and lowering the prices of low-quality goods. The production of many low-quality and expensive products can be continued by relying on arranged distribution and state financial subsidies. Those high-quality and inexpensive products are frequently restricted by the system of state purchasing and distribution and planned prices. Thus, their competition in the markets is handicapped. To protect competition, price departments should give enterprises certain decisionmaking power to fix the prices of their products. Those factories which produce inexpensive products because of advanced technology and good management should be allowed to pursue a practice of small profits but quick turnover. The prices of some badly needed raw materials and very good quality products should be raised a bit, so full play can be given to their competitive power.

During the past 2 years we have gradually corrected the policy of seclusion pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and have boldly advanced into international markets. It is obvious that we should be competitive in order to sell our products in international markets. Before competing in international markets we should, first of all, compete in the domestic markets. Without taking part in sports meets at home, it is impossible for us to win gold medals in the Olympic Games. To protect competition we should oppose the policy of imposing a blockade on any area. We should not allow any local government to use administrative means to impede other areas from selling their products in its markets in order to protect its backward industries. Various areas should share the work and cooperate with each other. They should help supply each other's needs. They should learn from the strong points of others to offset their own weaknesses (or use their strong points to help others overcome their weaknesses). The stipulation that every enterprise is restricted to its trade and area should be changed. Such a stipulation will not be beneficial to the comprehensive utilization of natural resources and the exchange of products through economic channels. Different enterprises dealing with different trades should be allowed to establish joint enterprices (such as coal mine and power station joint enterprises). Various areas can buy or sell their enterprises through consultations. The systems which stipulate that internal trade is dominated by the Ministry of Commerce and the supply and marketing cooperatives and that foreign trade is exclusively governed by the Ministry of Foreign Trade should gradually be changed. At present it is necessary to expand the channels of circulation and encourage competition. Otherwise we will not be able to break with the bureaucratic work style of "official trade."

Capitalist countries regard free competition as a motive force for developing the economy, encouraging enterprises to constantly raise their technical level and improve their administrative management so that they can produce products which will meet the demands of the market and defeat their competitors. After the creation of monopoly organizations had become widespread, many countries promulgate "antimonopoly bills" to properly protect medium and small enterprises, so that free competition would continue to play its role as a motive force. This is a necessary measure to prevent the decline of the economy. Members of the economic community have removed their tariff barriers to encourage free trade within the community. This is an inevitable outcome of the high degree of socialization of the economy. We can learn much from what they have done. Of course, ours is a socialist country, and our level of economic development is comparatively low. Therefore, we should continue to implement the policy of exercising control over foreign trade. (It is better that foreign trade not be exclusively governed by the Ministry of Foreign Trade but run by the areas concerned and cooperative enterprises which are organized by the Ministry of Foreign Trade.) This will help safeguard economic independence.

Various trades and services as well as enterprises will be forced to reform or reorganize as a result of competition. Otherwise they will be eliminated. Will this lead to a succession of bankruptcies of medium and small enterprises? Such a possibility can be averted. The best way to deal with this problem is to encourage integration. A tiny number of enterprises which lacked natural resources, wasted energy and produced low-quality and expensive products were forced to stop their production or merge with some advanced enterprises, because they could not be reformed. Most of the medium and small enterprises can exist independently, and some of them can be integrated with large enterprises. Due to the development of specialized coordination, many big factories in capitalist countries rally a large number of small factories around them. These small factories produce various kinds of spare parts and fittings for them. Many small factories are willing to coordinate with the big ones in order to insure their constant production. Ours is a socialist country. So long as we make use of our favorable conditions, it is easier for us to organize the division of labor and coordination between big and small enterprises. We can absolutely avoid the possibility of "big fish swallowing little ones." The main reason why we failed to promote the division of labor and coordination between big and small factories was that some of our factories belonged to several departments of the central authorities, and some were owned by the provincial, municipal and county governments. In addition, some were factories under "big collective ownership" and some were enterprises under "small collective ownership." They all adopted bureaucratic administrative management methods and neglected economic law. After the establishment of integrated companies, the participating enterprises still experienced interference from their own leading administrative organs. As a result, it was impossible for the integrated companies concerned to follow a unified direction. So long as we reform the present economic management system and free the enterprises from unreasonable interference, this kind of integration can be fully realized.

Along with the rapid development of local industries and industries run by communes and production brigades, contradictions arose between producers of agricultural products and raw materials and processing factories. Communes demanded that products which were in excess of state quotas (such as tobacco leaves, silkworm cocoons and so forth) be processed by themselves. They even sold low-quality products to the state and kept the better ones for their own use. As a result, the amount of high-grade products produced by processing factories dropped. This was detrimental to both exports and domestic markets. The British-American Tobacco Company in old China integrated cigarette factories in Shanghai and Qingdao with tobacco-producing areas such as Xuchang in Henan, Fangzi in Shandong, Fengyang in Anhui and so forth to produce various kinds of famous-brand cigarettes. Now the production of cigarettes and tobacco leaves is governed by light industry bureaus and the supply and marketing cooperatives of several municipalities and counties. In addition, tobacco-producing areas have set up their own small cigarette factories to produce poor-quality cigarettes. As a result, the output of famous-brand cigarettes produced in Shanghai and Qingdao has dropped due to a lack of raw materials. All this runs counter to the direction of development of large-scale and socialized production. Under the present conditions, the most effective way to solve these contradictions is to encourage integration (coordination). Apart from organizing integrated companies, communes and production brigades should be allowed to send their raw materials above state quotas to the state-run factories for processing and to share the profits. To produce more chemical fertilizer and iron and steel, many areas set up small-scale factories and iron and steel plants. These projects caused them enormous losses. From now on we should encourage various areas to invest in large-scale factories. In so doing, apart from sharing the profits, they will get more chemical fertilizer and iron and steel. Various localities will avoid setting up small factories which waste tremendous amounts of electricity and coal and produce low-quality and expensive products. Due to the implementation of the system of overall financial supply and profit sharing, localities and enterprises will get more funds. If we do not exercise leadership over them, more overlapping enterprises which exceed actual market demand will be set up. They will seize raw materials, coal, electric power and markets. This will cause the state enormous losses. Therefore, under the guidance of the state plans we should encourage the integration of enterprises run by the central and local authorities and the integration of enterprises operated by provinces, municipalities and counties as well as small and large collective units. The funds of various localities, enterprises, communes and production brigades should be reasonably utilized, and the barriers between trades, areas and ownership should also be removed to avoid unnecessary waste due to the establishment of overlapping enterprises. Taking the road of integration is probably a matter of orientation.

At present there are more than 300,000 industrial enterprises under ownership by the whole people and about 100,000,000 collective enterprises throughout the country. Some of them should be reasonably reorganized on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis. The effective way to do this is to integrate or join them on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis.

In this way they will share profits and products according to a fixed ratio. There are many neighborhood factories in Shanghai and other cities. Their production has increased tenfold and more over the past 30 years, but they are unable to expand their factory buildings. Now, apart from carrying out integration and reorganization in cities, they cooperate with factories run by communes and production brigades in the suburban areas. They transfer some simple workshops to the enterprises run by communes and production brigades and use the land, factory buildings and labor force of these communes and production brigades. In addition, they send technical and administrative personnel to help them. Thus, the production in these enterprises can be continued and congestion in the city eased. This also promotes industrial development in the rural areas. They will gradually be developed into new socialist rural areas which combine both agriculture and industry. Beijing and Tianjin have also reformed their industrial and economic structure by joining, integrating and reorganizing the enterprises concerned. Many of their successful experiences are worth learning from.

Integrated complexes should adopt diversified management forms, such as joint investment, coordination in running factories, processing of raw materials provided by customers, trade on a compensation basis and so forth. The enterprises concerned can be combined into a company, integrated complex or joint enterprise in light of their economic interests. It is undesirable for the higher authorities to establish companies by simply adopting administrative means, because this practice runs counter to the principle of free will, mutual benefit and an effective economic management system. At present, due to the fact that we still lack experience, it is more proper to develop such integrated complexes from bottom to top, from small to big and from simple to more complicated. We should, first of all, organize some loosely integrated complexes and subsequently expand them steadily. It is more suitable to organize some trades (such as the machine building industry) into a specialized integrated complex, but it is preferable that some other trades (such as the textile industry) be operated independently. The administrative section of an integrated company is responsible for coordinating the relations between various factories and for serving these factories. Factories participating in a specialized integrated complex should still assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses. They are allowed to establish business relations with some other enterprises so long as they fulfill the contract of coordination. Joint corporations (such as textile corporations) formed by independent enterprises can make an overall arrangement for themselves and allocate some of the profits to build up a common fund. In so doing they will help some factories carry out technical innovations or renew their obsolete equipment. It is unnecessary for some trades (such as the food industry, clothing industry and furniture manufacturing industry) which rely mainly on manual operations to organize a corporation. They should still pursue decentralized management. In present-day developed capitalist countries there are tendencies of both centralized and decentralized management.

There are a great number of small factories and shops which are operated independently. It is unnecessary to get all trade organized, because this will lead to useless waste.

4. Establish Economic Centers, Develop Transprovincial Corporations

The reform of the economic structure, aside from solving the problem of the vertical relationship between the higher and the lower levels, more importantly deals with solving the problem of the horizontal relationship between production and demand. For this we must make full use of the role of the market under the guidance of the plans. We must change our economic organization according to the need of commodity circulation and establish transprovincial or transregional economic relationships. Historically, big, medium-size and small cities emerged as the centers of economic contacts with the development of a commodity economy. The original economic centers emerged gradually with the development of the economy. They conformed to the objective needs of economic development. Since the socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and trade we have disrupted the original economic channels and gradually substituted administrative centers for economic centers. If the economic contacts between Shanghai and southern Jiangsu have to be channeled through Nanjing and the economic contacts between Shanghai and the Liaodong Peninsula have to be channeled through Shenyang, this will surely complicate the procedure and increase the costs, resulting in a great waste of time and money. Since the third plenary session put forth the policy of combining regulation by planning and regulation by market mechanism, some big cities have started to play their roles as economic centers. For example, Shanghai followed the example of the "Guangzhou trade fair" and experimented with conducting a meeting for ordering which dealt mainly with capital goods. At this meeting companies and enterprises from various areas sent representatives to sign contracts for supply and marketing, thus enabling direct contact between production and demand. The difficult problems caused by the long-standing practice of concentrating ordering in two big batches every year, which resulted in the inability to meet the needs of the factories and the phenomenon of "purchasing officers flying everywhere," is now beginning to be solved.

Shanghai also experimented with holding capital goods trade fairs (now called exhibition and marketing fairs). Bureaus, companies and enterprises can all put up lists or advertisements giving details of the goods which have been stored in their warehouses for a long time and can sell them at the fair. Bureaus, companies and enterprises in need of these goods need not go through the red tape of submitting applications to the Goods and Materials Bureau, nor do they have to send purchasing officers running everywhere. They can easily satisfy their needs at the fair. Many commodities previously were in short supply, and the Goods and Materials Bureau could not supply them, but in reality various warehouses all had small quantities in stock. If they had been pooled together, they would have been sufficient to satisfy demands. Those in need can buy as much as they want. This is very convenient. For years various bureaus, companies and enterprises had been applying for more materials than they needed. These excess materials were usually stored and left untouched for 10 or 20 years. Through the fairs these goods again saw the light of day and could be used again. In the past, capital goods were "dead when they reached their destination." Now, through regulation by the market mechanism, they are brought to life again. Similar organizations have also appeared in such big cities as Beijing and Tianjin. Of course, they have just started. Later there might be a need to erect buildings for trade fairs and for bureaus, companies and big enterprises in various areas. They can have their offices here and constantly supply each other with what the others need. Beijing is planning to build an "international trade center." Why can we not build a number of "domestic trade centers"?

In the past there were many economic centers all over the country. Shanghai was the economic center of the southeastern region. It catered to the needs of the whole country. Tianjin was the economic center of northern China. It catered to the needs of northwestern and northeastern China. Guangzhou was the economic center of southern China, and it catered to southwestern China. Shenyang was the economic center of the northeast, while Wuhan and Chongqing were the economic centers of central China and the southwest, respectively, and Xian was the economic center of the northwest. Under these economic centers were many smaller economic centers. According to the peculiarities of various economic centers, they could also be the converging and dispersing points for great quantities of certain products. These economic centers were formed according to objective conditions (such as production and transportation conditions). They are different from manmade administrative divisions and have great adaptability and flexibility. These economic centers exist. We only have to make use of them and do not have to build new ones. As to how to make use of them, on the one hand we can refer back to historical experiences; on the other we must, of course, adapt ourselves to the socialist system and the development of the economy over the past 30 years. We only have to point out this direction and each of the localities can devise its own methods.

The various areas should not only expand the channels of circulation but also establish links in production. Shanghai has already organized 10 transprovincial corporations and engaged in joint management with factories in other provinces, achieving very good results. Shanghai is the largest industrial base in our country. It has great potential in terms of capital, equipment and personnel. However, the development of industry in that place has reached the saturation point and should not be expanded any further. Therefore, the direction of industrial development in Shanghai in the future is to develop top-grade products and leave the lower-grade products to other areas and to engage in outward expansion and go to other provinces to establish transprovincial corporations. It can also open up foreign markets. Shanghai lacks raw materials. It can go to other provinces to establish production bases for raw materials. Last year Shanghai went out to other provinces to establish five joint-venture paper mills. These paper mills basically satisfy the demand for paper for writing, printing and wrapping in shanghai. Shanghai lacks timber. It can go to the mountainous areas of the northeast and the southwest to invest in joint-venture timber processing mills. It lacks leather, so it can go to the northwest or Inner Mongolia to invest in joint-venture tanning plants. Today Tianjin, Beijing and other places are also preparing to invest in other places to establish transprovincial corporations. This will be beneficial for both industrially advanced and backward areas. In the past the method of helping backward areas through financial allocations could not solve the problem of technology. Therefore, the outcome of transregional joint ventures can be ever better. If we welcome investments from advanced capitalist countries in our country, backward areas must also welcome investments in their localities from advanced areas.

Will the establishment of economic centers and the development of transprovincial corporations magnify the economic gap between the advanced and the backward areas? This could happen for a period of time. But from the long-term point of view this is an unavoidable course in narrowing the gap between different areas. Development in America began in the 13 states in the northeast. After more than 100 years of developing to the south and to the west, with enterprises in advanced areas investing in backward areas, various areas all developed to a very high economic level. The level of economic development in the backward areas of our country is still a long way from that of the advanced areas. In the past various areas could only invest within the boundaries of their own area and could not extend development to other places. This was not beneficial to narrowing the gap between different areas. If we do not make use of the advantages of the advanced areas and encourage them to develop the backward areas, but instead insist on the backward areas' developing self-reliantly or through the assistance of the central authorities, it will be more difficult to narrow the gap between various areas. Naturally, economic cooperation between areas must follow the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit. Advanced areas have the duty to assist the backward areas. At present the industrially advanced areas invest in backward areas mainly to help these areas develop raw material production and primary processing of raw materials to satisfy the urgent needs of the advanced areas for raw materials and primary products, not to make more profits. At the same time, it would be very beneficial for the development of backward areas if they would make use of the capital and technology of advanced areas to develop and utilize their rich natural resources and make full use of their strong points. Even after the overall development of the national economy has been attained, there will still be a division of labor between different areas. The division of labor among nations will always exist, and so will the division of labor between different areas within our country.

The establishment of economic centers and transprovincial corporations could be an effective way to establish connections between different areas in circulation and production, to break away from fragmentation laid down by old conventions and restrictions imposed by the hierarchical structure and to shift from administrative management to economic management. In this way, enterprises in various areas and various sectors can do away with the restrictions of old conventions and the hierarchical structure in order to link with each other according to the natural needs of economic development. At present there is still considerable resistance to structural reforms. The main reason is that the existing rules and systems contradict the new management system being tried out in pilot projects. Our pilot projects have already made some breakthroughs in the existing rules and systems. We must seriously sum up our experience, extend these breakthroughs in a planned manner and gradually approach the overhaul of the existing rules and systems. At present the central economic management organs are too unwieldy, and there are too many departments. Party and state organs at all levels have also been interfering too much in economic activities. This has made it very difficult for enterprises (including companies) to manage economics in accordance with objective economic laws, particularly in accordance with the requirements of socialized mass production. Therefore, as we reform the economic structure there is also a need to reform our system of administrative management, simplify administrative organization and change the irrational phenomenon of the party replacing the government. The party must place emphasis on grasping leadership in line, principles and policies, while the government should serve economic development better (such as developing urban management, social welfare and culture and education). Neither must exceed its own functions and meddle in the other's affairs.

CSO: 4004

FIRMLY AND CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OF 'LETTING A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM AND A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 16-21, 34

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] It has been 24 years since our party first put forth the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In these 24 years the implementation of this policy has not been smooth sailing. The several rounds of magnification of class struggle after 1957, including several occasions when massive and erroneous criticisms of academic and literary and art questions were conducted, all seriously undermined the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Particularly during the 10 years of great turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" totally eliminated the "double hundred" policy and implemented the feudal-fascist "all-round dictatorship," which resulted in extremely serious consequences. Historical experiences have taught the great masses of people, the broad masses of literary and art workers and our party a lesson and made us feel more deeply the importance of the "double hundred" policy. Without "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" there will be no socialist spiritual civilization. This thesis has been proved by numerous facts.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," literary and art circles have broken away from the shackles of fascist despotism. Under the guidance of the correct line of the party, they have persisted in the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism and have renewed the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," achieving remarkable results. In the recent period, while affirming the great achievements gained in the past 3 years, literary and art circles have also studied the problems that emerged in the process of advance and tried to overcome the shortcomings that appeared in the process of advance. Some comrades have come to have the following doubt: At present, do we still have to continue to implement the "double hundred" policy? We think that implementation of the "double hundred" policy is unshakable. The most urgent task in literary and art work today is still to firmly and correctly implement the "double hundred" policy.

I. A Long-term, Fundamental Policy

When the "double hundred" policy was first put forth, Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly proclaimed, on behalf of the party Central Committee, that it was a long-term and fundamental policy of the party in the realm of ideology and culture.

Our literature and art is an important component part of the whole socialist undertaking. It has the solemn responsibilities of raising the level of political consciousness and morals of the people, molding the new socialist man, broadening the cultural and intellectual horizons of the people and satisfying the esthetic needs of the people in various aspects. Serving the people and serving socialism are the unchangeable orientation of literary and art work. To develop socialist literature and art we can only adopt the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." This is determined by the nature of the socialist system and the objective law of development of literature and art.

The "double hundred" policy was put forth in view of the urgent need for the country to rapidly develop science and culture and on the basis of recognizing the fact that all types of contradictions still exist in socialist society. In socialist society the people have the right to become masters. They are the masters of the country, so naturally they are also the masters of literature and art. Socialist literature and art is the people's own undertaking. It is literature and art with the most popular character in history. How can the development and creation of this literature and art be monopolized and taken over by a few people? Undoubtedly, we must go all out to mobilize the masses and mobilize all positive factors to put to good use the talents and wisdom of the broad masses of professional and nonprofessional literary and art workers and absorb the finest fruits of human culture to the utmost extent. The "double hundred" policy is the expression of socialist democracy and the party's mass line in the realm of ideology and culture. The democracy and mass line in literary and art work that we are talking about is not the simple subordination of the minority to the majority, much less simply practicing group creation. The division of labor between physical and mental labor still exists in socialist society. Artistic production is undertaken primarily by mental workers who are professional literary and art workers. Literary and artistic creation is inseparable from the mental process, and concrete literary and artistic works can only be freely produced as the brainchild of each writer or artist. Implementation of the "double hundred" policy is to safeguard the right to engage in free creation and research in art. It also safeguards the right of academics among the people to bring into full play the people's individuality and creativity and to rely on the free creation of the masses to build and develop literature and art. It also guarantees the masses freedom to scrutinize and criticize literature and art. Carrying out democracy and relying on the masses are the dependable guarantees for the rapid development of artistic productivity and the continuous correct orientation of our literature and art.

Socialist literature and art in our country was developed under the leadership of the CCP. It has developed by pooling the talents and wisdom of the masses, absorbing the finest fruits of human civilization and struggling with all kinds of old ideas and old culture of the exploiting classes and against its own shortcomings. Since the socialist transformation has been basically completed, the exploiting classes no longer exist as a social class. However, the residue of the exploiting classes has survived, and class struggle is still going on within certain limits. In the realm of ideology and culture, the contradiction between socialist ideology and feudal and capitalist ideology will exist for a long time, and the influence of the ideology of the exploiting classes will also remain among the masses for a long time. Even among the people, due to differences in level of consciousness, various contradictions will continuously emerge. These contradictions must be correctly resolved by "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Historically, the rulers of the exploiting class used coercive methods to eliminate dissenting ideas and establish the ruling position of their own class. But practice has shown that such methods were foolish. They usually led to the results which were opposite to what they had wished to accomplish. Things in the art and academic realm cannot be established by coercive methods, neither can their influence be eliminated by coercive methods. Only the method of reasoning can be adopted to resolve questions in the spiritual realm. We must use this method in winning over the ideology of the exploiting classes, overcoming its influence over the people and handling differences on artistic and academic questions within the ranks of revolutionary literature and art. The theories of the proletariat rely on the power of truth to conquer people; the literature and art of the proletariat must rely on a high level of ideology, realism and artistic achievement to affect people. As long as theory embodies truth and art embodies the true, the good and the beautiful, it will be able to move people deeply, take hold of the people and occupy ideological positions.

The reason why we persist in the "double hundred" policy is that we firmly believe in the power of truth of Marxism, and we firmly believe in the masses' enthusiasm for socialism. Marxism epitomizes the objective law of historical development and expresses the most basic interests of the people. Carrying out democracy and relying on the masses, in the final analysis, is beneficial to extending the ideological positions of Marxism and persisting in the socialist orientation of literature and art. Some comrades are worried about whether implementation of the "double hundred" principle, after the 10 years of catastrophe which distorted the features of Marxism and trampled on the principles of socialism, will bring about ideological confusion. It is true that, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the "leftist" errors in history, some people's thinking is ossified or semiossified, in the first place, and that some people have certain doubts about the four basic principles. All this has to find expression in the realm of literature and art. However, is not such a phenomenon closely related to the long period of ideological confinement and the undermining of the "double hundred" policy? To solve these problems, the primary and most important step is to improve the party's leadership in literary and art work, resolutely implement the "double hundred" policy, sum up historical experiences and study new conditions and new problems through exploration and discussion among the masses, use the Marxist viewpoint to answer the questions raised in the course of practice and the doubts in the minds of the people, and make outstanding works and performances take over the position temporarily occupied by undesirable works and performances. Only in this manner can erroneous thinking be effectively rectified. This represents a struggle. The work of leading this struggle is much more complicated and difficult than the method of simply using administrative orders. But there is no other way. (Of course, this does not mean that administrative orders are not to be used even under extreme conditions.) If all kinds of ideas are not allowed to be expressed and if problems are solved by coercive methods, this will only multiply the problems and make the contradictions more acute. We must see that our writers and artists and other people who engage in spiritual production will gain much from this struggle and that the great majority of people will remold their subjective world more consciously in artistic and academic practice and maintain the correct political orientation of their spiritual products more consciously in order to conform to the interests of socialism and the people. We must also see that, after the great sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," although some ideological confusion was created, on the other hand it tempered the broad masses of people. There are now more people who are concerned about the fate of the party and the people and who devote their efforts to reflecting on social problems. This is a very desirable thing. Our masses are reasonable and realistic people. In the end the majority of them will be able to accept everything that conforms to the interests of the people and to objective truth. We must have unswerving faith in Marxism, firmly believe in the positive effects the "double hundred" policy can have on the development of Marxism and have strong faith in the masses. Then we will not waver in our implementation of the "double hundred" policy.

Inasmuch as the "double hundred" policy is a long-term basic policy, it must be implemented unswervingly during the entire period of socialism. The painful lesson we learned from the past is that, although some comrades verbally acknowledged that the "double hundred" principle is a long-term basic policy, they did not persist in their policy whenever there were storms. Or whenever the situation in the literary and artistic front was relatively lively, they took liveliness to be a great storm and hastened to impose "restrictions." Today the "double hundred" policy has been written into the constitution. This is a guarantee for the implementation of the policy. We must know that suppressing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" among the people is not only a foolish act, contrary to the law of art, but also an unlawful act which violates the democratic rights of citizens. We must never engage in foolish and unlawful acts. We accumulated many historical experiences and paid a heavy price for them. We ought to learn how to implement this policy better.

II. Correctly Deal With Competition and Struggle

The "double hundred" policy is the application of the law of unity of opposites in dialectics to the realm of ideology and culture. Implementing the "double hundred" policy means developing socialist literature and art in the course of competition and struggle. The correct handling of competition and struggle is an extremely important question. If we eliminate competition and struggle in the "double hundred" policy, thinking that we can forgo all controls in implementing the policy, and if we do not develop the positive and advanced things and overcome the negative and backward things through competition and struggle, this will amount to implementing the liberal policy instead of the "double hundred" policy. Then we will commit rightist errors. If we look at all competition and struggle as class struggle or even as struggle between the enemy and ourselves, and if we use simple and crude methods to handle competition and struggle, using administrative orders to arbitrarily support one side and suppress another side, this will amount to substituting despotism for the "double hundred" policy. Then we will commit "leftist" errors.

In the process of implementation of the "double hundred" policy, different works and opinions are bound to appear. One type of difference is the content, form, style and school in creation and performance. These differences are always necessary. There is only one direction for the development of socialist literature and art. It is to strive to serve the people and serve socialism. This is its general character. But generality resides in particularity. Without particularity there is no generality. The content of socialism needs to be expressed through rich and colorful subjects, types, forms and styles. Life is varied and colorful, the masses have diverse interests, writers have different personalities and literature and art as a reflection of social life naturally must also be varied and colorful. The more varieties there are, the more fully and broadly is the general character of socialist literature and art expressed. This diversification is required precisely by the development of socialist literature and art itself. Works with different content, forms and styles and of different schools inevitably will compete or even "struggle" with each other in the process of "letting a hundred flowers blossom." This kind of competition and "struggle" is a relationship of helping each other forward and learning from others' strong points to offset one's weaknesses. It is an inevitable course in the flourishing of socialist literature and art. Another type of difference is that between the true, the good and the beautiful and the false, the bad and the ugly, or that between the correct and the erroneous. Some of them have the characteristic of class struggle, but not all of them. When people make mistakes, the root cause may be found in their class nature or their level of consciousness. With good intentions, one may also make this or that mistake or even make a series of mistakes due to the limitation of one's level of consciousness. The emergence of this latter type of difference is also inevitable, and it is a phenomenon in line with objective laws.

Some comrades always hope that erroneous things will not emerge. To them, a "relaxation" of controls must have one ideological prerequisite, that is, that only things which conform to the correct ideological prerequisite can be allowed to emerge. Their wish is understandable, but this is unrealistic and wishful thinking. Our "relaxation" is "relaxation" among the people and "relaxation" within the limits of the constitution and the legal system. We do not allow a relaxation of control over counterrevolutionary elements and things which contravene the constitution and the legal system. But among the people, and within the limits of the safeguards of the constitution and the legal system, correct and erroneous things must all be allowed to emerge. Not allowing erroneous things to emerge is not in line with the law of development of human consciousness and the law of development of art.

The Marxist theory of knowledge tells us that human consciousness does not develop in a straight line but in a curve. The cognition of truth has to undergo the repeated process of practice to consciousness and consciousness to practice, making a series of mistakes and meeting a series of setbacks, after which we get nearer to objective laws. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our understanding of the objective world necessarily involves a process. In the beginning we do not understand, or do not completely understand, and it is only through repeated practice that we are led to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to gradually develop complete or relatively complete understanding." ("Talk at an Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee") Literature and art as the reflection of social life is the depiction of the writers' and artists' cognition of the objective world. Due to objective or subjective reasons, this cognition is sometimes erroneous. Therefore, sometimes some bad or even erroneous works are written, and they depict social life in a lopsided and distorted manner. This is true not only for different writers and artists but also for different works of the same writer or artist. Errors usually are the forerunner of correctness. Not allowing the publication of erroneous things and taking detours and demanding that a correct and perfect piece be produced in one stroke will only make matters worse. When we say correct, we do not mean absolutely correct. It has to be further developed and further improved. Therefore, we can still voice our opinions concerning correct things or criticize them. The reason why we implement the "double hundred" policy is in order to use competition and struggle to encourage and call on literary and art workers to take the correct attitude and use the correct techniques to depict the rich and colorful real life and create more and better works. This will be in line with the law of development of human consciousness.

We are a socialist country. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are the theoretical basis which guides our thought. Our party advocates and encourages writers and artists to study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in their practice of creation. But if we think that once we have the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought people can easily grasp objective laws, engage in creating the true, the good and the beautiful and avoid mistakes, we cannot be more wrong. How can there be such an easy thing in this world? Today people of the whole country are engaged in building modernization with one heart and one mind. In this great undertaking, literary and art workers shoulder a great historical responsibility to the people of the whole country. In developing socialist literature and art in the new period they have to inherit the fine tradition of revolutionary literature and art but cannot simply retrace the road taken in the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution. A new task confronts them in the fields of both theory and creation. How can they possibly scale new heights without first undergoing a series of explorations and trials? We must not only allow others to make mistakes but also admit that we, too, can make mistakes and be ready at all times to correct errors. Only in this way can we minimize our detours and mistakes. We must encourage people to be bold in exploring and innovating and to not fear setbacks and errors in cultivating new frontiers. Only in this way can there be progress and breakthroughs. Sticking to old rules is very safe, but in searching for truth one has to take risks. Should we not actively support and encourage the latter attitude for the sake of the progress of the socialist literary and art undertakings?

Of course, literary and art workers must try to make as few mistakes as possible. Erroneous things certainly must be criticized in a realistic manner. But erroneous things also have a dual character. First, they can serve as negative examples and enlighten people. They can bring out questions and make people think about those questions and find answers to them. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly warned: "It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile and with idealism and metaphysics.... It will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 346) Second, as Engels said: "Truth and error, like all determinations of thought which move in polar opposites, have absolute validity only in an extremely limited field." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 130) "That which is recognized now as true has also its latent false side which will later manifest itself, just as that which is now regarded as false has also its true side by virtue of which it could previously be regarded as true." ("Selected Works of Marx and

Engels," Vol 4, p 240) The antithetical relationship between truth and error is relative. Generally speaking, erroneous understanding is not imaginations made up by the mind. It is usually the blowing up and exaggeration of one particular aspect of objective reality. Therefore, it has elements of truth in it and some useful material for thought in it. The correct and the erroneous in the realm of art and academics are not that clearcut. It is very usual that what is correct has some elements of error in it and what is erroneous has some elements of correctness in it. Engels praised Goethe as the "Zeus on Mount Olympus," but he pointed out that he has the "smell of the mediocre German" on his body. Lenin praised Tolstoy as the "mirror of the Russian Revolution," but he also pointed out that the so-called "Tolstoyism" is very harmful. Therefore, we must not overreact when we see works with shortcomings or even errors. Much less should we abandon the "double hundred" policy just to prevent erroneous things from appearing.

We must see that people's understanding of things must undergo a process from a relatively erroneous and lopsided viewpoint to a relatively correct and comprehensive one. We cannot skip this process and wish to attain the correct without going through the erroneous. On the contrary, we must take a realistic attitude, recognize this process and strive to attain the correct by constantly overcoming the erroneous. Therefore, we must take a cautious attitude in dealing with the problem of right and wrong in art and academic subjects. First, we must safeguard the right to express different opinions and publish different works, allowing the publication of erroneous things; second, we must distinguish between the correct and the erroneous by full discussions and repeated testing in practice; third, in dealing with erroneous things in the spiritual realm we must try to overcome them by reasoning and not by simply taking coercive measures; and fourth, we must concretely analyze concrete phenomena in literature and art and must not simply affirm or repudiate everything. When exposing errors in literature and art we must pay attention to the positive elements they might contain. When affirming correct things we must also not cover up the possible shortcomings they might have. In short, we must wage the struggle between the correct and the erroneous on the scientific basis of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Failure to draw a clearcut line between what is correct and what is erroneous, failure to wage a struggle of the true, the good and the beautiful against the false, the bad and the ugly, and looking at what is correct or erroneous as absolute and vulgarizing this concept and using simplistic and crude methods to deal with the struggle between the two are all contrary to the party's "double hundred" policy and are erroneous.

III. Strengthening and Improving Party Leadership

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party advocated the strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership. In the field of literary and art work, firmly and correctly implementing the "double hundred" policy is an important issue in strengthening and improving the party's leadership in the realm of literature and art.

The party Central Committee demanded that there be no arbitrary interference in literary and artistic creation. This by no means signifies that the responsibilities of the leaders of literary and art work have been reduced or abolished. On the contrary, they have been augmented. The responsibility of a leader does not lie in taking the place of the writer to determine the details of each work or taking the place of the critic and the masses to judge the right and wrong of each concrete occurrence in literature and art. The leadership must work in accordance with the law of art and the line, principles and policy. This is attained mainly through effective political and ideological work. The responsibility of the leadership lies in persevering in the party's line, principles and policy guiding literary and art workers to consciously raise their ideological level, go deep into a life of struggle, widen their horizons and temper their artistic skills to fulfill the requirements for creating socialist literature and art. Their responsibility also lies in implementing the "double hundred" policy, mobilizing all positive factors in literary and art work, launching a competition and campaign for blossoming and contending in literary and artistic creation and theory, defending and developing the guiding position of Marxism and extending the socialist ideological position. As to concrete artistic creation and academic viewpoints, leaders most certainly can and should express their opinions, but they must abide by the principle of "everyone is equal before the truth" and take an attitude of equality in discussing and consulting with the artists. The right and wrong in art and academics does not lie in who has a higher position or who is more powerful. It lies in who conforms to truth, and truth, in the final analysis, can only be tested in practice. The responsibility of the leadership lies in making socialist literary and artistic undertakings flourish. The criterion for judging how good is the leadership work of a certain literary and art unit is not whether this unit has published a questionable thing. It is impossible for any unit not to have any problems. As long as the unit rectifies itself when problems arise, then it is quite all right. The criterion is how well the principles and policies of the party have been implemented, how well the political and ideological work has been conducted, how well the enthusiasm of the masses has been mobilized and how well the artistic production in this unit has been done. In the past, under the impact of the theory and practice of the magnification of class struggle, some leading comrades in literary and art work put the emphasis of their work on grasping the so-called "new trends in class struggle" and discovering "enemy activities." As long as they found some so-called questionable things, they were considered to have done a remarkable job. This resulted in rampant searches for "enemy activities" even when there were none and in dragging many good things out as "enemy activities." Thus, a tense political atmosphere was created. It was not important to make contributions in art; the more important thing was not to make any political mistakes.

Nobody dared to make technical innovations, and everyone was wary of trouble emerging. The objective of socialist literary and art work is to satisfy the growing needs of the people in their cultural life. If we only concentrate on watching out for "enemy activities" and do not produce any works, how are we to satisfy the needs of the masses? Leadership in literature and art should put the emphasis of work on making socialist artistic productions flourish and on devising all means to cultivate talented people and produce more works. Special efforts must be devoted to discovering outstanding works and talent. We must commend those leaders who work hard to master the law of art, strive to implement the party's principles and policies and make contributions in promoting the production of outstanding artistic works. We must criticize and help those who are inefficient and make suitable reqdjustments for those comrades who are really not suited for the job.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in the process of bringing order out of chaos and emancipation of the mind, there have been improvements in leadership work in literature and art. But compared with the vigorously developing trend of socialist literature and art and the demands made by the party Central Committee, quite a gap exists. For one thing, the tendency toward subjectivity, arbitrariness, oversimplification and crudeness has survived to a certain degree. For another, the tendency toward total liberalism exists in some units. What is worthy of attention is that in the recent period the literary and art circles have been striving to resolve and overcome problems and shortcomings encountered in the process of progress, while striving to carry on the great achievements attained in the past 3 years. This is very normal. Inasmuch as literature and art is advancing, it will produce both accomplishments and shortcomings. Continuously carrying on the achievements and overcoming the shortcomings is a normal phenomenon in literary and artistic life. But some comrades have a mistaken understanding of all this. They think that there is big trouble again and that "controls" should be imposed again. So they have started to designate forbidden zones and to obstruct free literary expression. A few individuals have even started to wave the big stick in order to brutally attack writers and their works. Some comrades have been zigzagging from left to right. When the policy is "relax" the controls, they do away with all controls. When the policy is strengthening the leadership, they erect all kinds of controls. They either do not practice any restriction at all or are very inflexible. They go from one extreme to the other. The reason why there is such a tendency among the majority of those who do have such a tendency is that they lack a proper understanding of the "double hundred" policy and lack experience in implementing this policy. But there is also a small minority who have doubts or are even hostile toward the correct line and policy of the party. When they do away with all restrictions, they are waiting to see problems and trouble emerge. Once they see erroneous things emerging, they exaggerate them and consider nonessential things as essential ones. They hold that the emancipation of the mind has created great trouble and that the "double hundred" policy has been too lenient. So they negate the necessity and correctness of the emancipation of the mind and the "double hundred" policy and restore the "leftist" set of methods. We must oppose both simplistic and crude methods and total decontrol. We must not attach importance to one tendency alone while ignoring another nor oppose one extreme to the extent that we go to another extreme. We must not exaggerate the negative side of literary and art work even though negative things do exist. We must take measures to deal with them, actively do our work and conduct serious and down-to-earth criticisms.

For a long time, substituting subjectiveness and arbitrariness for objective laws has been a major weakness of leadership work. Some comrades think that since we have control of political power we can use the power in our hands to change everything and create everything, including changing and creating literature and art according to our subjective wishes and whims. This inevitably leads to issuing blind commands and oversimplification and crudeness in the work of leading literature and art. Stalin once criticized the theory of the omnipotence of political power which was popular among some people in the Soviet Union. He said: "They are stunned by the tremendous achievements of the Soviet regime, and the extraordinary success of the Soviet system made them dizzy with euphoria. Therefore, they think that the Soviet regime is 'omnipotent' and that everything is 'easy' for the regime. It can even eliminate scientific laws and create new laws." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 545) Does this tendency which Stalin discussed not exist among us to a different degree? Was it not developed to an extremely frightening level? This blindness in consciousness, combined with the long-existing feudal tradition in China, forms a leadership style of personal dictatorship which is divorced from reality, is divorced from the masses and is unscientific and undemocratic. This tendency, reflected in the realm of literature and art, undermines the atmosphere of democracy, stifles the vitality of socialist literature and art and impedes the smooth implementation of the "double hundred" policy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made use of this and further developed it viciously, bringing grave catastrophe.

Today, as we strive to create a high level of socialist material civilization, we must also strive to create a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Our country, a great socialist country with a history of 5,000 years and a population of almost a billion, must create socialist literature and art worthy of our great people and our great nation. As long as we continue to emancipate the mind, persevere in the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism and unswervingly persist in the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," we can certainly win new victories.

CSO: 4004

CONTINUE TO EMANCIPATE THE MIND, INTEGRATE THEORY WITH PRACTICE AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF PROPAGANDA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 22-29

[Excerpts of speeches delivered at the '1 July' forum sponsored by RED FLAG]

[Text] At the invitation of RED FLAG, on 1 July comrades of intellectual and theoretical circles in Beijing held a forum to air their views on problems of improving propaganda work and the quality of RED FLAG. Altogether 42 comrades attended the forum. Forum participants included Wang Renzhong, a member of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat and director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, and Zhou Yang, deputy director of the Propaganda Department. Both delivered speeches. Presiding at the forum was Xiong Fu, chief editor of RED FLAG. Other participants who addressed the forum included Wu Liping, Feng Ting, Liu Zongzhuo, Wen Jize, Zhang Jian, Xue Muqiao, Qian Junrui, Ma Peiwen, Wang Ruoshui, De Lin, Zhang Tengxiao and Liu Keming. Comrade Liu Simu sent over a prepared speech. Excerpts of speeches made by some comrades follow:

Xiong Fu:

On the occasion of the 59th anniversary of the founding of the CCP today, we take this opportunity to hold a forum. Comrades Wang Renzhong and Zhou Yang, along with many veterans, have been asked to attend. We hope to meet comrades of intellectual and theoretical circles in Beijing and to solicit their opinions on the propaganda work undertaken by RED FLAG at this stage. Through this medium we hope to strengthen our ties with intellectual and theoretical circles and secure their support and help.

Since resuming publication as a bimonthly last January, with the approval of the Propaganda Department, RED FLAG has now published 13 issues. In the past half year the journal has owed its progress, if any, to the concern shown and assistance given by comrades in intellectual and theoretical circles. On behalf of RED FLAG's staff, allow me to express my sincere thanks to you.

RED FLAG has devoted its issues of the past half year mainly to publicizing economic construction, with articles on this subject taking up about 30 to 35 percent of the space. However, the journal has carried few relatively heavy theoretical articles that are rich in content and which have truly proceeded from reality, made use of a substantive mass of factual data, made serious efforts to conduct research, presented new problems relating to the complex economic life and offered solutions to them. This shows that we still do not have sufficient courage in matters relating to theory and that we lack an understanding of actual conditions. This means that we must work harder, strengthen investigation and study, improve the quality of propaganda and earnestly strive to realistically integrate theory with practice.

Much has to be done in upgrading the method of propaganda. We have taken heed of the need to discuss in a comradely way and to exchange views on an equal basis and within a certain sphere on theoretical problems relating to the party line, principles and policies. Such discussions will help to guide everyone in independently observing things, pondering problems, conducting independent scientific analyses and distinguishing right from wrong.

It is very gratifying to note that the four modernizations program has developed very rapidly and satisfactorily. As new problems and new things keep emerging from practice, we have to work hard in the field of propaganda relating to theory, provide scientific explanations for these new things and new problems and offer scientific answers to them. RED FLAG has not done well enough in this respect. It fails to meet the needs of the broad spectrum of readers. However, along with fraternal journals we are determined to tackle this task on the ideological front and do the best we can.

How to run RED FLAG well is primarily the responsibility of its entire staff. It is hoped that comrades in intellectual and theoretical circles will give the journal greater and increased support and will help by speaking without reservation at this forum and by criticizing RED FLAG's published contents during the first half of this year, particularly material relating to theory, the quality of propaganda and the problems raised. I hope that comrades will offer their views on how to undertake propaganda work in the second half of this year, what problems the journal should take note of and what problems should be explained theoretically.

Wu Liping:

RED FLAG has improved over the last 1 or 2 years. Although the journal has reflected problems better than it did before, it still has not succeeded in turning itself into a popular and eagerly awaited publication. As a publication of the CCP Central Committee, a medium for propaganda and an organizer in a collective sense, RED FLAG in my view has not done well enough. It should transmit the party line, principles and policies to the masses in a timely way, comprehensively and more skillfully. Let me cite my past experience in editing the journal JIEFANG in Yanan. The journal was published for many years during the war of resistance against Japan. It played quite a significant role throughout the country as well as behind the enemy lines. Comrade Zhang Wentian was then chief editor, but in reality the chief editor was Comrade Mao Zedong. Apart from editing the journal, I ran all sorts of errands. In every issue of the journal Comrade Mao exercised control over everything from the main points and themes of propaganda to the style of writing. When one or two issues contained dull articles, he would say: Your style of editing is dull; I want to see some improvements. He rarely missed any important editorials or articles and often made changes in them. RED FLAG should be edited much better. We hope that the CCP Central Committee will take a firm hold of this journal and see to it that the party line, principles, policies and tasks are asserted at the right moment. If the CCP Central Committee is not directly concerned, we will be at a loss as to what should be emphasized, what should be given higher priority in each issue, in each half year and throughout the year, and we will not understand the true situation or know how to organize the forces in a timely way. Without the supervision of leading central organs, it will be difficult to run the publication of the Central Committee well. Since RED FLAG's circulation is large, it is hoped that the Secretariat and the Propaganda Department will take a firm hold of the journal and find ways to run it better.

The following are some suggestions for running RED FLAG well:

First of all, planning should be strengthened. What to publicize during the second half of this year has to be planned. This also applies to propaganda work aimed at the thinking of cadres and the masses. Leading organs may transmit the spirit of the Central Committee to units responsible for propaganda work, as some things may be explained in advance and preparations made. I have the impression that planning was done rather poorly in the past. Planning is necessary in fighting battles as well as in conducting propaganda. A major publication such as this one must have plans. In the past I helped to edit the journal JIEFANG. Comrade Mao Zedong explained the points to be emphasized for each issue, and these were then acted upon. I believe comrades of the Secretariat or the Propaganda Department naturally are more aware of current conditions. They should at least be asked to help draw up annual or biannual plans.

Second, the mass nature of the journal should be strengthened. The prevailing ideological problems of the masses and cadres should be explained. Problems that can be easily understood should be explained first, while those that we are not so sure of can be explained later. The problems which the masses ponder quite often, according to my own experience, include those relating to why the national economy has not yet made gains and why the superiority of the socialist system has not yet been brought about. Other unexplained problems involve the aggravation of class struggle and the growing number of miscarriages of justice, and the question of why they have occurred and whether a recurrence of such mistakes can be prevented in the future. Yet another unexplained question concerns the correct understanding of the relationship between the socialist four modernizations and Marxism-Leninism. The questions of the masses should be answered.

Third, the journal should be strengthened organizationally. Many leading comrades in Beijing know how to write articles. In the past the work of organizing intellectual and theoretical circles was not done effectively. Organizing these forces so that they can contribute to running party newspapers and journals well consists of, for example, making available to these circles listings of selected subjects, calling on intellectuals and theoreticians or consulting with them and organizing them for study. When I was in Yanan I did precisely this chore. For example, I asked comrades from the front to write articles or Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Chen Yi to do the same, despite their busy schedules. Now that we have grown older, it is not necessary for us to do the writing ourselves. We can ask comrades from various quarters to contribute to the journal. That is why we have to draw up plans whereby writing assignments can be given to everybody. If we do so, we will be able to give full play to the role of party cadres, particularly comrades from various quarters in Beijing, in running the party journal well. Naturally, some comrades associated with RED FLAG are very energetic. However, relying solely on their energy is not enough, because coordination with various quarters is necessary. Once we are given substantial support by the masses, there will be more good articles available and we will be able to run the journal well.

Feng Ting:

RED FLAG, a journal of the CCP Central Committee, has been attracting great attention since its first publication in 1958. Is it possible to add some informative and interesting features to RED FLAG to supplement its articles of a guiding and educating nature so as to make it a better magazine? RED FLAG is of course different from purely literary or scientific magazines. However, is there any way of making the journal more lively? The masses have many questions they wish to be answered, such as those on the superiority of the socialist system, communist moral integrity, the problems of youth, the study of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," and so forth. As RED FLAG is now a bimonthly, perhaps sometimes it can publish a special issue on the superiority of the socialist system. This may be followed by another special issue on the growth and maturing of young people, and so forth. This may make the journal a little more lively. Morever, formats such as dialog, letterbox, answers to questions, and so forth may be used. In sum, RED FLAG needs a breakthrough in the matter of writing style and method of propaganda.

What about RED FLAG's liaison work? If soliciting contributions requires some effort, then the liaison teams should be strengthened. It is indeed very time consuming to explore the many problems, trends and circumstances among the masses. The journal should therefore focus on the masses and solve some of the prevailing ideoligical problems. This of course is a rather difficult task. However, we should not flinch from difficulties. Instead, we should try our best to overcome them. Many problems now await penetrating explanations in plain language and on a wide-ranging scale.

Liu Zongzhuo:

RED FLAG, as a bimonthly, has published 13 issues this year. Despite its imperfections, the journal has improved a great deal compared with the past. Changing it from a monthly to a bimonthly is, first of all, a timely step. In addition, I have the impression that this year RED FLAG is trying very hard to publicize the party Central Committee's ideological, political and organizational line. This is a major improvement compared with the past. Naturally, this progress has been made possible through the leadership of and support given by the party Central Committee and the Propaganda Department, as well as through the influence of public opinion from the broadest sections of the society. Morever, I find that contributors to RED FLAG are from diverse quarters and not just professional thinkers and theoreticians. They include leading comrades of provincial and municipal party committees, as well as leading comrades who handle day-to-day affairs in departments or units. While the journal's theoretical features have to be improved, it has strong points in other aspects. Some articles, I believe, are quite good in integrating theory with practice. I mean that, while the journal has to improve its theoretical content, it should avoid going from abstractions to abstractions and pay more attention to integrating theory with practice. It has yet to increase its influence among the masses. On the other hand, comrades associated with the journal should work hard and meticulously follow the mass line. Apart from this factor, it is hoped that the party Central Committee and its propaganda department will strengthen their leadership over the journal and provide it with specific guidance. Above all, the whole party, along with intellectual and theoretical circles as well as party committees at all levels, should give RED FLAG their vigorous support. We are happy to see that the journal has influence and prestige among the masses. Certainly we will not be pleased at all if the masses take no heed of the journal. This responsibility is ours. We hope the party Central Committee will look after the journal, as Comrade Mao Zedong did the journal JIEFANG. With support and help gven given by intellectual and theoretical circles, journalist units and various quarters. I believe RED FLAG will beomce a journal of the CCP Central Committee worthy of the name. My other view is how to direct the publication of RED FLAG in a more lively way. As things stand, RED FLAG appears to be a serious journal that is not lively enough. I wonder whether steps can be taken whereby we can discuss the matter with specific problems in mind and answer those questions the masses care about most.

Wen Jize:

I hope for these two things:

1. I hope RED FLAG will identify more closely with reality and with the masses. A recent discussion on the philosophy of life in ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN drew a considerable response from young people throughout the country. To date more than 20,000 letters and articles from readers wanting to participate in the discussion have been received, sometimes more than 1,000 letters a day. How can this overwhelming response be accounted for? I think it is because this question relates to a number of practical problems which are of general interest to young people. Many problems now exist in both the four modernizations and among the people. Some of these problems are so urgent that they have to be solved. It is hoped that RED FLAG will go deep into reality and among the masses to grasp those urgent issues of prime importance and systematically publish theoretical articles that carry weight. It is the party Central Committee which publishes RED FLAG. Hopefully, in the new Long March and on the intellectual and theoretical front, it will play the role of a banner.

2. It is hoped that RED FLAG will carry more articles on science and technology. Of articles carried in the 12 issues of the journal in the first half of this year, only 8 dealt with science and technology. This seems rather scanty. Since we are involved in a modernization program, items about science and technology should occupy considerable space in our newspapers and periodicals. This does not mean that many articles on science and technology should be published, but that appropriately introducing some information on science and technology is considered necessary. I hope RED FLAG will occasionally publish articles reflecting and guiding scientific and technological work. With progress in the four modernizations, the need in this respect will grow steadily. It is also hoped that newspapers and other publications will pay more attention to publicizing science and technology.

Xue Muqiao:

I feel that many academic questions have to be discussed on a wider scale. There are advantages in such discussions. If the views expressed are all positive, the result will be a lack of ideological insight. This insight can only be brought about and developed through unending debates and wrangling with erroneous views. Naturally, we should publicize the party line, principles and policies. However, on academic questions we should likewise encourage discussions and contention of a hundred schools of thought. Such discussions on a wider scale will benefit us by raising our theoretical level. A look at Chinese history shows that contention of a hundred schools of thought during the Spring and Autumn Annals and Warring States periods marked a prominent stage of cultural development. The same was true in China in the aftermath of the May Fourth Movement. The contention of a hundred schools of thought also existed in the West. Examples are the Greek, Roman and Renaissance periods, which witnessed rapid and vigorous cultural and intellectual activities. Many problems as to how to build socialism now call for study and discussion. RED FLAG is the most important party publication. Every issue of the journal has to raise many specific problems of real significance on the basis of the party's central tasks. This definitely must be done. Our party has raised many new issues, especially since the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions. These issues have to be discussed, studied and dealt with by us. Moreover, many new problems cannot be resolved by the publication of a few articles or reports, because they require prolonged discussion. RED FLAG has done much in this respect, such as closely adhering to the party's central tasks and publishing many related articles. However, there are more new problems which we do not have the time to study and solve as best we can. In the past we believed in some issues and were not skeptical about them. When we face them now, we no longer believe in them and are beginning to have doubts about them. At the time the "gang of four" was smashed, two issues--one concerning bourgeois rights and the other the theory of productive forces--confronted us. We wrote many articles about them but discussed few other issues, which were not discussed until later, especially after the subject of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth was brought up for discussion. Apart from closely adhering to the party's central tasks and studying, discussing and publicizing them, RED FLAG should discuss the many fundamental theoretical problems raised in the past. Marxism as well as Mao Zedong Thought have to be developed. If Marxism is not developed, we will certainly lag behind. On the basis of our past and practical experience, we should conduct relatively systematic study. In the next 3 to 5 years or more it is hoped that RED FLAG will be able to sort out the many philosophical and theoretical problems left over from the past and publish articles assessing which matters are correct and which are not. This will enable us to have relatively systematic views on Marxism, particularly Marxist ideas about socialism and socialist tenets.

Qian Junrui:

It has been suggested that RED FLAG take the lead in expounding the party's political, ideological and organizational lines and in discussing the many major issues concerning the world's political and economic situation, the international communist movement and so forth. We should have the courage to discuss theoretical questions. Many of the masses, cadres, party members and friendly personages abroad have reflected on questions and asked us to answer them. I hope RED FLAG will take the lead in organizing discussion on these questions and in publishing articles on them when circumstances permit. For example, there is indeed a very urgent need to clarify, theoretically and from historical and logical viewpoints, such domestic questions as the special characteristics of the Chinese way of modernization, the superiority of the socialist system, the goals of socialist production, socialist democracy and the legal system, communist moral standards and so forth. There are also many questions on an international scale, such as, for example, a worldwide united front against hegemony, war and peace, economic crises and revolutionary situations, the new economic order in the world and so forth. It is hoped that the RED FLAG editorial department will organize discussion of these major international and domestic problems in theoretical circles and among comrades of departments handling day-to-day affairs, so that these problems can be solved one by one. After this is done, articles should be appropriately published on the basis of the existing situation, in accordance with the party line, principles and policies and in conformity with the rules of discipline governing propaganda.

I personally feel that the propaganda work we are now doing is radically different from that undertaken by the party in many stages in the past, because conditions have become more complex and our tasks more arduous. Basically, this involves the question of eliminating chaos and restoring order. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were responsible for confusing issues of right and wrong and reversing established policies. At the same time, we have also made some mistakes, resulting in confusion in the ideological sphere. We must now be very careful in doing propaganda work. We must have the actual situation in mind and make a concrete assessment of specific problems on the basis of fundamental principles. We should also implement the principle of integrating theory with practice, the abstract with the concrete. Indulgence in empty talk and polite remarks should be avoided. I therefore suggest that RED FLAG should first establish the closest relations with departments handling day-to-day affairs and mass organizations, so that many real problems and the mental outlook of the masses can be understood in a timely way. If this is done, then these problems will be readily solved at a theoretical level and on the basis of established principles and policies. Second, the journal should establish the closest ties with those who conduct research on theory. I wonder whether RED FLAG can organize forums and study groups on problems of major importance in accordance with their classifications. For example, one such group may focus on the issue of war and peace, while another may be devoted to the study of the Chinese way of modernization. At regular intervals, articles on such issues, one, two or three at a time, may be published gardually and in a systematic way.

Another point concerns the quoting of the classical writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in published articles. I am of the opinion that their works should be quoted only when one of the contending parties has distorted and mutilated the sayings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and that the distortions and mutilations should be corrected. Quoting their writings is in order if the quoted passage covers all the related points, shows deep insight and conforms exactly to the current situation. However, quoting their works more than necessary should be avoided. If a person lacks insight on problems and is unconvincing in making his point, and if he merely wants to quote Marx and Engels so that his words will carry more weight, I believe that the person who does so is simply inept and that this will not solve problems, either. I recall that when I was working in Zaoyuan in 1946, and again after the liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong told me several times that if I wanted to quote Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin I had better put it in my own words. This would show, first, that I really understood Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and second, that I had elaborated on their remarks in the light of the current situation. I believe this is very important. I also recall that when Comrade Shaoqi was lecturing on the problems of party strategy and tactics at the Central China Party School in 1942 he asked me to gather materials for him. I collected plenty of materials for him. One article from Stalin's "The Foundations of Leninism" was about strategy and tactics. For a long time he sat in a chair going over the questions raised in that article, without even turning that particular page. When I reminded him that he would not be able to cover much of the material if he paused so long, he said: When I read the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, I have the habit of wrapping myself in deep thought so that I can elicit the ideas expounded in their writings in the light of the current situation. The spirit displayed by Comrade Shaoqi should encourage and inspire us to make greater efforts. I have realized that the editors of RED FLAG and party newspapers and journals should avoid relying on quotations to boost their authority, because doing this habitually will abet book worship.

Ma Peiwen:

I agree with those comrades who have offered so many fine ideas to improve RED FLAG.

In my opinion, to improve RED FLAG, emphasis should be placed on strengthening its theoretical content. By theory, naturally I mean the theory of closely integrating with the masses' ideological outlook to the extent of being able to solve their ideological problems, and closely relating it to reality to the extent of being able to solve practical problems. To solve a host of problems confronting us, we urgently need theoretical guidance. Since RED FLAG is a theoretical journal of the party Central Committee, it should play a greater role in publicizing theory. I therefore hope that RED FLAG hereafter will take the lead in exploring theory, in seeking a breakthrough in theory and in displaying courage and thoroughness in tackling theoretical problems.

Wang Ruoshui:

As the theoretical journal of the party Central Committee, RED FLAG holds an important position. Its very large circulation of more than 7,100,000 copies makes it possible for each copy to reach an average of one party member in every five. Since RED FLAG switched to a bimonthly it has made considerable efforts to improve itself. This is quite obvious.

Periodicals have many advantages which can be utilized. Newspapers have the distinct advantage of being able to publish articles quickly, and RED FLAG is no match for the press in point of speed. However, there is a problem for newspapers in that they are off the press daily. If they carry lengthy articles, and if readers cannot finish reading them on that day, it is very likely that they will ignore them the next day when new issues are delivered. In this respect, periodicals have a greater advantage over newspapers in that they can be put aside like books. If one does not have the time to read them on one day, one can always resume reading the next day or the day after next. After one has finished reading them, they can be kept somewhere whenever one wishes to go over them once more.

Naturally, there is the question of making people love to read periodicals or newspapers. I think this involves the question of writing style, which should be lively, fresh and powerful. The question of length also poses a problem. While shorter articles are preferred, the thing that counts is their content, a problem which the masses currently wish to be settled immediately. Even lengthy articles are read by people. I feel that the requirements for periodicals should differ from those for newspapers. In the case of periodicals, to include some lengthy articles is quite all right, but this does not mean that concisely written items are to be ignored. Barring the use of empty verbiage and pleasantries, a 10,000-word article of substantial content will be read avidly by people. On the contrary, an article of 3,000 words will upset readers if it is full of rubbish and empty talk. This is because periodicals have their own special characteristics, so that they can demonstrate their strong points.

It is hoped that RED FLAG will be run well. Between our party newspapers and party journals there is a relationship of mutual cooperation and friendly coordination, and sometimes they enter into friendly competition or emulation. If RED FLAG is run well, it will stimulate and spur the RENMIN RIBAO as well.

Apart from expounding party principles and policies, RED FLAG, in my opinion, should carry more articles that might well be explorative. For example, questions relating to literature and art may be discussed publicly without any consequences that matter. Such discussion permits the airing of different opinions. Whether the publications are periodicals or newspapers, they must have correct and penetrating contents to maintain their status and establish their authority whereby they can influence the whole country.

Liu Simu:

As a party journal, RED FLAG is responsible for publicizing the CCP's domestic and foreign guiding principles and policies, paying appropriate attention to international issues. This is commensurate with China's present status of being a major socialist country of the world. It also conforms to the requirements of readers. In the capacity of a researcher on world history and as a RED FLAG reader, I intend to raise the following points from the angle of international issues:

1. A bimonthly has limited space. It should not deal with international topics which are too big, otherwise the discussions are likely to be superficial, sketchy and thus far from exhaustive.

2. It is hoped that such articles will be diverse in form. Apart from political commentaries of a general nature, essays on international subjects, book reviews, notes, selected articles from contributors and so forth may be included to make the contents more lively.

3. Articles of this nature should conform to the readers' ideological outlook and have a definite objective in view so that doubts can be dispelled. I hope RED FLAG will canvas on a wide scale the opinions of representative groups of readers as a basis for selecting subjects for articles.

Speech by Comrade Zhou Yang:

Today, we have many comrades from the theoretical circles with us. Everyone gave many good suggestions. RED FLAG is the organ of the CCP Central Committee. I think everyone has a responsibility to run this publication well. (Comrade Renzhong: We must make it the best magazine in the whole country.) I was one of the earliest contributors to RED FLAG. The maiden issue of RED FLAG carried an article I wrote on new folk songs. This article was recommended for publication by Comrade Mao Zedong. New folk songs are a product of the revolution. They are a newborn thing. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong attached much importance to them. Chairman Mao encouraged the development of new folk songs but also appreciated traditional folk songs very much. As a poet he had very strict artistic standards. He commented that "Folk Songs of the Red Flag" which the revered Comrade Guo and I edited was not refined enough. He advocated both realism and romanticism. He advocated the integration of revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism. If romanticism is not based on realism, then it is dangerous. The wind of communism and wind of exaggeration were by-products of this. But we cannot abandon the revolutionary spirit just because of this.

I believe that our publications and all our undertakings must first maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit. Naturally, we must also have a realistic and practical attitude. Stalin said that Lenin's style was a combination of the revolutionary spirit and the realistic spirit. Comrade Mao Zedong reiterated many times the integration of revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism. I think this is still the style that we must persist in. Later, this style was sabotaged. Particularly during the time of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" there was realism and a political attitude! Comrade Xiaoping again put forth the slogan that we must seek truth from facts, integrate theory with practice, always proceed from reality and study new conditions and new problems. Why did he receive such enthusiastic support from the whole party? This is because there is a need to restore this traditional style of our party after it had been disrupted for a long time. When we seek truth from facts it is also necessary to have a revolutionary spirit. Without this spirit, how can a publication be full of vitality? To study new events and new problems we must undertake exploration in the theoretical realm. This might result in this or that mistake. But even so, the publication will still have a very vigorous revolutionary image in the hearts of the people. Everyone will want to read it, to be inspired and encouraged. If there is never any new idea and the writings are always overcautious, even if there are no errors, the publication will never attract any attention and become popular. In propagandizing the party's principles and policies we must seek truth from facts and have a revolutionary spirit or an innovative spirit. Is it not true that the eight-point principle of our party had to be reformed? Our various tasks, our literature and art, our education and our institutions all have to be reformed. At present the masses have many criticisms concerning our work in various areas. Only reforms can solve these problems. Is there any other way? Therefore, our publications and all our tasks must boldly and realistically promote reforms. Only thus can we really do our work well.

The newspapers and journals of the party and all the propaganda work of the party must be beneficial to unifying the will and thinking of the party. Otherwise, what would we want an organ for? What would we want a Propaganda Department for? What would we want a party committee for? For unifying the thinking of the whole party and the whole people under the unified guidance of the party Central Committee's principles, policies and line. There are many existing ideological questions and ideological confusion. How can everyone unite as one and wholeheartedly engage in building the four modernizations? To unify our thinking and our will we must seek truth from facts and fully carry out the democratic principles and free discussions to attain unity. There are some questions that are not to be discussed publicly in newspapers or journals. Then discussion can be conducted within the party and within certain limits to enable everyone to fully express his opinions in order to arrive at an agreement on basic questions of principle--though not on all questions. There are many questions that can be freely discussed. Take, for example, questions on literature and art, education, philosophy, economics and history: why can we not discuss them freely? With public discussion, people's minds become more active, and more people will read the publications. That is the reason I feel that our party organs should create such an atmosphere. Many questions should be allowed to be discussed freely in our party organs. If one has expressed erroneous opinions in the course of discussion, one can be criticized and can also countercriticize. Criticism must be comradely and intended to benefit others. We have been talking about the double hundred principle for more than 20 years. The double hundred principle means free discussion. Without free development and free discussion, science, literature and art cannot progress. There could be some risks in free development and free discussion. But compared with the danger of mental ossification, these risks are much smaller. We would take these risks to make the thinking of our party and our people vigorous and to make them dare to speak out, express their opinions and engage in discussion. Therefore, I agree with the suggestion made by the majority of our comrades that we should make RED FLAG more lively and strive to achieve unified thinking through lively free discussions. Naturally, it is impossible to have total unity of thinking. Unity of ideas needs only to be arrived at on important questions of principle. When people's thinking has been enlivened and RED FLAG has played a role in unifying people's thinking, then it will gain authority.

Speech by Comrade Wang Renzhong:

First, let me thank everyone for attending this forum and for making many good suggestions. RED FLAG has had many accomplishments. But I still feel that, as an organ of the party Central Committee, RED FLAG is still a long way from meeting the party Central Committee's demands on the journal. It still has a long way to go in fulfilling the hopes our broad masses of party members and cadres have pinned on it. Regarding the question of how to strive to run the journal well, comrades of the editorial department of RED FLAG should discuss the suggestions made by our comrades today. After discussion they should draw up a plan on how the journal should be edited and what contents should be included in the second half of this year. Moreover, we hope that comrades present or absent from today's meeting, comrades in the theoretical circles and comrades in charge of actual work, will take up the responsibility with us. Everyone has asked that the Central Committee and the Propaganda Department strengthen leadership. We are also prepared to call a meeting specifically to study the work of running newspapers and journals. At the same time, I hope that everyone will go all out and strive hard. The existing problems cannot be solved by any one person alone. Did we not say that we have piles upon piles of problems? We indeed have many problems. Each one of us must work hard to conduct studies and write articles. Both long articles and short articles will be fine, but I hope that long articles will be avoided as much as possible and that there will be more articles of about 1,000 to 2,000 characters or 2,000 to 3,000 characters. Everyone is busy and does not have time to read long articles. Some questions can be discussed in several articles, with each article dealing with one idea. It is not necessary to have everything included in one long-winded article.

One question is very important, and that is how to integrate theory with practice. This is a question of principle in Marxism, and Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated this. To sum up in one colloquial expression, this is the question of how to shoot the arrow at the target. There are many "targets" at present. There are many questions that need to be answered. The questions to be answered are our "targets." Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our "arrow." Comrade Mao Zedong said that if one can explain one or two practical questions with the standpoint, viewpoint and methods of Marxism that is already a kind of achievement. The more questions one can explain, the greater the achievement. To be able to shoot the arrow at the target one must conduct investigations and study and hold forums. Some of our comrades are advanced in age and cannot get around or go to the countryside to gain firsthand experience, but it is quite all right for them to stay in Beijing. Although problems in the factories and rural areas in Beijing are not totally similar to those in other places, there may be many common problems. We can go to nearby places to hold forums, interview families of workers and peasants, hold meetings with workers, cadres and students, bring out questions and initiate debates and discussions among them. Articles written on this basis will be able to shoot the arrow at the target, because they will reflect the opinions and wishes of the masses and speak the language of the masses. In this manner our articles will be more lively, people will be more willing to read them and this can solve some problems.

CSO: 4004

CARRYING OUT ALL-ROUND QUALITY CONTROL IS A REVOLUTION IN PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 30-33

[Article by Zhu Shanren [2612 0801 0088], director of the Shanghai No 17 Cotton Textile Mill, in the column "How To Raise the Level of Business Management of Industrial Enterprises"]

> [Text] Editor's Note: One of the important tasks in socialist modernization is to discover some methods of business management which are suitable for our present conditions and for raising the level of business management of socialist industrial enterprises. Beginning with this issue, this journal will run a column, "How To Raise the Level of Business Management of Industrial Enterprises," to discuss some urgent problems concerning the management of present industrial enterprises. Readers are cordially invited to express their views. We hope they will write more short articles, each dealing with a specific topic.

In the past few years our country has imported some foreign techniques for all-round quality control, and many industrial enterprises have obtained outstanding results.

In 1979 our mill began its experiment. It was gradually popularized throughout the mill. After summing up the experiences of our own traditional management methods, studying the laws of quality control and proceeding from the realities in our country and our mill, we assimilated some advanced foreign experiences, discovered some methods for quality control and established an initial system of overall quality control in our mill. Since the popularization of this system we have reformed our old traditional methods, and, instead of passively reviewing our past performances, we took active preventive measures. Quality control by a small number of people was replaced by mass participation in quality control. In addition to the quality of our products, we attached great importance to the quality of our services, our work and our production costs. Instead of relying on our old experiences, we are now using statistical analysis and scientific data; and instead of the criteria set by the state, we are now relying on our customers' comments and the law of value as the final means of measuring our quality. Thus, quality control, production and business management have all undergone new changes.

What is all-round quality control? Simply speaking, it means mass participation in quality control in all phases of production, the establishment of a complete quality control system in all departments of an enterprise, the use of mathematical statistics as the basic means of control by all workers and staff members, giving full scope to special technology and management techniques and using the most economical research methods for the production and marketing of products which are as fine as the customers expect. An all-round quality control system applies to practically all sections of enterprise management. The intensification of this control system will prompt the enterprise to adopt various scientific methods to speed up the modernization of its management. An all-round quality control system calls for a real reform of the ideas, the system, the methods and the organization of management. This involves an organization of productive forces and an improvement of the relations of production and various spheres of the superstructure. That is why the intensification of an all-round quality control system inevitably will lead to a real revolution in production management and ultimately a further emancipation of productive forces for the speedy progress of the four modernizations.

In this reform we have introduced for ourselves the guiding thought of the "four alls" and "four wholes," meaning all for the customers' satisfaction, all actions guided by "prevention first," all calculations based on scientific data and all things following the PDCA (an abbreviation of the English words "planning, decision, checking and action") cycle; and the whole personnel participating in quality control, the whole work process highlighted by quality control, the whole work proceeding along the path of "quality first" and the whole area striving for greater, faster, better and more economical results. The idea of "four alls" and "four wholes" has become the orientation of efforts and the guideline for action among the broad masses of workers and staff members in our mill and has yielded outstanding results in production.

What criterion should we use in determining the quality of our products? The original idea was, first, to follow the state standard, or the standard set by the ministry, and, second, to follow the first-class goods index set by the higher authorities. Now these standards are obviously not enough. The standard set by the state represents only the minimum requirement, and the first-class goods index can only partially indicate the level of quality. The large number of problems with quality encountered every day are reflected in the opinions of our customers or consumers. They are not concerned with such questions as whether our products measure up to the state standard or how close our products are to the first-class goods index; they are only concerned with our products' use value and utility. In short, they only want fine goods at low prices. Therefore, only the direct users or consumers can render the final verdict on the quality of products. Since the quality of products is determined by their use value, we introduced the guiding thought of "all for the customers' satisfaction." In other words, we must have a clear understanding of the need for our products to satisfy the people's growing requirements. We used the customers' opinions as an important guide in raising the quality of our products as well as the orientation and motive force for the improvement of our work. This was how we became more ideologically enlightened after practicing all-round quality control. Through force of habit some departments in charge do not share this view in the evaluation of quality. In the textile trade the customary method of evaluating quality is still based on the comparison of goods according to their outward appearance, with no definite requirements for innate quality, particularly their usefulness. Use value is not used as a means of measuring quality, and no consideration is given to the amount of work and capital required to meet the quality standard. This method of evaluation can easily lead to the tendency to be concerned with appearance instead of real utility, or with quality alone without considering production costs.

We hold that the setting of standards and the evaluation of the quality of products should take into account both the products' performance and production costs. Recently we visited some customers and carefully listened to their comments on cloths of inferior quality. Later we tried to analyze the performance according to the principle of value and work. We classified our cotton-dacron of various qualities in the order of primary and secondary importance according to the requirements of the printing and dyeing mills. The result of the investigation clearly revealed a serious dislocation between the quality standard used by the cotton textile mills and the processing requirements of the printing and dyeing mills. For example, the cotton impurities, a matter of primary importance to the cotton textile trade, were considered to be of only secondary importance by the printing and dyeing mills, because these impurities could easily be eliminated in processing. On the other hand, the characteristics of being "firm, smooth and sleek," which are quite important to consumers who use the cloth to make garments, are not included in the quality standard, and were not even considered in the evaluation. This shows that we had not done enough to reduce cotton impurities. For textile mills the reduction of impurities in cotton yarn calls for great efforts and additional production costs. According to statistics, if a grain of impurity has to be removed from every gram of yarn, beyond the normal requirement, the production cost for each 100 tons of cotton yarn will be an additional 1,320 yuan. "Going too far still means not going far enough." The same principle applies to quality. Certainly, failure to satisfy the customers is not desirable; yet excessive demands on quality, even though the increased use value is negligible, will greatly increase production costs. Therefore, this "surplus quality" or "excessive quality" is inadvisable.

Enterprises are a system of production ecompassing people, money, materials, information and environment for the sake of meeting people's requirements. However, instead of being isolated or detached from the rest of the world, the system is related to the society outside in numerous ways. Enterprises as a system are in fact only a tiny portion of society as a whole. For all-round quality control, all forces within the enterprises should be mobilized, and all factors must be organized and coordinated in the best possible way. In other words, quality control should be carried out by the entire personnel and throughout the whole process. The quality of products comprehensively reflects the quality of everyone's work. "A thousand people's yarn mean ten thousand people's cloth," as the old saying goes among textile mills. We are now forming a system in which everyone, including the secretary, the plant director and every worker, will join in guaranteeing good quality. The entire process, including the checking of incoming raw materials, design for and trial manufacture of new products, control of procedures for the daily output of old products, delivery and marketing of finished products and calling on and serving customers, is scientifically and strictly controlled. We have also effectively controlled and standardized five factors affecting the quality of products, namely, raw and semifinished materials, human operations, technological methods, equipment maintenance and environment (particularly the temperature and humidity in textile mills), and we have insured better quality with better workmanship. Quality will be a matter of concern for not merely a small number of specially designated persons, but for the entire personnel; and in addition to the quality of finished products we have also paid attention to the quality of the entire work process. This is an important reform in quality control. If this reform is not coordinated with external conditions, we will meet with many obstacles and can hardly make any headway at all. For textile mills, raw materials are one of the important factors affecting quality and account for more than 80 percent of production costs. If the quality of raw materials is unreliable and the supply cannot be insured, it will be impossible to achieve high quality and stable production costs. At present the mill cannot do anything on its own initiative about the supply of raw materials. It has to carry on with whatever is supplied and has no choice at all. This is a serious problem for quality, and it must be solved through the joint efforts of the industrial and commercial systems.

To practice all-round quality control we have to depend on scientific data and make prevention our primary concern. This calls for adequate means and methods of scientific testing. At present the method of testing is mainly carried out by visual inspection, feeling by hand and other experiences of direct perception through the sense organs, and the result of testing is largely influenced by subjective factors. Tests of the quality of semifinished products in various processes are generally of a destructive nature requiring complex and time-consuming procedures, and the results are usually ascertained too late to prevent mistakes, thus failing to play any regulative or controlling role. Therefore, we must solve the urgent problem of advanced tools to be used for rapid and nondestructive testing. Since 1979, to meet the requirements for quality control, our technical personnel and workers have successfully improved an automatic machine for recording cotton impurities and equipment for automatically controlling the temperature of the size, and they have introduced the use of projection instruments, tensiometers, dioptric viscometers, and so forth for conducting scientific tests on the network of cotton fibers, the texture of fabrics, the tensile strength of yarn and the solidity of size with certain success. However, some instruments which require complex technology and are hard to manufacture should be supplied by the professional departments. Testing tools can be likened to the ear, the eye and the nerve system of quality control, and whether or not they are scientific and advanced has a close bearing on the level of industrial technology. Therefore, we must first step up our research on the production of advanced testing tools. This is an indispensable component of the entire system of quality control. The intensification of all-round quality control calls for precautionary measures, so that the flaws can be eliminated in the process of production. Besides relying on the workers' skill and their sensory perception as the means of control, we should also renovate our equipment and raise the level of automation in order to strengthen the monitoring and control systems. We must conduct vigorous research on the manufacturing of various kinds of advanced monitoring and control equipment, including electronic computers and single-engine automatic control installations.

Because of the socialization of production, the reform and improvement of quality require not only the coordinated efforts of various departments within the enterprises and high work performance on the part of the personnel, but also the cooperation and support of the trades and professions concerned. This will certainly lead to certain reforms and readjustments in the relevant spheres of the superstructure. It is said that pulling one strand of hair can produce movement of the whole body. Therefore, in carrying out all-round quality control we must mobilize all the social forces to conduct propaganda and education. All forces of the producers and consumers and those in the educational, scientific and technological, finance and trade departments and government offices must be organized and mobilized to handle this important link of all-round quality control in order to continue the revolution in production management.

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WHOLEHEARTEDLY SERVE THE CUSTOMERS--ON BUSINESS IDEAS FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 32-34

[Article by Diao Jinxiang [0431 6855 4382], director of the Zikong Dongxin Electric Carbon Plant, Sichuan]

[Text] Because of the experiment in expanding the enterprises' decision-making power, the personnel of the enterprises concerned are now going out to contact their customers and are producing according to the demand in order to make greater contributions to the four modernizations. The method of business operation is now included as an important item on their agenda. To improve business, everyone is now studying and exploring some good business ideas. The so-called business operation means people's economic activities in the production and distribution of material wealth. For an enterprise, it is not only a matter of producing what is needed by society and the consumers, but also of adopting methods for delivering its products to the departments and consumers who need them in order to better meet the ever-increasing demands of society and the people.

Different socioeconomic forms have different guiding business ideas. In a capitalist society the means of production belong to the capitalists, and the business ideas of capitalists are to gain maximum profits with minimum capital. Under the party's leadership, socialist enterprises, of which the workers are the masters, firmly adhere to the socialist orientation, and the purpose of their production is to meet the ever-growing needs of the people in their material and cultural life. Therefore, the business ideas of socialist enterprises should be to serve the customers wholeheartedly.

Serving the customers is a concrete form of serving the people and the four modernizations. This is a task which is determined by the nature and duty of socialist enterprises and is also a reflection of the basic socialist economic law.

Socialist enterprises should consciously adopt advanced technology and advanced processes and equipment and should continue to raise, improve and develop their production in order to meet the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people to the maximum extent. To attain this goal they must be concerned with the use value of their products and devote their energy to the quantities, varieties, specifications, designs, quality, appearance and packing of their products. The primary concern of factories is with their customers' satisfaction and the products their customers like to use. The products of an enterprise will have no use value if they fail to satisfy the customers. An important way to develop production is to strive for more popular use of their products so as to serve the customers more extensively and efficiently. According to the original design, our plant should produce carbon of only 22 varieties for the electric industry. Now the number of varieties has increased to 76, and in addition to large quantities of carbon of various varieties for the electric industry, we are also producing large quantities for the machinery, chemical, metallurgical and other special industries. The scope of our products has expanded from various trades and professions of the electric industry to the machinery, metallurgical, chemical, light industrial, petroleum, instruments and meters, and electronic departments. In 3 years of operation, from 1970, when our plant was commissioned, to 1973, our output doubled; and by 1978 our production had tripled. In 1979 the output value of new products amounted to 40 percent of the total annual output value, and the profits amounted to 50 percent of the total annual profits.

To serve our customers wholeheartedly we provided cordial, convenient and meticulous services to our old regular customers. At the same time we carefully check on the use of these types of products at home and abroad, study the situation carefully and dispatch technical service teams for propaganda and promotional work in society in order to obtain more new customers and expand our market. In the past several years we have popularized the use of our carbon graphite seal rings, graphite inflation rings, graphite flakes, graphite piston rings, graphite bearings, graphite axle bushings, graphite washers, and so forth, in addition to carbon materials for synthetic diamonds. While improving the quality and increasing the varieties of our products, the enterprise at the same time has paid attention to the reduction of production costs in order to supply good and low-priced products to our customers and to accumulate more funds for expanded reproduction.

So that our products can better meet customers' requirements, we carefully attended to scientific research, technical innovation and the tapping of potentials. The purpose of our scientific research was to lay the foundation for the supply of new products and the upgrading of our old products for the customers. At present one-third of all the engineering personnel in our plant are engaged in scientific research, and the area of our research site is gradually expanding. We have also added some new test instruments. The carbon graphite material research center, established in 1976, has produced 27 types of new products following research. Eleven of them have attained the advanced levels and met the customers' requirements fairly well. Improvement of technical equipment is an important means of raising the quality of products. For this purpose, our plant has adopted new technology, improved work conditions, set up technical workshops and trained a contingent of technical personnel skilled in designing, manufacturing and construction. Tapping potentials is an important measure for expanding reproduction and producing new products as soon as possible. In 1979, mainly through tapping potentials, our plant set up a processing workshop for new products manned by 80 workers. The output value reached 4.5 million yuan and enabled us to cater to the needs of more than 100 customers. This clearly shows that the needs of customers are the orientation, goal and motive force for an enterprise to conduct scientific research, technical innovation and the tapping of potentials.

The socialist economy is a planned economy. The business ideas of enterprises should correspond to planned and proportionate development and the law of value. First, the enterprises must be plan-conscious and strive to fulfill the plans handed down by the state, in time and according to the specified quality and quantity, so as to be sure that planned regulation plays the leading role in the enterprise's business activities. At the same time, it should attach great importance to the role of market regulation. An enterprise should think of the market, too. Through the relationship between supply and demand in the market it should discover the amount of products required and examine the quality of products. It should use the market as a mirror to reveal the correctness or incorrectness of its business ideas as well as the business results. It should frequently look at itself in the mirror, thinking over everything, and, if necessary, revise or adjust the production plans without delay.

When there is market regulation there must be competition. The main purpose of competition is to win over customers. Competition can stimulate the enterprise's innate motive force and bring changes in many respects, from business to forms of business activities and from the structure of management to the business mentality of workers and staff members. An enterprise can win the competition only when it has an efficient structure, effective management and high productivity.

Marketing is the vanguard of business operation. The marketing structure and sales force of an enterprise should be ready to join the competition. So that marketing can promote production, the sales department should have easy access to information through market investigations, analyses and forecasts. In a certain sense, knowledge of the extent of market demand is a prerequisite for winning the competition. The quality of products should be carefully attended to, and every means must be used to give satisfaction and provide convenience to the customers. This is the guarantee of victory in the competition. An enterprise's products must be strongly competitive in respect to quality, varieties, specifications, designs, prices, accessories, service and packing. Last year, when there was a serious imbalance between production and marketing and the state plan kept us working seriously under capacity, our plant adopted positive measures by forming a special sales organ with service centers in different places throughout the country. These centers are responsible for providing technical services, investigating the local markets and promoting sales. We also set up a file of our customers, paid them regular visits to ascertain the quality of our products and carried out various forms of propaganda and sales promotion. After some efforts we achieved outstanding results. Last year we fulfilled the state plan 2 months ahead of schedule, and the output value and profit levels were the highest since the inception of our plant. The regulative role of the market has opened more avenues for sales and added to the vitality of the enterprise.

The business ideas of serving the customers wholeheartedly on the part of socialist enterprises helped promote their modernization. Since our plant is engaged in producing electric carbon, we should try in every way to supply high-quality products and to make them available to all departments, trades and professions which can make use of them. This is the goal of our struggle and the orientation of our service. We must more effectively master new technology, new processes and new equipment with a view to modernizing the electric carbon industry and our plant. We will encounter many difficulties in managing the enterprise well. However, as long as our thinking and actions are truly oriented to serving the customers, these difficulties can be overcome, our service will be further improved and our enterprise will continue to develop.

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PERFECT THE REVOLUTIONARY LEGAL SYSTEM AND PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE--REMINISCENCES OF EMINENT COMRADE DONG BIWU'S OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL AND LEGAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 35-37

[Article by Jin Mosheng [6855 7817 3932]]

[Text] Comrade Dong Biwu [5516 1801 2976] was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, a great proletarian revolutionary and the PRC's earliest outstanding leader on the political and jurisprudence fronts. His brilliant militant career spanned several decades, and a large part of it was devoted to promoting political and legal work. He has left an indelible mark in the history of the development of our revolutionary government and socialist legal systems.

Eminent Comrade Dong was good at applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and law to study and sum up our practical experiences in building the revolutionary government. Before nationwide liberation he first worked in the Jiangxi revolutionary base area before being transferred to the areas under the government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the North China People's Government. Wherever he went he never stopped paying attention to the need for strengthening the revolutionary government and its legal system. He devoted his time to building our country's government system in a creative way. Commenting on the regulations of the people's congresses and our country's superior government system, he explicitly said: "Basically, our people's congresses or the political system under which they are organized fall under the category of the socialist system. The source of our political strength comes from the people's representative meeting or the system in which the people's congresses are organized, a system which represents the whole picture of our political life." He also pointed out: Once it was formed, a people's congress was not only a legislative body but also a working organ. It was an organizational form through which the people could take direct part in the administration of state affairs. Through this statement he pointed out the need for reforming the state organs as the most fundamental guarantee for the people to manage state affairs as masters of their own country. As a leader participating in the actual formation of the people's revolutionary government in the liberated areas, he fully endorsed the achievements of the people's congresses at all levels there. In 1948 he was elected chairman of the North China People's Government. From that position he began to concentrate great attention on building the organs of state power, especially those at the basic levels, on the basis of basic achievements of the old liberated areas in land reform. Furthermore, he gave strong support in the form of manpower and material resources to the battlefronts in close coordination with all units concerned. In addition to personally grasping the task of building district and township governments, he assumed a leading role in the drafting of the organic regulations for the district and township people's congresses and district and township governments, stipulating that all district and township governments shall be elected by the people's congresses at their corresponding levels. In October 1948 he invited cadres from the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei and Shanxi-Chahaer-Shandong-Henan border regions to a meeting held in Pingshan County, Hebei Province, to sum up our experiences in building the organs of state power. Since the PRC's founding these experiences have been used as a basis for shaping regulations for the local people's congresses at all levels and the National People's Congress. Eminent Comrade Dong attached great importance to this newborn government system. He once sent cadres of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee to Beijing, Shanxi, Chahaer, Hebei and other provinces to investigate, study and sum up their experiences in building local governments and to survey related problems. He sternly and promptly criticized those who viewed with contempt the representative meetings at all levels and the people's congresses and who substituted their administrative meetings for sessions of the people's congresses. He resolutely defended the people's right to manage their own country, fighting heroically for the consolidation and development of socialist democracy.

Eminent Comrade Dong studied and knew the law well. He applied the Marxist theory of the state and law to profoundly expose the hypocritical and reactionary nature of the capitalist legal system and realistically summed up new China's experience in building the organs of state power and the legal system, thus leaving us a rich legacy of essays and articles on these subjects, a cultural legacy which is highly valuable to our political and legal affairs front. He often interpreted the important functions and role of the revolutionary legal system from the scientific and theoretical points of view. In this connection, he pointed out: "Naturally, laws, statutes, regulations and rules are required to establish any new government. After the old system is smashed, we must strive to replace it with a new one. Otherwise, anarchism will prevail. How can the new order be maintained in the absence of laws, statutes, regulations and rules? We must act according to the new laws, regulations and rules as soon as they are established. The party must adopt positive measures to perfect our democratic legal system, safeguard the people's democratic system, strengthen the discipline of law and order and protect the people's democratic rights." This statement clearly tells us that the socialist legal system must be improved in order to safeguard socialist democracy, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and protect the interests of the broad masses.

On the basis of the dialectical relationship between the superstructure and the economic base, eminent Comrade Dong also stressed the need to strengthen the socialist legal system in coordination with economic development. In this connection, he explicitly proposed "a policy aimed at gearing judicial work to serve economic construction," along with measures to strengthen the socialist legal system. He also gave detailed reasons for putting the legal system at the service of economic construction.

In addition to interpreting the important functions and role of the legal system from the theoretical point of view, he was very active in revolutionary practice and in the development of the revolutionary legal system. As soon as new China was founded, he took direct part in the drafting of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," "The PRC Marriage Law," "The PRC Land Reform Law," "The PRC Regulations Governing Penalties Against Counterrevolutionaries," "The PRC Regulations Governing Penalties Against Corruption," "The PRC Program for the Enforcement of Minority Regional Autonomy" and many other laws. He also participated directly in the drafting of the "PRC Constitution" and the "Electoral Law of the PRC National People's Congress." At the same time, he devoted his energy to compiling and studying the criminal law, civil law and the law of criminal procedure of foreign countries. He also spared no effort to investigate and study the legal systems that had been in force since the PRC's founding.

Eminent Comrade Dong also worked hard and tirelessly to develop our revolutionary legal system. Before nationwide liberation he attached great importance to the development of an initial people's democratic legal system. In this connection, he pointed out: During the revolutionary civil wars, under the unified leadership of the party, various revolutionary base areas in our country adopted many policies and laws which represented the will of the people and interests of the revolution. Although these policies and laws were relatively simple in form and unavoidably tinged with local interests, they were instrumental in insuring the development of our revolutionary cause and were symbols of our people's democratic legal system in its budding stage. After nationwide liberation eminent Comrade Dong was particularly concerned with the development of the socialist legal system. Shortly after the PRC's founding he became vice premier of the State Council and chairman of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee. In addition to assisting Premier Zhou Enlai in handling state affairs, he was a principal leading member in charge of our country's political and legal affairs. At his special invitation, Premier Zhou Enlai addressed the first session of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee, giving important instructions on political and legal affairs. During the session eminent Comrade Dong also proposed the gradual perfection of the laws.

Because the legal system needed to be further improved at that time, he suggested to the comrades concerned that the Supreme People's Court take steps to compile all judicial precedents as reference. This suggestion was further endorsed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his 1962 instruction on the legal system. In his speech to the eighth party congress, eminent Comrade Dong pointed out: "Acting according to the law is a key to success in further strengthening the legal system." What does this mean? In response to this question, he said: "The meaning of 'acting according to the law' is twofold. First, laws must be enacted and proclaimed so as to turn all our citizens into law-abiding people. In other words, swift efforts must be made to improve all important laws that remain incomplete. Second, everyone must abide by the law. Provisions of all existing laws must be effectively enforced; everyone must act according to the law. The laws must be strictly observed by all judicial organs in an exemplary way. No one should be permitted to offend any law." This theme originating from eminent Comrade Dong, that everyone must act according to the law and abide by law and that laws must be enacted and improved was and still is an important guiding thought for further strengthening our legal system today. Over 20 years of practical experience, and especially the lessons we have drawn from the violation of the socialist legal system by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their cruel suppression of the people, clearly tell us that eminent Comrade Dong's critical comments on the "loopholes in our legal system" and "violation of the laws" and other legal problems constitute a golden axion which is still useful to us today.

Eminent Comrade Dong once stressed the need to educate party members, cadres and the broad masses in observing the laws through a propaganda campaign. In this connection, he said: "At present, law observation has become a problem that deserves the serious attention of the personnel of state organs. We must abide by the law and must lead the people in observing the law. This is essential to the implementation of our party's general line." He emphasized: "An urgent task in the process of further strengthening our legal system is to step up the campaign of publicity and education which is aimed at strengthening the sense of the legal system among the cadres and people. Only in this way can we help them understand what is legal and what is illegal, convince them that the state legal system should be strictly observed in order to guarantee their democratic rights, effectively implement our legal system and bring into full play the people's role in overseeing law enforcement."

Eminent Comrade Dong attached the greatest importance to the education of people in the law. Shortly after the establishment of the North China People's Government in 1948, he focused his efforts on training judicial cadres. As soon as the Central People's Government was established, he assumed a leading role in founding a new law research institute and in training cadres in political and legal affairs. In this connection, he pointed out that the training of cadres in operating the public security organs, the people's procuratorates and the people's courts must be carried out under a unified plan. He also secured the cooperation of Peng Zhen and Luo Ruiqing [5012 3843 0615] in founding the Central Political and Legal Cadre School. After learning that the Beijing University Law School was thoughtlessly closed in 1952 as a result of educational reorganization, he instructed the departments concerned to restore it. In addition to personally assigning his staff to take charge of the construction of the Beijing University Law School, he issued a detailed instruction regarding its teaching policy, student enrollment plan and faculty composition, an instruction which also emphasized the following three points: 1) Law must serve, but cannot be substituted by, politics; 2) we must learn from foreign countries in a way that takes into account China's actual needs; we should never learn from them in a dogmatic way; 3) we must rely on veteran cadres to operate the law school; we must make efforts to train young teachers and unite existing teachers to bring their role into full play. These timely teachings remain useful today.

He was also deeply interested in law research. In November 1949 he founded the New China Political Society and the New China Law Society. The former was headed by Lin Boqu [2651 0130 3255] and the latter by Shen Junru [1345 6874 0320]. Their purpose was to rally experts in political and legal affairs both inside and outside the party behind the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" and the common endeavor to successfully develop the legal system. In the spring of 1953 the two societies were merged into the China Political and Law Society under eminent Comrade Dong's personal direction. According to the provisions of its charter, the aim of this society was to rally comrades both inside and outside the party behind a common effort to study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and law, to apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method to remold our old ideas, to popularize legal knowledge, to provide experience in developing the legal system, to exchange knowledge about law with other nations and to participate in international debates on legal issues. All these fully reflected his perception of this political and law society. Following its inauguration, this society operated under his direct leadership. He personally chaired the first meeting of its board of directors and its succeeding standing committee meetings. The minutes of each meeting were personally reviewed and approved by him. In 1955 the law research institute was officially inaugurated with eminent Comrade Dong's blessing.

In 1953 the journal ZHENGFA YANJIU [POLITICAL AND LAW RESEARCH] was inaugurated in accordance with his proposal to promote research in political and legal affairs. In addition to personally writing the heading for the journal and the editorial for its inaugural issue, he dictated the following editorial policy to the comrades associated with this publication: 1) It must serve and never alienate itself from politics; 2) It must keep in touch with reality. As soon as each issue was off the press, he was briefed by the chief editor on its contents. He attached great importance to this publication. During each briefing he would pass on to the editorial department his opinions on the articles in the previous issue. He never stopped showing his concern for this publication, even after being appointed deputy head of state, a job which kept him very busy.

Eminent Comrade Dong repeatedly pointed out: The key to success in strengthening the socialist legal system lies in our efforts to strengthen the leadership of the party. He said: "The party must strengthen its leadership over the development of the legal system as an important step in further strengthening the people's democratic legal system." He pointed out: "The party can lead the organs of state power and the departments in charge of implementation of the legal system. But this does not mean that it can substitute for their functions." In specifying the correct relationship between party and state organs with the aim of strengthening the leadership of the party, eminent Comrade Dong said: "First, in its relation with the organs of state power the party must clearly advise them in what direction they should move and what work they should do; second, while overseeing their activities, it should remind them and their subordinate units of the need to carry out its policies; third, it should select and appoint loyal and able party and nonparty cadres to staff the organs of state power." Today this advice from eminent Comrade Dong remains valid in the correct handling of the relationship between the party and the government.

Furthermore, some speeches and actions which disregarded the legal system often drew severe criticism from eminent Comrade Dong. In 1951, after noting that the people's congresses were ignored by many localities and were never in session in scores of counties in north China, he severely criticized them for harboring such erroneous thoughts about the people's congresses during his appearance at the first meeting of county government leaders in north China. During the eighth national party congress held in 1958 he also sharply criticized those who disregarded the legal system and violated the laws. In 1959, in refuting the nihilist trend of thought aimed at closing the political and legal affairs colleges, he said: "This opinion is not shared by the central authorities." At a meeting attended by representatives of political and legal circles he repeatedly emphasized that the law could never be annihilated, nor could anyone take the job away from you or your next generation. This statement by eminent Comrade Dong, which warmed the hearts of political and legal affairs cadres at that time, was a clear indication of his dedication to the principle of the proletarian party character.

This spirit of loyalty to the party and people displayed by our esteemed and beloved Comrade Dong--a proletarian revolutionary--will forever educate and inspire us to advance from victory to victory.

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ON THE MARXIST OUTLOOK ON PRACTICE

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[Article by Xiao Qian [5135 0467]]

[Text] According to Marxist philosophy, the viewpoint on practice is of crucial significance in the entire Marxist theoretical system. Engels regarded the "Theses on Feuerbach," in which Marx for the first time defined the significance of practice, as "the first document in which the brilliant germ of the world outlook is deposited." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 208-209) Both Marx and Engels called "communism" the "materialism of practice," and Lenin held that the viewpoint on practice should be "the first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 142) In defense of Marxism, Comrade Mao Zedong published his famous work "On Practice." All this shows the extreme importance of the viewpoint on practice in the Marxist system. Without practice there can be no way to understand nature and society; without the viewpoint on practice there can be no scientific socialism. The discussion on the question of the criterion of truth after the smashing of the "gang of four" played a great role in emancipating the mind, doing away with blind faith and setting things right in the political and ideological lines precisely because this discussion is closely related to this most fundamental Marxist viewpoint.

The term "practice" is not an exclusively Marxist one. Some philosophers before and after the birth of Marxism spoke about "practice," and some of them even exaggerated its significance. Hegel was one of those who emphasized "practice," while the pragmatists have even regarded it as the starting point of their whole set of theories. Lenin pointed out that pragmatism "recognizes practice as the only criterion." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 349) The question is that their so-called "practice" is basically different from that of Marxism. In his letter to Li Da, dated 28 December 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The terms regarding practical application and efficiency used by pragmatists and cited in our criticism of pragmatism are similar in general to those being used by us. It is necessary to compare these terms with the terms we are using and make some explanations, because ordinary people cannot clearly distinguish between them." This should be the way for us to deal with pragmatism, as well as the other viewpoints which can easily be confused with the Marxist concept of practice. We must correctly understand the Marxist scientific definition of the concept of practice and clarify those viewpoints which people "cannot clearly distinguish" before we can comprehensively understand the Marxist viewpoint on practice. This is very necessary in consolidating and expanding the success of the discussion on the criterion of truth.

How should we interpret the Marxist concept of practice?

The concept of practice is inseparable from the basic question of philosophy.

Before the birth of mankind there was no such thing as a relationship between matter and consciousness. It was only through the practice of labor that apes became men and human society was created. Then consciousness in the world and the relationship between matter and consciousness came into being. Consciousness was the outcome of a long material development; therefore, matter is primary. The material world, if left entirely to itself, cannot meet human needs, so people must understand and transform it. The motive, purpose, plan and so forth of people for the transformation are based on their consciousness or subjective view. The subjective can reflect the objective only through practice. Again, it is only through practice that consciousness can transform matter and that the subjective can be translated into the objective. Practice is the source of contradictions between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective. It is also the foundation on which contradictions, in their motion, continue to arrive at a unity of opposites. If we do not understand practice, then we cannot correctly understand the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective. This is one aspect of the issue.

The other aspect is that without the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective we cannot correctly understand practice either. Marx criticized those who had always been pragmatists by pointing out that they were divorced from the material foundation and exaggerated the subjective aspect in an abstract way. At the same time he pointed out: "The chief defect of all hitherto existing materials is that the thing, reality, sensuousness is conceived only in the form of the object or of intuition, but not as human sensuous activity, pragmatism, not subjectively." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 16) Thus we can see that neither abstractly developing the subjective and being divorced from the objective nor one-sidedly stressing the objective by discarding the subjective can be conducive to a correct understanding of practice. Lenin clearly pointed out that the interlocking point of the subject and the object and of consciousness and matter is "equivalent to the practice of people and human history." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 310) Comrade Mao Zedong concisely and scientifically described practice as "the subjective translated into the objective." ("On Protracted War") All these are scientific definitions of the concept of practice based on the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective.

Since practice is "the subjective translated into the objective," it naturally refers to the activities of changing the realities. Activities which do not lead to any change of realities and which are purely perceptual activities, such as taking a look at or hearing about something, cannot be called practice. Generally, this interpretation is correct, that is, generally but not absolutely. Hegel said: "The sense organs of sight and hearing serve the purpose of knowledge; whatever we see and hear is left undisturbed. The sense organs of smelling and tasting, however, show the germ of practice, because we smell what we are going to eat and taste what we are going to swallow." ("Esthetics," Vol 1, p 178) This passage contains some rational substance. However, we should go further by saying that even in our sense organs of sight and hearing we should be able to detect the germ of practice. Instead of simply interpreting the "activities of changing realities" as a process of a direct change, we should also take into account the process of preparation indispensable for changing some object. All observations and investigations (seeing and hearing) intended as a preparation for changing realities, such as astronomic observations, geological surveys, social investigations, military reconnaissance and so forth, can be called practice. Lenin pointed out: "In practice which serves us as a criterion in the theory of knowledge, we must include also the practice of astronomical observations, discoveries, and so forth." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 140) Furthermore, what has been achieved in the activities to change realities and what has been gained from observation should also be regarded as practice. As Lenin said, Marx' "Das Kapital" "uses facts, that is, practice, as a means of examination at every step of his analysis." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 357)

All human activities conducted for a purpose are practice. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Marxists regard man's activities in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities." ("On Practice") He also pointed out: "Man's social practice is not confined to activity in production but takes many other forms--class struggle, political life, scientific and artistic pursuits; in short, as a social being, man participates in all spheres of practical life of society." ("On Practice")

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, many one-sided and narrow viewpoints on practice which violated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought were in circulation. Sometimes they used the most basic activity of practice, namely, activities in production, as a substitute for the entire social practice. All engineering and technical personnel and skilled workers were dubbed "aristocrats" divorced from the masses and were forced to undertake simple and crude physical labor. This viewpoint, which interprets the practice of production in terms of physical labor, discards the increasingly important role of mental labor in modernized production. This was purely a historical retrogression. Sometimes they one-sidedly stressed the practice of class struggle as the most fundamental practical activity and the determinant of all other activities, while production activity was dismissed as being insignificant and negligible. The common ground of these two viewpoints is that no mental labor in production, administrative control, artistic creation, scientific research and training people of talent by teaching can be regarded as practice, so that all people engaged in mental work were vilified as bourgeois elements or bourgeois intellectuals divorced from practice, and all people engaged in artistic, scientific and educational pursuits were forced to abandon their own professional activities of practice in order to take part in simple and heavy physical labor or to carry out the so-called "class struggle." In their opinion, this was the only way for those "elements" who were "divorced" from practice to be "remolded."

The above viewpoints are theoretically erroneous and contrary to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; in practice they are extremely harmful. They undermined the socialist economy and scientific, educational, cultural and artistic undertakings, disrupted socialist construction, and caused serious damage among patriotic intellectuals who were loyally dedicated to the socialist modernization. These viewpoints did nothing but harm to the cause of remolding the intellectuals' world outlook and helping them accept the socialist and communist scientific theories. Lenin pointed out long ago that scientists and engineers recognized communism by taking the road of their own professional practice. (See "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 475) The life of our outstanding scientist Li Siguang [2621 0934 0342] is the most eloquent proof of the accuracy of Lenin's statement.

Speaking of social practice as a whole, it should be correct to say that the activity of production is the most fundamental practice which determines all other activities. For each individual in the social division of work, his own professional activities are the main practice, while anyone neglecting his own profession is the worst offender in being isolated from the masses. Of course, professional practice cannot be disassociated from the entire social practice or from the most fundamental practice of activity in production. For example, literary and art workers engaged in creative work or educational workers engaged in teaching are certainly not "divorced from the masses." Quite the contrary, they are engaged in the special part of practice which is indispensable in the social division of work. This does not at all mean that literary and art workers should only be concerned with creative work and that educational workers should be concerned only with teaching. Instead, they should have extensive contacts with everyday life and be concerned with and even play a direct role in various forms of social practice. This is also one way for them to draw nourishment and to enrich themselves, so that their own professional practice will better fit in with the entire practice of socialist construction.

The scientific definition of the concept of practice and the in-depth exposition of the substance of practice according to Marxist philosophy have revealed the characteristics of practice in many aspects, among which the most basic are: objectivity, man's dynamic role and social historical significance.

First, practice means the subjective translated into the objective.

This first of all means that practice is a type of objective "perceptual activity," or some material activities which people can directly or indirectly feel. The kind of practice which idealists talk about is usually imperceptible through people's sensory organs, because it is the outcome of subjectivism or the innate spiritual activity produced through divine revelation. This idealist practice is basically wrong, because the subject (man) of practice, the object (objective world) of practice and the means (tools, machinery) of practice are all perceptible objective realities. The process of practical activities and their results are also perceptible objective things. Therefore, no matter from which angle it is viewed, practice is objective activity.

Yet, instead of ordinary objective activities, practice is a special activity by which the subjective is translated into the objective. Human beings are no ordinary animals, but a higher form of animal with an inner subjective world and the power of thinking and reasoning. If materialism does not attempt to interpret practice from people's subjective aspect, it will not be able to distinguish between human practice and the activities of other animals or to correctly interpret the special objective activity of practice. Marx pointed out that animal activities, even those as intricate as a spider web and a beehive, are, after all, some form of unconscious, instinctive activity which does not constitute an activity of labor practice. The labor practice of human beings, even though clumsy and crude is, after all, subjectively controlled and consciously carried out with a purpose. It is therefore far superior to the other animal activities.

Human practice has evolved from animal activities. Lenin said: "Instinctive man, the savage, does not distinguish himself from nature, but conscious man does." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 90) It is still very difficult to clearly distinguish the practice of savages from animal activities, because this type of practice usually lacks a purpose and planning. Only the practical activities of conscious man can be clearly distinguished from animal activities.

Man's practical activities are planned and purposeful. However, this does not mean that all man's purposes and plans conform to objective laws. When the purposes and plans do not conform to objective laws, practice will not be able to attain its expected goal. In fact, people cannot make all their purposes and plans conform to objective laws, since their practice inevitably includes some elements of blindness and spontaneity. The development of human practice calls for the constant increase of consciousness and the reduction of blindness and spontaneity. Knowledge and rationality provide people's practice with real strength. The practice of modernized production demands that every worker have more natural and social knowledge, stronger theoretical and mental power and a high concentration of will and attention in the course of practice. The practice of modernization also demands that every worker gradually become an intellectual. Anyone who does not understand the roles of knowledge and the subjective element in practice will not truly understand practice, and, most of all, the practice of modernization. Anyone who does not actively remold his own world outlook and does not have high socialist consciousness, the necessary modern knowledge and technology and the theoretical mental power will not be able to make real contributions to the realization of the socialist modernization through his own practice.

Practice is the bridge between the subjective and the objective, as well as an objective activity producing interactions among subjective things. This activity has a profound effect on both the subjective and the objective. It enables the subjective to reflect the objective and serves to examine the truth behind the reflection and knowledge. It also helps determine whether our subjectiveness corresponds to the objectiveness.

The practice mentioned here is certainly not the "practice" conceived of by the solipsists or pragmatists (the "practice" which discards objective logic or laws and which has a subjective or arbitrary element), but the kind of practice interpreted in materialism. Lenin pointed out: "For the materialist, the 'success' of human practice proves the correspondence between our ideas and the objective nature of the things we perceive (or the objective logic or law of the thing itself--the author). For the solipsist, 'success' is everything needed 'by me in practice' which can be regarded separately from the theory of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 139) When we examine practice we must relate it to the theory of knowledge and to the relationship of unity of opposites, or the relationship of the subjective and the objective.

Since practice cannot be separated from subjective guidance, there are different levels of practice. Some fairly simple truths can be proved in the practice of our daily life. For example, "the test of the pudding is in the eating," or if you want to know how a pear tastes, bite a mouthful yourself. However, there are complex and profound truths which usually conflict with our common knowledge. These truths cannot be proved by the practice of daily life, which contains certain blindness and spontaneity which are without scientific theoretical guidance. For example, it would be best for us to cite Einstein's theory of time and space. The practice which serves the purpose of testing truth is undoubtedly an objective activity. However, since it is the objective activity of translating the subjective into the objective, we must also note the role of the subjective element. Without certain scientific knowledge as the foundation; without the necessary material means (materialized scientific theories); without the guidance of correct logical and theoretical ideas; and without an indomitable spirit or will on our part, practice will not be able to touch on the profound and objective nature of things, and this kind of practice cannot be used to test the truth of the objective reflection of things.

After all, practice is the activity of translating the subjective into the objective; therefore, in our discussion we have to repeatedly stress the role of the subjective in practice and the importance of our consciousness in further remolding our subjective world. However, we must never forget that, no matter how important the subjective role may be, practice, after all, is still a kind of objective perceptual activity. This objective activity is different from ordinary animal activities, because it is man's activity with a purpose.

Second, practice is a dynamic activity.

The dynamic nature of human practice is manifested in two aspects: One is to transform the world through practice, and the other is to dynamically understand the world through practice. These two different aspects are closely related and mutually supplementary. In the course of transforming the world, mankind gradually comes to understand the world, and its better knowledge of the world in turn strengthens its power to transform the world.

The world conceals its essence behind its outer false appearance. Animals cannot think and therefore cannot reflect the essence of the world by seeing through the outer false appearance. Mankind can think and grasp the essence of things by seeing through the outer false appearance. "But it is precisely the alteration of nature by men, not solely nature as such, and it is in the measure that man has learned to change nature that his intelligence has increased." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 551) Precisely because of this, the materialist theory of dynamic reflection is built on the foundation of an accurate understanding of practice.

Practice is able to provide subjectiveness with the dynamic ability of thoroughly knowing the essence of things only because, in the course of transforming the world, it can tear off the layers of outer false appearance and thus reveal the real essence of things. Essence is universal, natural and governed by laws, but it lurks behind an outward appearance. Practice can help people to raise their knowledge from the level of individual perception to the level of universality and rationality and to apply the experiences gained from individual, particular and limited practical activities to similar practice but on an infinitely wider scope. This is why practice itself has the superiority of universality. In the activities of practice there is a process of change from the individual to the general, from the particular to the universal, and from limited to unlimited activities. As to whether the universal theories which people gain from practice represent truth and whether these theories correspond to objective reality, this has to be ultimately tested by practice. At the same time, it is only practice that can transform theories into realities, or realistic theories. Therefore, as Lenin said, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality but also that of immediate actuality." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 230)

The ultimate purpose of knowing the world is to transform it, and the extent of the dynamic role of practice in transforming the world is determined by the depth and accuracy with which the objective nature of things can be revealed in practice. "The 'objective world' 'pursues its own course,' and man's practice, confronted by this objective world, encounters 'obstacles' in the 'realization' of the end, even 'impossibility'..." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 231) As long as people deeply and clearly understand the objective nature of objective things and act accordingly, then practice will be able to play the dynamic role of solving these problems. Therefore, our materialists' interpretation of the dynamic role is different from that of the idealists, because we hold that a dynamic role, instead of being abstract and arbitrary, is controlled by the objective nature of things, or objective laws. In a certain sense, the dynamic role of practice in transforming the world is the dynamic role of knowledge based on objectivity and essentiality.

In practice, mankind dynamically transforms not only the objective but also the subjective world by constantly increasing the power of logical thinking, or the power to know the objective world. An accurate knowledge of the objective world is inseparable from correct logical thinking. The logic of thinking is nothing more than the reflection of objective logic in human subjectiveness. The reflection of objective things by mankind is the dynamic outcome of practice, and thus logic is also the outcome of the dynamic role of practice. "Man's practice, repeating itself a thousand million times, becomes consolidated in man's consciousness by figures of logic. Precisely (and only) on account of this thousand-million-fold repetition, these figures have the stability of a prejudice and an axiomatic character." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 233) The importance and reliability of the role played by logic in knowledge has been tested in practical experience throughout human history. The truths proved by practice in history have certainly been strictly tested by logic. Since the objective world itself is a united organic entity, having its own laws and its own objective logic, people should first learn in practice about logic from the objective world itself. The objective world is the first teacher of logic for mankind. We cannot exclude logic from practice or exclude practice from logic. We must correctly and dialectically unite them on the basis of practice before we can truly interpret practice and correctly master the dynamic role of practice.

We discover truth in practice and use practice to test truth. Practice as the sole source of knowledge and the sole criterion for testing truth, which we often talk about, must not be misconstrued as the exclusion of logical thinking, because practice is the outcome of objective logic which develops naturally, and the logic of thinking is the reflection of objective logic in practice. Practice itself includes logic and is inseparable from logic. Without logic, practice will lose its dynamic nature. That was why Lenin said: "Logic means the question of truth." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 186) The long historical development of human practice shows that the knowledge which seems to have been proved by practice but not correctly and strictly tested by logical theories is unreliable and can usually be revised or totally rejected by the subsequent development of practice. There are usually different interpretations of what has been proved and what has not been proved by the result of practice itself. Therefore, we still need to conduct a complete logical analysis of the practice which serves to test truth.

Through experiments, Pasteur once "proved" that inorganic matter can never produce anything organic. In fact, what his experiments actually proved was only that, under the conditions then existing and within a very short time to come, lifeless things cannot produce any life. Engels conducted a logical and theoretical analysis of Pasteur's experiment and pointed out that this type of practice could by no means prove what it had to prove. In strictly logical terms, he demonstrated that at the very beginning, life must have come from lifeless things. The historical development of human practice has proved that Engels, not Pasteur, is right (although, of course, it cannot be denied that Pasteur's practice had great significance in other respects). The long historical experience in the development of human practice has shown that people cannot be satisfied with practical experiences or with knowing what has taken place but not why it has taken place. They must supplement such experiences with the proof of logical theory. Practice in mapmaking has on numerous occasions proved the truth of the four-color theory. But mankind was still not satisfied and had to spend over 100 years in the search for further proof; it was not until recently that a proof by strictly logical and mathematical theories was found after thousands of hours of electronic computer operation. Henceforth the four-color theory is accepted as truth beyond doubt. The proof based on Goldbach's imagination can only be depended on as sound logic, because the working out of numerous sets of indefinitely large numbers is basically impossible in practical experience. Thus, logical proof is of great significance in the establishment of truth. Anyone denying or overlooking this point will commit the error of empiricism or even idealism. Pragmatists (subjective-idealist empirists) are nonlogicians. They insist that whatever is useful in practice constitutes truth, but the "practice" they talk about excludes logical thinking and is only a "reaction" to external "stimuli" and an activity to "suit the environment"; and the "truth" they talk about does not mean the correct reflection of the objective by the subjective, but only whatever is useful to them. They do not recognize the objective logic of the world itself or the necessity of logical thinking. They only regard the world as something created out of people's subjective and arbitrary thinking.

It is of course necessary that the truth of any theory be tested by practice. However, really scientific theories and logical deductions can also play the role of "revising" practice. Mendeleyev discovered the periodic law of elements on the basis of a huge amount of practical materials and, based on logical deduction, predicted the appearance of eka-aluminum. In 1975, Lecoq de Boisbaudran, a French chemist, discovered the element gallium. Mendeleyev wrote to the Paris Academy of Sciences saying that the specific gravity of gallium should be about 5.9 instead of 4.7. Boisbaudran reexamined the result of his experiments and discovered some problem with the purity of gallium. He therefore conducted a fresh test of the specific gravity of gallium. The result of the test showed 5.94, which confirmed Mendeleyev's prediction.

Recognition of and due emphasis on the role of logical proof not only does not conflict with "practice as the sole criterion of testing truth," but also provides a further scientific explanation of this theory, because, as we have strongly pointed out, logic is produced in practice, and the strength of logic also comes from practice. The importance and reliability of logical proof has been confirmed by the long historical development of human practice. The spiritual strength of logic, through practice, can dynamically transform objective material forces. The strictly scientific dynamic role of logic is none other than the indirect and concentrated expression of the dynamic nature of practice. Respect for logic, far from conflicting with respect for practice, is actually a requirement for respecting practice. Belittling the strength of logic actually means belittling the practice of millions upon millions of people. In the final analysis, what has the highest prestige is practice, nothing but practice. In other words, there is but one final criterion for the testing of truth, and that is practice.

Practice can play the dynamic role of knowing and transforming the world, because people, in the course of practice, make, use, improve and invent tools, instruments, machinery and so forth, and all these manmade material things are used to supplement human perception, the human hand and the physical and mental strength of human beings. People use machinery, instruments and so forth to transform the world, and these activities in turn promote their mental development. Therefore, people's natural attributes cannot restrict the dynamic role of their practice, and there is unlimited potential in people's dynamic roles. Practice is the most powerful rebuttal to agnosticism. These tools, instruments and machinery are the result of human rationality materialized in practice, and human rationality is the outcome of the dynamic role of practice.

What has been demonstrated above shows that practice carries out dynamic activities in many different ways, and that the dynamic role of practice constantly develops with immense vitality.

Third, practice is social historical activities.

Practice began as social practice, which has also advanced along with historical developments. If we consider the activities of an individual in isolation from their social and historical relationship, we cannot correctly understand practice. These activities cannot serve as a dependable criterion for testing truth either.

The same principle applies to the revealing of truth about social phenomenon. As Lenin said, "The most widely used, and most fallacious, method in the realm of social phenomena is to tear out individual minor facts and juggle with the examples. ...Facts, if we take them in their entirety, in their interconnection, are not only stubborn things, but undoubtedly proof-bearing things. Minor facts, if taken out of their entirety, out of their interconnection, if they are arbitrarily selected and torn out of context, are merely things for juggling, or even worse." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 279)

Social practice is the sum total of various interconnected and mutually regulative activities of different people. We must connect these different, or even directly conflicting, activities before we can comprehensively and meticulously test the truth of our knowledge in the light of their differences, their connections or their sum total. Only such social practice can be a reliable means of testing.

We cannot truly understand the dynamic nature of practice if we do not understand its social nature, because the dynamic nature of practice and the social nature of practice are closely related and simultaneously developed.

People usually say that man is the cleverest and the strongest of all animals. However, some biologists say that man is the weakest of all animals, because a man entirely cut off from his social relations--a biological man--will simply be incapable of surviving under natural conditions as other animals do. This assertion is of profound significance. The reason is that man's strength comes from social relations. To challenge this viewpoint by citing the experiences of Robinson Crusoe, who lived on an uninhabited island, would be futile. It is true that among living things on an uninhabited island, Crusoe, though separated from the outside world, was still the strongest one. He could still be called strong even in comparison with the native who came to the same island by chance. However, he was strong only because of his scientific knowledge, technical skill, gun, ammunitions, tools and so forth which came from a civilized society, and a civilized society is superior to a native society. Therefore, Crusoe's individual practice was essentially a form of social practice, and it was not, and could not be, entirely separated from social relations; otherwise there can be no way to explain the dynamic nature of Robinson Crusoe's practical activities.

All things are in a perpetual state of change, and the dynamic nature of practice is no exception. In social relations, people incessantly coordinate their activities and strengthen their relationships; they exchange ideas among themselves and teach and cooperate with one another in developing science and technology. Thus, people's dynamic role in transforming and knowing the world continues to grow at an ever-increasing speed. At the present stage of development of social practice, science and technology have elevated man's dynamic role in knowing and transforming the world. The depth and breadth of the transformation are far beyond past imagination, and the speed of development is unprecedented and astonishing. Without a historical viewpoint, therefore, we cannot correctly understand social practice and even less modern practice.

The historical development of practice has also brought people into increasingly closer and broader social relationships. During the primitive age the social relations of people's practice were usually confined within such small common bodies as clans, tribes and so forth. Contacts among these common bodies were also very rare, and their relationships were not close or practically did not exist. The development of practice brought different common bodies into closer relations, and the common bodies gradually grew into nations, states and so forth. The social relations of human practice has even transcended national and state barriers. In the modern age the historically developing practice has expanded the social relations of mankind to a global scale including all mankind, and these relations are continuing to become closer.

Historically, the social nature of practice develops in zigzags instead of vertically. Within the primitive clans and tribes, practice had some social character, because when the productive forces were extremely insignificant, the collective strength of all social members had to be counted on in any undertaking. The appearance of iron strengthened the productive forces and made individual production possible on a small scale. This adversely affected the social collective character of practice and gave prominence to the individual roles in social practice. Small individual production continued to develop for thousands of years, and in people's minds a narrow concept of practice which one-sidedly stressed the individuals' roles was gradually formed. It was not until the age of large-scale machinery production that the social collective character of practice gradually reasserted itself. This social nature is based on a large-scale and complex social relationship which is basically different from that of the primitive age.

The practice of scientific experiment, which is closely related to modern large-scale machinery production, also has the character of small individual production at the very beginning. In the modern age, however, the practice of scientific experiment has gradually acquired an ever-increasing social collective character in the course of its own development. Socialist society is historically inevitable and superior simply because it makes people and human relations adaptable to the continued development of the social collective character. The force of habit of small individual production, which has lasted for thousands of years; the conservatism which is content with staying behind closed doors instead of attempting any progress; the quest for the "small and all-inclusive," the "large and all-inclusive," "absolute self-reliance," and so forth is entirely incompatible with the strong social collective character required in modern practice. Facts have proved that such ideas have caused serious harm to our socialist modernization.

Historical development, if separated from practice, not only makes it difficult for us to understand what human knowledge is, but also prevents us from making a comprehensive and in-depth interpretation of the role of social practice in the discovery and testing of truth. Social practice is in a certain sense the outcome of history and has certain historical limitations. However, there is no limit to history's progress, which will break through all limitations. Important scientific discoveries in history were usually made by different people of different countries at the same time. For example, the periodic law of elements was discovered at the same time by Mendeleyev of Russia and Meyer of Germany, while Newton of England and Leibniz invented calculus. Such phenomena were by no means incidental; instead, they were determined by social practice which had matured in history. Because of the further advance of social practice, Mendeleyev's periodic law has been further refined and perfected. Instead of the quantity of atoms, the ordinate numbers of atoms are now used to explain the periodic changes in the character of elements. Chemists have rejected alchemy through scientific experiments, pointing out that one type of element cannot be transformed into another. Modern experiments in nuclear physics have proved the possibility of interchanges among elements, but instead of confirming the correctness of alchemy, these experiments merely revealed the limitations of chemical experiments and pointed out that what the chemists could reject was only the idea of the alchemists trying to change elements with chemical methods. What chemical methods failed to accomplish was accomplished by the experiments of nuclear physics. The basic idea in alchemy that elements are interchangeable is still correct, although the methods used were entirely wrong. From this we can see the need for us to examine social practice from a historical point of view so that we can realize that human knowledge is an endless process of development from relative truth to absolute truth. Practice as a criterion of truth is both correct and incorrect. Because of historical limitations, social practice as a means of testing truth may be somewhat incorrect, but historical development can eventually confirm social practice as a means of testing beyond question the truth of knowledge.

In short, practice is the activity of translating the subjective into the objective, which is a dynamic as well as social activity. This is the Marxist concept of practice.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL EDUCATION AMONG MIDDLE AND PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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[Article by the Education and Public Health Department of the Hangzhou Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] Middle and primary schools are important training and education centers for youngsters. Strengthening ideological and moral education among middle and primary school students is a very significant step in insuring success in the four modernizations and in enhancing the healthy growth of youngsters.

Youngsters are successors to the revolutionary cause who will form a new political and reserve force for socialist modernization. Our purpose in realizing the four modernizations is to create affluent material wealth, to build a high-level spiritual civilization and to make our country more prosperous than ever. Nevertheless, we must understand that our modernization is being carried out in a country known for its large population, its weak economic foundation and less-developed science and culture. For this reason, our youngsters are required to foster lofty revolutionary ideals and display a forward-looking revolutionary spirit. Furthermore, we must know that class struggle, bourgeois ideas and the remnant influence of feudal ideology still exist in certain parts of our country; as a result of our increasing contacts with foreign countries, decadent foreign and obsolete bourgeois ideologies may flow through various channels to influence us; the struggle to win the support of youngsters still exists in the ideological and cultural fields and in everyday life. Our current urgent task is to conscientiously study the new situation on the ideological and cultural front, the deportment of youngsters and laws governing their growth, and to develop effective measures to painstakingly educate and train youngsters until they can recognize all forms of nonproletarian ideas and resist the erosion of their influence. To this end, middle and primary schools must thoroughly implement the party's educational policy, a policy aimed at transforming youngsters into "three-good" students through education and helping them develop morally, intellectually and physically. Primary and secondary education is a period of training in which students can lay a groundwork for developing their moral qualities, intellectual aptitudes and physical strength. During this crucial period a stage is set for youngsters to gain knowledge, build up their physique and shape their world outlook. Everyone must begin to study science and culture and build up his physique when he is still young; the same is true of those who want to become acquainted with revolutionary ideals and acquire noble moral qualities. Whether we can help each student lay an educational groundwork in an all-round way during this period will have a direct impact on his future and a bearing on the outcome of our socialist modernization and the destiny of our country and nation.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, the level of knowledge among students dropped sharply, because teachers could not teach and students could not learn. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," chaos has been eliminated and order restored; vast numbers of teachers have begun to attach importance to intellectual education; great numbers of students have studied diligently and worked hard to acquire scientific and cultural knowledge. This is really something to be celebrated. But we must further strengthen ideological and moral education among the students, help them foster far-reaching revolutionary ideals and clearly advise them of objectives of study and pass on to them our revolutionary spirit of hard struggle. Only in this way can we induce them to study enthusiastically and spontaneously and inspire them to study diligently to realize the four modernizations and strive to scale the peaks of science and culture.

At present it is necessary to strengthen ideological and moral education among middle and primary students as a measure to consolidate and develop an excellent political situation of stability and unity. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the main trend of thought among middle and primary school students has been good. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that all students now in school were either born or grew up during the 10-year turbulent Cultural Revolution. Most of them grew into maturity at a time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, confusing right with wrong, glory with disgrace, good with bad and beauty with ugliness. Certainly this exerted an impact on these little souls. This is why a number of students influenced by unhealthy ideas are now lacking in lofty ideals, are too realistic and are interested only in seeking comfort and amenities. Of these students, some take a gloomy view of their future and do not trust the four basic principles, while others show no regard for civilization and morality, are impolite, like to curse and beat people, and do whatever they wish. Some of them even have committed crimes, thus seriously jeopardizing social order and public security. For this reason we must counter these problems that have cropped up among the students with an ideological education program, a program which must be patiently and meticulously executed; we must help them eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and constantly resist all forms of nonproletarian ideology. Over the past year we have scored remarkable successes in this field. The normal order of teaching and learning has now been restored to the schools, the juvenile delinquency rate has declined greatly, good personalities and good deeds have continued to emerge in schools and the atmosphere in schools has returned to normal.

Practical experience tells us that the decision to strengthen ideological and moral education among the students is in our national interest and will have a stabilizing impact on school life and can play a great role in improving the quality of education.

Every school should regard teaching as its central task, induce students to devote their energy mainly to learning, and integrate ideological and moral education with the teaching process. This should be regarded as a basic step to open ideological and moral education to students. Learning remains the main activity of students. In the entire teaching process, which includes the students' desire to learn and teachers' instructions, teachers must accompany their lectures on science and culture with a program to transmit to students the revolutionary ideas and a question-and-answer period in which difficult problems can be solved. Only in this way can the groundwork be laid for cultivating a proletarian world outlook and good moral qualities among the students. In other words, teaching and ideological and moral education for students should be closely interrelated.

For example, a language class offers students not only linguistic knowledge but also ways for them to cultivate a personality of moral excellence; a history class imparts to students the long history of their motherland, and a geography class introduces them to its beautiful mountains and rivers and rich natural resources. In addition to enabling students to enrich their knowledge of history and geography, the two classes can also enlighten them on the meaning of patriotism and historical materialism. Courses in mathematics, physics and other natural sciences will enable students to acquire basic knowledge of natural sciences and basic technical skills and acquaint them with dialectical materialism and the systematic scientific method. It goes without saying that the course in politics provides an important forum on ideological and moral education for students. We must do everything possible to make ideological and moral education a success. To this end we must offer it in coordination with other courses and make it an integral part of every teaching program. Ideological and moral education is certain to yield great fruits as long as it can be made an integral part of every teaching program. Despite this, we still have to distinguish the normal teaching process from the process of ideological and moral education. When ideological education is combined with other courses, its content cannot be freely expanded in each specific course. Although teachers are helpful in cultivating good ideas and moral qualities among the students, the students themselves must also undergo practical tests. For this reason, in stressing the need for coordination between teaching and ideological and moral education, we should never give up other forms of political and ideological work. School party organizations, communist youth leagues (CYL) and young vanguard teams should devote their spare time to backing up the regular teaching programs with versatile, constructive extracurricular activities aimed at overcoming erroneous ideas among the students.

The ideological and moral education programmed for middle and primary school students must emphasize training in a positive way and the method of persuasion, enlightenment and advisement. It is known that youngsters can be easily remolded and are good at imitation and full of imagination. Their disadvantage is that they lack basic knowledge of Marxism and elementary knowledge of history and therefore are unable to distinguish new China from the old and right from wrong. On the basis of this characteristic, we must make vigorous efforts to acquaint them with the scientific socialist ideology and communist code of ethics and help them realize a revolutionary philosophy of life and consciously resist all forms of nonproletarian ideology. In dealing with the ideological problems facing the students, we can only adopt the method of enlightenment rather than any highhanded measures to block their expression of ideas. We must pay attention to the good qualities of students, consolidate and develop these qualities and help the students to foster advanced examples worthy of emulation by youngsters.

We must widely publicize and put into practice the code of conduct for primary and middle school students issued by the Ministry of Education. This code of conduct is another important method for educating students in a positive way and for acquainting them with the basic demands placed on them by the party and state. Since last year we have explained to students this code of conduct point by point and supplemented it with some regulations governing student activities in school, notably the student admission, classroom and hygienic regulations. Students are required to observe these regulations, which are expected to play a role in fostering good moral qualities among the students, in getting teaching programs well organized and in creating a healthy atmosphere in the schools.

Ideological and moral education must be conducted in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts and in a way that is suitable to each specific student. Only in this way can it produce its intended results. It is necessary to specifically analyze the trends of thought among the students and their progress in learning. Different educational methods must be adopted for different students. We must place greater demands on those "three-good" students who have achieved academic success in an all-round way and advise them to guard against arrogance and impetuosity and to inspire other students to make the same progress. In dealing with students of good academic standing who take an indifferent attitude toward politics and collectives, we must advise them that the purpose of education is to help them raise their cultural levels, make progress in the political field, keep to the orientation of being both Red and expert and transform them into full-fledged "three-good" students. In dealing with students who have fallen behind others in learning and ideological and moral education, we must give them patient education and assistance on the basis of their actual needs; we must wholeheartedly pay attention to their well-being and their progress in learning and in the ideological field, help them bring their positive factors into full play, guide them through a difficult period of learning to win victory and lead them to advance along a path to a bright future. Only in this way can they move forward confidently and make constant progress in the ideological field and in learning. In offering students ideological and moral education, it is necessary to take into account their age. Generally speaking, the younger the students, the lower their ability to comprehend and absorb abstract ideas. For this reason we must concentrate on developing a variety of school activities in conjunction with ideological and moral education. Furthermore, exciting and lively games of educational value that can attract the students' interests should be organized to expose them to ideological and moral education in a graphic way, to help them increase their knowledge, to provoke their thinking and to enhance their growth morally, intellectually and physically.

A mighty team is needed to provide ideological and moral education for middle and primary school students. Party and CYL organizations and various school departments must take concerted action to give students ideological and moral education in every conceivable way. Homeroom teachers, CYL cadres, young vanguard team instructors and political instructors can form a special team in charge of political and ideological work in school. Under the leadership of the party, they are urged to do a good job and fully play an active role in this field. Few in school can exert greater influence on students than teachers, who assume a predominant role in teaching. In addition to successfully guiding students through various courses and focusing attention on their progress, teachers must also give them ideological and moral education and combine book knowledge teaching with instructions on the philosophy of life. Since our teachers meet students almost every day, every move the former take may have profound impact on the latter. In addition to being a good preceptor, a teacher must also pay attention to the conduct of students. In other words, he himself must set a good example for youngsters to follow and impress students with his exemplary deeds and noble moral qualities.

The decision to give students ideological and moral education and to transform them into a reserve force for the four modernizations is a strategic move of great importance and a difficult and complicated task which cannot be accomplished by schools and education authorities alone. This form of education cannot yield good results unless the entire party attaches importance to it, the entire nation is committed to its success and schools, families and forces in society are mobilized to do a good job in this field. Thanks to the strengthened leadership of the Hangzhou Municipal CCP Committee and the common efforts of schools and society, this form of education programmed for middle and primary school students in Hangzhou Municipality has scored some success. The 1980's are a great decade. During this decade our education departments must live up to the fervent expectations of the party Central Committee and meet the greater requirements set by it. In accordance with its instructions, we must constantly and consciously strengthen ideological and moral education among the students and strive to transform vast numbers of youngsters into a new generation which is rich in ideals and knowledge, is imbued with noble moral qualities and is physically fit.

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THE BEACON

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 inside back cover

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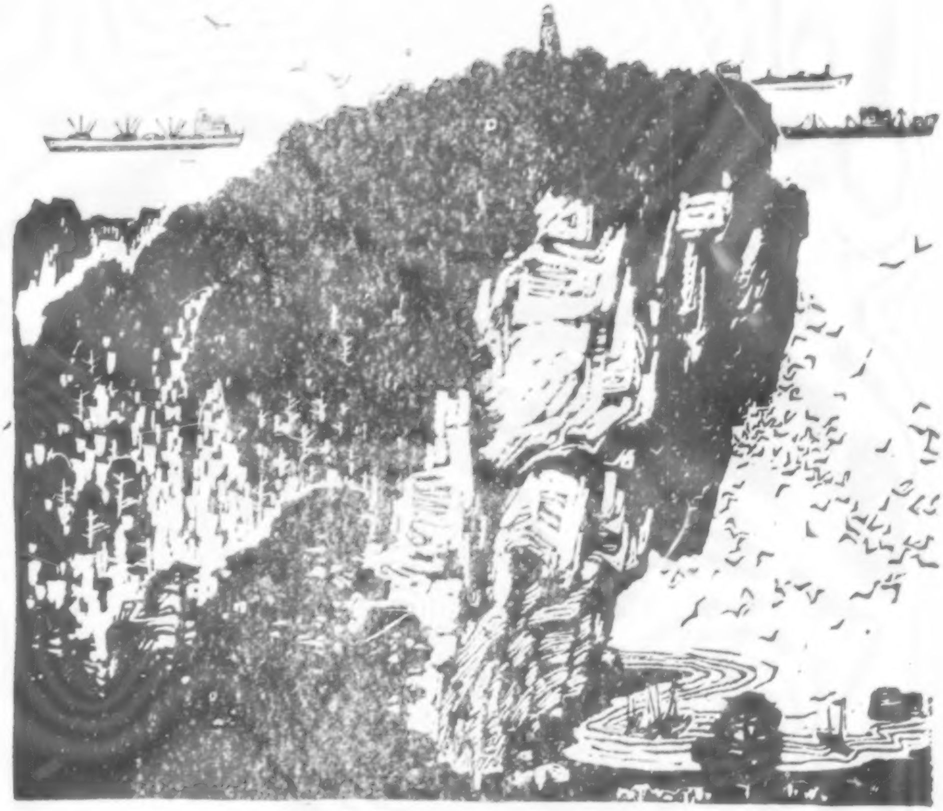

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JPRS 76563

7 October 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 15, 1 August 1980

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7 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 15, 1 August 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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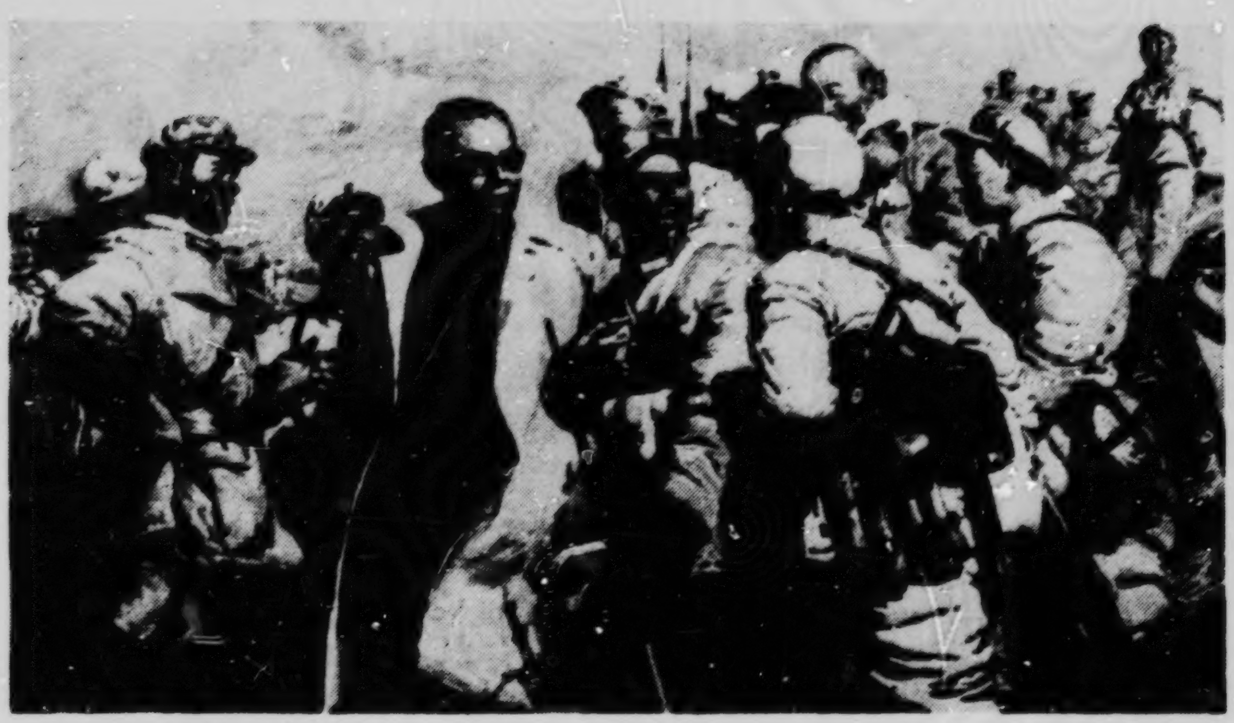
Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 inside front cover

[Water color painting by Zhang Zhenggang [1728 2973 0474]]



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FIRMLY IMPLEMENT THE DIRECTIVES OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES AND CARRY OUT WELL THE WORK IN XIZANG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 2-8

[Article by Yang Jingren [2799 7234 0088]]

[Text] In April the party Central Committee issued a "Circular on Transmitting 'The Summary of a Discussion of Work in Xizang.'" In May Hu Yaobang, CCP general secretary, and Wan Li, secretary of the Secretariat, led a central work team to make an inspection tour of Xizang. They issued many important orders on the work in Xizang. The broad masses of Xizang were elated, saying that the speeches of Comrades Hu Yaobang and Wan Li completely tallied with the actual conditions in Xizang. They also regarded the directives of the Central Committee as a milestone in the work in Xizang. In the spirit of the directives issued by the Central Committee, I have conducted an investigation and inspection in Xizang. The following are seven areas of work in Xizang:

1. Several Major Decisions Made by the Central Committee on the Work in Xizang Over the Past 30 Years

The "Circular on Transmitting 'The Summary of a Discussion of Work in Xizang'" put forth eight principles, and Comrade Hu Yaobang spoke of six important things in order to perform the strategic task of achieving prosperity for Xizang within 10 years. This is an important decision of the party Central Committee on the work in Xizang. It has been supported wholeheartedly by the people and cadres of all nationalities in Xizang. However, a small number of people still do not have a good understanding of this decision, and some are even skeptical about it. Therefore, we must continue to conduct propaganda, education and explanatory work. We must review the major decisions made over the past 30 years by the Central Committee on the work in Xizang so that we can have a better understanding of the recent decision.

The first major decision: The principle of peaceful liberation of Xizang was formulated in 1951. Implementation of this principle would be beneficial to reducing the severe barriers among nationalities formed over a long historical period. It was in keeping with the aspirations of the people of the Zang nationality, the patriotic nationalities and the people of upper religious circles who favored the peaceful liberation of Xizang. However, the regional government of Xizang did not respond to this principle when it was first implemented. The PLA had no alternative but to enter and garrison Qamdo to propagate the party's policies and accelerate the peaceful liberation. Later the Xizang Regional Government changed its mind. In May 1951 it sent representatives to Beijing to sign an "Agreement of the Central People's Government and Xizang Regional Government on the Peaceful Liberation of Xizang" with representatives of the Central People's Government. Xizang was then peacefully liberated. It returned to the embrace of the motherland. This strengthened the unification of the motherland and unity among the nationalities of the country.

The second major decision: After the peaceful liberation of Xizang, the Central Committee formulated a prudent and moderate principle and decided not to carry out democratic reforms in Xizang during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. This was because Xizang was a special national region. It had more national characteristics than the interior and other minority national regions in the border areas. Moreover, severe nationality barriers existed at that time. We therefore had to adopt moderate policies instead of any other policies. Moreover, to carry out democratic reforms we needed to be provided with specific conditions. During the early postliberation period we lacked such conditions in the upper echelons, and the masses lacked a high level of consciousness and organization. The Central Committee therefore decided not to carry out any reforms during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. It was only the rebellion that occurred later which educated the masses and heightened their level of consciousness and accelerated the reforms.

The third major decision: When the armed rebellion occurred in Xizang in 1959, the Central Committee decided to put it down in order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and protect the interests of Xizang serfs. It also decided to carry out peaceful reforms in areas where rebellion did not occur and to adopt the policy of redemption toward feudal lords who did not rebel.

Marx and Engels once talked about the policy of redemption toward the bourgeois class. Lenin also thought of adopting this policy after the October Revolution. However, for various reasons he did not carry it out. Our party applied this policy successfully not only toward the bourgeois class but also toward the feudal lord class in Xizang which did not rebel. This was an important development of and contribution to Marxism.

The fourth major decision: In April 1961 the Central Committee formulated the policy of steady development in Xizang. It decided not to form any commune within 5 years so that the serfs could rest, build up their strength and enjoy the benefits of the democratic reforms. As a result, production was developed, and the living conditions of peasants and herdsmen improved remarkably.

The above four decisions were slandered and even publicly criticized during the "Great Cultural Revolution" as a result of the influence of the ultraleftist line. Therefore, we must right the wrong and revive these decisions.

The important decision to "implement the eight principles, do the six important things and achieve prosperity within 10 years" was an important decision after the four cited above. This is the fifth major decision. To understand and implement this decision we must first have a good understanding of the above four decisions.

2. Problems Arising From Work in Xizang in Recent Years

Over the past 30 years the work in Xizang has achieved good results and made great contributions. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" our work on the whole has been successful. However, there are some problems. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out, we have been too slow in implementing the spirit of the party's third plenary session. Observations at cadres' meetings of the autonomous regions, prefectures and counties and the situations we have seen revealed six problems:

1. We have been slow in discussing the criterion of truth. Up to now, many places and units still have not unfolded the discussion of this question. This is the ideological reason why so many problems in Xizang have not been solved or solved properly.

2. We have been slow in implementing the policy toward people and in redressing unjust, false and wrong cases. This refers primarily to some important cases which have not even been reexamined, let alone redressed and corrected.

3. We have been slow in implementing the two documents of the Central Committee on agricultural problems. According to the directives of these two documents, Xizang needs more rest and strengthening than does the interior of the country. There should be more lenient policies and lighter burdens. However, Xizang has ignored the question of rest and recuperation, rather than try to reduce the various burdens of the people. It has been overcautious and restrained in carrying out more lenient policies and has made very slow progress.

4. We have been slow in implementing the policy of national regional autonomy and in realizing the rights of national autonomy. After the third plenary session, Xizang did not conscientiously eliminate the many "left" practices while carrying out nationality policies. It has not corrected the mistakes. It has neglected the rights of national autonomy,

national languages and writing and national characteristics and habits. We have also been slow in implementing various policies toward patriots of upper national and religious echelons.

5. We have been slow in solving problems of the leading groups. Some people in the leading groups are factional. Some even refuse to accept the spirit of the party's third plenary session. This situation has not improved.

6. We have been slow in calling people's attention to the ultraleftist ideology which ran counter to the third plenary session. We have not regarded opposing and overcoming such erroneous ideology as an important task.

These problems show that Xizang has been slow in implementing the spirit of the third plenary session. The leading comrades of Xizang said that the most important cause of these problems was the incorrect ideological line implemented by the Xizang Autonomous Region CCP Committee.

3. Strengthen Unity Among Nationalities

Since the liberation of Xizang the Han and Zang nationalities have established a good relationship and are united. However, due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, there have been some barriers between these two nationalities in recent years. The current international situation is complicated, and the enemy is always looking for a chance to take advantage of our nationality problems to disrupt our unity. To achieve the four modernizations in a situation characterized by stability and unity we must seize every opportunity to improve the relationship among nationalities and eliminate the barriers. Otherwise we will suffer grave losses.

Unity among nationalities is very important. We should attach primary importance to it in order to build a "united, prosperous and civilized new Xizang." Only when there is unity among nationalities can we successfully build our economy and culture and strengthen the unity of our motherland. Therefore, unity among nationalities is the basic guarantee for strengthening the unification of the motherland and for achieving prosperity and happiness for Xizang. We must try to solve nationality problems and further promote unity among nationalities.

The Zang nationality constitutes the majority of the population in Xizang, but the number of Han cadres and workers in Xizang is not small. To promote unity among nationalities we must first of all promote unity between Han cadres and Zang staff and workers. The PLA is an army of all nationalities. However, as most of them are Hans, the Zang people often regard the army-people relationship as a relationship among nationalities and the promotion of army-people unity as the promotion of unity among nationalities.

To promote unity among nationalities, the cadres and masses of various nationalities must respect, love, support and learn from one another. When problems emerge they should forgive one another.

In future years many Han cadres will be transferred to the interior of the country. We therefore must pay particular attention to the unity of nationalities. Han comrades to be transferred must start well and end well. Zang comrades must show concern and care for them.

To promote unity between the Han and Zang nationalities we should solve the following ideological problems:

1. How should we correctly treat the Zang nationality and region?

The Zangs are a hardworking, courageous, honest and wise nationality. The Zang people have been industriously and courageously engaged in production, struggle against the enemy, and transformation of the world under very poor living conditions. Their splendid national history and culture is an illustration of their wisdom. However, frankly speaking, their economy and culture are more backward than those of the Han nationality. This is a result of historical development. The exploiting classes of the Han and Zang nationalities rather than the Zang working people should be held responsible for this. Although most people have recognized the strong points of the Zang nationality, some still do not have a good understanding of them. We must continue to do propaganda work.

We must look at the whole picture of the Xizang region. On the one hand it is a cold place with a high altitude and inadequate oxygen. Living and working conditions are rather poor. On the other it has a vast territory and a vast expanse of grassland, dense forests, rich hydroelectric resources and various important minerals. We can say that it is a great treasure trove of China. This is the major aspect of the picture which our cadres must fully recognize. They must not pay attention only to its coldness, high altitude and lack of oxygen. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, an assistant to a high official, Zhao Erfeng, composed a reactionary poem which said that only "barren mountains and unruly rivers" were found in the Zang region. This is extremely ridiculous. It shows that the poet was not only reactionary but also completely ignorant of the geography of the Zang region. He was not only unaware of the magnificence of the land of the Zang region but also ignorant of the fact that the snow on the mountains in the Zang region was the source of the Huang He and Chang Jiang. We have full evidence to say that Xizang is a large treasure trove of China. It has great potential and a bright future. When developed, it will make important contributions to the socialist construction of China.

2. How should we correctly treat the Zang people's customs and habits which came into being as a result of historical development?

The Zangs eat barley and roasted barley flour, drink buttered tea and wear woolen clothes. The Mongols eat millet stir-fried in butter and drink tea with milk. The Hui, Uygur and some other nationalities do not eat pork but eat lamb and beef. The Chaoxian nationals eat husked rice. The Dai nationals living in Yunnan eat poliched, glutinous rice. We must not neglect these customs and habits but must respect them. To do so we must properly arrange our production and supplies so that all are properly provided for. In the Han region, the south and the north have different customs and habits and must respect one another rather than arbitrarily seeking uniformity. This is even more true with regard to the customs and habits of different nationalities.

Customs and habits are closely related to geographical environment, production conditions and living conditions. Barley is a high-yield crop in Xizang. People love it. Winter wheat is also a high-yield crop, perhaps more highly productive than barley. However, the quality of winter wheat in Xizang is different from that of the interior of the country, because Xizang lacks oxygen. People do not like to eat it. Therefore, winter wheat is not welcome. The backward customs and habits of various nationalities can be changed gradually by the people themselves. We must not take their jobs into our hands. For example, the Zang people eat roasted barley flour and drink buttered tea. This is by no means a backward habit and should be preserved and developed. It is very erroneous to force people to change their customs, habits and appetites according to our own.

3. There should be mutual, rather than one-sided, aid among nationalities.

Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of this principle many times. However, our comrades have been able to see the aid given to national minorities by the Han nationality more than the other way round. This is wrong. We must fully understand that the Zang nationality has made important contributions to China and given much support to the Han nationality. Let us not mention events in the remote past but just look at the 13th century. The Xizang people helped Xizang to become part of the Chinese territory of the Yuan dynasty. Since then, Xizang has been an inseparable part of Chinese territory. The Zang people have created a splendid history and culture which have enriched the Chinese cultural treasure house. In the last years of the Qing dynasty the Zang people bravely resisted the British aggressors and defended our motherland. While liberating the whole country, the Zang nationality helped to realize the peaceful liberation of Xizang. At that time such comrades as Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme made valuable efforts. In 1959 the Zang people and the PLA made concerted efforts to suppress the rebellion. All these were important contributions to China. With regard to material aid, the

Zang nationality has provided the Hans with wool, pilose antler, musk and safflower. In return, the Han nationality has supplied the Zangs with tea, sugar and cloth. Over the past 30 years Xizang has supported the socialist construction of China by giving it a good deal of husbandry products and medicine. As the economy of Xizang develops, it will certainly use its rich resources to contribute more to the motherland.

The above three questions show that we should fully recognize the strong points and contribution of the Zang nationality and should not do otherwise. Still less should we despise the Zang nationality. The Zang cadres and people should do away with the incorrect ideas on the relationship among nationalities. Only when we have done so can we eliminate the barriers among nationalities and strengthen unity among them. Of course, this is not enough. To promote unity among nationalities we must also implement in an all-round way the party's policy toward nationalities, particularly the policy of national regional autonomy.

4. Firmly Implement the Policy of National Regional Autonomy

To strengthen unity among nationalities and achieve prosperity for Xizang we must give full play to the right of national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central Committee.

The policy of national regional autonomy is our party's basic policy toward our nationality problem. Its main purpose is to give national minorities the right to manage their own affairs. Stalin said that this policy enabled the minority nationalities to stand on their own feet. Other nationalities could only give them help and could never walk for them.

By national regional autonomy we mean the right of self-government. This is a basic Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on nationality problems. Lenin also meant this when he said: "All areas of the state that are distinguished by social peculiarities or by the national composition of the population must enjoy wide self-government and autonomy." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 239)

What are the contents and rights of self-government of national regional autonomy? They are:

1. Autonomous organs must be composed of cadres of the nationality carrying out regional autonomy. In Xizang the majority of the cadres must be Zangs.

2. Autonomous regions must use the spoken and written language of that nationality practicing autonomy as the first language in exercising their functions and powers. They must primarily use their own language in handling official business, sending messages, issuing notices and teaching. Reports and speeches in the Han language should also be

translated into the languages of the national minorities. In Xizang the first language is the Zang language. Of course, the Han language should also be used.

3. Autonomous regions must work according to national and regional characteristics. They must suit measures to national and regional conditions and must avoid vague and indiscriminate generalizations.

4. Autonomous regions can formulate their own separate rules and decrees on national autonomy in keeping with the general principles of the state "Constitution" and law.

5. Autonomous regions have more financial rights than other areas at the same level.

6. Autonomous regions have more rights and interests than other areas at the same level with regard to the management of a distribution of profits from forests, pastures and mines.

7. Autonomous regions contiguous to foreign countries have the right to trade with them under normal conditions.

8. Autonomous regions must develop their own national science, culture and education.

9. Autonomous regions are allowed to reject or modify directives and regulations issued by the higher authorities concerned and not suited to their conditions. However, they must request permission in advance or report afterward.

On the whole, these are the basic rights of national autonomy and decisionmaking. We must give full play to these rights, particularly the rights of autonomy, in such a special national autonomous region as Xizang. In so doing we can more effectively strengthen unity among nationalities, consolidate the unification of the motherland, advance the political, economic and cultural development of minority nationalities and gradually eliminate the inequalities existing among different nationalities, so that all minority nationalities will achieve prosperity and become advanced nationalities.

To give full play to the rights of autonomy and do a good job in autonomous regions the party organs must also be nationalized. Han cadres working in party organs and other organs must respect the wishes of minority nationalities and work according to the characteristics of various autonomous regions. Minority cadres and Han cadres must be closely united and make concerted efforts for the revolution and construction of autonomous regions. This is very important.

5. Develop Xizang's Economy, Culture and Education

Owing to the severe sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and our mistakes and shortcomings in implementing policy, the Xizang people are living a poor life. This is the greatest reality of Xizang. In order to carry out the directives of the Central Committee to eliminate poverty and achieve prosperity for Xizang, the Xizang Autonomous Region CCP Committee has decided to relax its economic policies, develop the economy and improve the people's living conditions by adhering to the socialist principle and to the spirit of "relax, relax and relax."

The most important measure to relax the policy is: to exempt Xizang from farm and husbandry taxes, to exempt it for 2 years from state purchases of farm and husbandry products, to abolish all forms of apportioning and to practice purchase at negotiated prices and purchase by exchanging goods according to the wishes of the masses. We must develop forestry, husbandry and farming in keeping with the actual conditions of various regions, take one crop as the key link and develop a diversified economy and insure all-round development. We must resolutely do away with the erroneous practice of disregarding reality, arbitrarily taking agriculture as the chief economy and taking grain as the key link. In industry we must vigorously develop national commodities and handicrafts to meet the urgent needs of the Zang people. We must fully respect the decisionmaking rights of production teams, which are to decide for themselves what to plant and how to plant. We must implement various forms of responsibility systems in connection with output and rewards and fix output quotas on a team basis or even on a household basis for those who live in remote areas. We must earnestly implement the policy of distribution according to work. The masses are to decide for themselves what livestock they will keep for personal needs. They should not be restrained. They can keep adequate plots and trees for private use. They can also develop border area trade. Production teams which are too big should be reduced.

The measures to relax the policy have been well received by the Xizang people. They compare the party's policy to "gold" and "sun." However, some people worry whether the policy will be implemented. They have three misgivings:

The first misgiving is: The economic policy is very good, but will it really be implemented? In the Central Committee this policy is like strong barley wine. However, when it is conveyed to lower authorities it gets more and more diluted, until at last it becomes water. We must explain this clearly to the masses and implement the policy to the letter. In order to implement the economic policy we must strengthen the party's leadership over economic work and mobilize the masses to give supervision to party and government departments and cadres at all levels. The masses should report to the party and government departments of higher levels, the autonomous region CCP Committee and even the Central Committee if any department or cadre refuses to implement, partially implements or violates the policy.

The second misgiving is: Will the policy be changed again? We must tell the masses that our policy comes from practice and has been tested in practice. The current economic policy is formulated on the basis of our practical experiences and in accordance with the actual conditions of Xizang. It is supported by the masses and has been proved correct. Therefore, it will not be changed.

The third misgiving is: In the first and second years the policy will not be changed. However, in the third year, will the quotas be increased and the quotas exempted in the first and second years be taken back? We must assure the masses that we will definitely not do this. Moreover, we are considering exempting those places, communes and production teams in difficulty from state purchase quotas. We will implement the policy of light taxes and low state purchase quotas in minority nationality regions.

While implementing economic policy this year, we should guard against the following deviations:

First, we have exempted Xizang from state purchase and assigned quotas purchase this year, but we must watch out for assigned quotas purchase in disguised form under the pretext of "purchase at negotiated prices" after the autumn harvest.

Second, we must watch out for overaccumulation. In view of the present living conditions of the masses, we must save less provident funds, public welfare funds and grain reserves and distribute more to the masses.

Third, when the masses' incomes have increased slightly, it is imperative to prevent banks and supply and marketing cooperatives from seizing this opportunity to collect debts and prevent them from making the same mistakes that were made by other regions.

Fourth, we must guard against waste. We must educate the masses that when production is developed and income is increased we can eat more food, buy more clothes and commodities and build more houses. However, we must not be extravagant.

At present, since the autonomous region CCP Committee has successfully implemented the directives of the Central Committee, mobilized the enthusiasm of the farmers and herdsmen, strengthened field management and done a good job of grazing, crops and livestock are developing well. We must make further efforts to achieve a bumper harvest.

Xizang has an ancient, magnificent culture. We must strengthen the work of collecting (or even salvaging), rearranging, studying and transmitting the traditional cultural heritage, including Zang medicine, astronomy, meteorology, Zang opera, music, dance, painting and culture. On this foundation, we must also vigorously develop Zang culture with socialist content.

Xizang has many cultural relics and historic sites which are the precious wealth of our country. We must do a good job of protecting them.

To develop culture we must have a work team made up of a large number of enthusiastic experts. We must also help old craftsmen train apprentices and successors.

In the area of education, Xizang must pay primary attention to the Zang nationality, to secondary and primary schools, to public schools, to boarding schools and to scholarships. This suggestion is made on the basis of our practical experiences gained over the years in the educational field and is in accordance with actual conditions. It seems that only when Xizang has paid primary attention to the above areas can it develop its education.

In previous years it was common in Xizang that, when primary schools opened, 70 to 80 percent of school-age children went to school. In the second term the percentage dropped to 40 or 50. In the second year 30 percent would be regarded as good. Only about 10 students graduated from each primary school.

What is the reason for this? The most important reason is poverty. When students from poor families grow older, they have to earn workpoints and wages for their families. Thus, fewer and fewer children go to school. This results in a great increase in the number of illiterate people. It is a very serious question for the Zang nationality and other nationalities in Xizang. It directly affects the development of politics, economy and culture of the nationalities and must be brought to our attention. A nationality without culture can never be an advanced nationality.

The development of culture and education depends on the development of the economy and improvement of the people's material life. Poverty is the greatest reality of Xizang. Besides historical reasons, the poverty of Xizang is primarily the result of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and our shortcomings and mistakes while implementing the policy.

Therefore, to develop education in Xizang the state must give energetic support to it. However, to fundamentally solve this problem the Xizang people should develop their economy, eliminate poverty and achieve prosperity through self-reliance. Only this can fully develop education.

6. Strengthen United Front Work

During the "Great Cultural Revolution" Lin Biao and the "gang of four" severely disrupted united front work throughout the country and in Xizang. Under the influence of their ultraleftist line, some of our comrades thought that united front work could be ignored and done away with. This idea was completely wrong.

United front work is an important magic weapon in the history of the Chinese revolution, as well as in the new historical period. It should be strengthened and developed rather than canceled or weakened. We must fully mobilize all positive factors inside and outside the country, unite all forces that can be united and develop and expand revolutionary and patriotic united front work to achieve the four modernizations. We must realize the return of Taiwan to the motherland and accomplish our country's reunification. We must do a good job to win over the Dalai Lama group and the overseas Zang compatriots.

Our achievements are the main aspect of our united front work in Xizang. However, there is still much to do, and we must further strengthen this work. We must implement well the policy toward the patriots in the upper national and religious echelons. We should liberate those who should be liberated but have not been liberated. We should rapidly give a job to those who should have one and have had none. We should arrange for some people to do practical work. We must give earnest help to those living in difficulty.

We must implement in an all-round way the policy of religious freedom. Communist Party members should not take a neutral stand on religion. Marxism has always regarded religion as a social ideology and as the people's ideological belief. The question of religion can only be solved gradually by developing the economy and scientific culture (including necessary reforms) and raising the level of people's living conditions and scientific culture. It must by no means be treated with crude methods. Practice in the past and at present has repeatedly proved that treating religion with crude methods will not eliminate it but will arouse the people's religious feelings and promote the development of religion. Lang Da Ma [2597 6671 3854], Zang national history and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did this. We must comprehensively and correctly implement the party's policy of religious freedom, strengthen leadership over religious work, actively propagate scientific knowledge and unite all religious people to build a new Xizang.

7. Correct the Ideological Line

The ideological line is the basis of the political and organizational line. To do well the great deal of work mentioned above we must continue to emancipate our thinking, correct our ideological line and criticize the ultraleftist line.

We must truly understand that practice is the sole criterion of truth and make up for the missed lesson in the discussion of the criterion of truth. A thorough discussion of this question is an important matter in criticizing and eliminating the severe mistakes and pernicious influence of the "two whateverists" and in correcting the ideological line. We must genuinely do a good job in redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases by making up for the missed lesson, integrating with reality, summing up the specific experiences and lessons of the work in recent years, adding to our achievements and correcting our mistakes.

It is of great significance to adhere to the four basic principles and to firmly grasp ideological and political work in the struggle to eliminate poverty and achieve prosperity for Xizang. This should not be neglected. Otherwise we will fail.

CSO: 4004

PROCEED FROM REALITY TO QUICKEN MECHANIZATION IN AGRICULTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 9-12

[Article by Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415]; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] Editor's Note: Last year Heilongjiang Province selected 37 production brigades with better conditions to experiment with the massive employment of agricultural machinery. By employing complete sets of equipment with careful planning, paying more attention to more important tasks and working step by step, the province enabled a number of communes and production teams to achieve mechanization earlier than others and gained successful experiences. This is of great significance to the northeast region in bringing its agricultural superiority into play, hastening mechanization of agriculture and building bases of commodity grain and bean production. Other regions may take this experience as a reference. However, since natural and economic conditions differ vastly from region to region, in deciding how to mechanize its agriculture each region can only proceed from its own realities and cannot indiscriminately copy the experiences of another region.

Guided by the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and complying with the requirements of the two party Central Committee documents on agriculture, last year our province of Heilongjiang summed up the historical experiences of agricultural mechanization over the past 30 years and altered the method of distributing agricultural machinery equally to various production units. From among 16 counties we selected 37 production brigades with better conditions and experimented with the massive employment of agricultural machinery and the formation of complete sets of equipment. The experiment has markedly shown the superiority of mechanization and has pointed out a better path to hastening our province's agricultural mechanization.

Of the 37 brigades in the experiment, 22 enjoyed a more than 10 percent growth of output and a more than 20 percent rise in income last year, while 12 enjoyed a 1 to 10 percent output growth and a 10 to 20 percent income rise. The other three brigades had reduced output because of serious natural calamities, but their income did not fall, because grain prices rose and diversified occupations were well developed. Last year the total sown area in the 37 brigades was 470,000 mu, and the total output was 145 million jin, an increase of 14 percent over the previous year. Income from industrial and sideline occupations was 5.39 million yuan, an increase of 37.5 percent over the previous year. Some 6.85 million yuan in accumulation funds, 66.3 percent more than in the previous year, were withdrawn. The average income of each commune member from distribution by the collective was 190 yuan, 23 percent higher than in the previous year. Labor productivity rose markedly, and the average grain output of each laborer was 15,000 jin, double the provincial average. The proportion of grain used as a commodity was also raised, and on the average each laborer sold 7,889 jin of grain to the state, 30 percent more than in the previous year. Most of the production brigades in the experiment not only achieved increases in output, income, accumulation and contribution to the state, but also achieved gratifying progress in making labor organization a professional job, planting different crops in different regions, practicing management to run enterprises and making productive activities serve society.

/Massive employment of agricultural machinery and the formation of complete sets of equipment./ To fully bring the role of agricultural machinery into play we must proceed from the characteristics of mechanized large-scale production and mechanize every principal link of the entire production process, so that mechanized operation runs through the whole chain and powerful productive forces become available. Our province has carried out agricultural mechanization construction for over 30 years, and 95 percent of the entire province's production brigades have large or medium-sized tractors. Machinery has become an important means of production. Around 50 percent of the total sown area is sown and intertilled by machinery. Over 80 percent of the work of threshing, feed grinding and agricultural product processing is done by machines. The problem is that in the past, when we distributed machinery, we "sprinkled pepper over a large surface," giving some machinery to each unit, so that there were no complete sets and the machinery could not perform its function fully. This was one important reason for the low efficiency of machinery, high production costs and poor economic effectiveness. Last year we solved this problem initially by applying the new method of massively employing agricultural machinery and forming complete sets of equipment in 37 brigades in different regions producing different principal crops. Massively employing machinery and forming complete sets mainly means filling the gaps in the existing foundation. The wheat and bean production areas were chiefly given harvesting and transport machinery. Based on their features, the areas growing nonwheat food grains were chiefly given seven-share plows, seeders, cultivators, trailers or machinery for top-dressing or deep soil-loosening. After such allocation, the production brigades under experimentation in the wheat and bean production areas achieved preliminary mechanization in soil preparation, sowing, intertilling, weeding, reaping, threshing and transportation. The production brigades under experimentation in the areas producing nonwheat food grains achieved preliminary mechanization in such links as soil preparation, sowing, intertilling, hulling and transportation. At present there is no nonwheat food-grain reaping machinery whose design is finalized and which is suited to our province's characteristics. Therefore, the degree of mechanization in the nonwheat food grain producing areas is lower than that in the wheat and bean producing areas. Because tractors and other agricultural machinery rationally form complete sets, the role of machinery can be brought into play. In the 37 brigades in the experiment, the average work capacity of the tractors reached 229.6 standard mu per horsepower, 27 percent higher than the provincial average of 180 standard mu per horsepower. Previously, those brigades generally spent over a month in spring sowing, but last year they spent only 7 to 10 days. These brigades worked the fastest, took the shortest time for sowing and sowed at an opportune time. Their summer hoeing progressed rapidly, and the frequency of shoveling and soil-loosening increased from 2 or 3 times to 4 or 5 times. The percentage of deep soil-loosening area increased from 20 or 30 percent to around 50 percent. In particular, after receiving combine harvesters, those brigades under experimentation in the wheat and bean producing areas could reap the wheat when it was ripe. Their losses were reduced, and on the average they reaped an additional 30 to 40 jin of wheat per mu. A combine harvester could reap an additional 70,000 jin of wheat annually. Facts have proved that massively employing machinery and forming complete sets are not just problems of the method of agricultural machinery allocation, but also problems related to the principle of developing agricultural mechanization with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Of course, those brigades massively employing machinery and forming complete sets must have certain conditions: that is, the masses must enthusiastically and eagerly demand quicker agricultural mechanization and the leaders must exercise stronger leadership, and there must be definite experiences in mechanization, a better foundation, such as having more machinery and equipment, as well as a greater ability to raise funds by themselves.

/Wealthier brigades to be mechanized first./ To massively employ agricultural machinery and form complete sets we must first solve the problem of funds. At present our country has a rather weak foundation and inadequate financial resources and cannot provide more funds for mechanization. We must rely mainly on the strength of the collective economy. However, the development of the collective economy is unbalanced in different communes and brigades. Some brigades are better off and can afford to purchase machinery, but some brigades are poorer and cannot do so. In view of this reality, different brigades do not start mechanization at the same time or achieve it at the same pace. They will advance wave upon wave but not abreast. Thus, we need to mechanize the wealthy brigades first and then gradually mechanize others group by group. In the past, in some respects we did not duly consider the economic conditions of the brigades. All of them, whether rich or poor, had to meet the same requirement for purchasing machinery for agricultural mechanization. Consequently, the purchases of some communes and brigades exceeded what the collective economy could afford, and the enthusiasm of the masses was dampened. Last year we adopted the method of mechanizing the wealthy brigades first. The 37 brigades in the experiment invested a total of 5.58 million yuan, 78 percent of which, or 4.39 million yuan, was made available through the strength of the collective economy itself. Because the collective economy was rather strong, with little state support they could achieve preliminary mechanization in a year. For example, 11 production brigades of Beilian Commune, Keshan County, needed 3.30 million yuan for preliminary mechanization. Over the past 10 years they had raised 1.20 million yuan themselves. Last year they raised 1.10 million yuan and lacked a million yuan, which was made available by borrowing from the bank. This loan was repaid after the wheat was harvested. Last year the output and income of these 11 brigades increased. Their total grain output collectively grew by 72 percent over the previous year, their income from farming and sideline occupations grew by 80 percent, their accumulation funds increased 2.5 times, and the average income of each commune member distributed by the collective was 217 yuan. Practice has proved that an effective measure for hastening agricultural mechanization is to persist in mechanizing the wealthy brigades first, to let mechanization make the brigades better off, to mechanize the rural communes and brigades group by group in a planned way and to make them better off group by group. Do we ignore the poor brigades if we emphasize mechanizing the wealthy ones first? Of course not. Some communes and brigades are not so well off. Then their provincial or county authorities should try their best to support them and make them better off. While mechanizing the wealthy brigades first, we also simultaneously grasped the work of converting the poor brigades and helped them boost their output as fast as possible, so that the collective economy would be strengthened and conditions could be created for achieving mechanization. The fact that wealthy brigades are mechanized first and poor ones later does not involve the question of "despising the poor and loving the wealthy." The final goal is common affluence.

/Gradually change the two sets of costs involving machinery and horses into one set of costs and improve the economic effectiveness of agricultural mechanization./ Judging from the history of agricultural mechanization in agriculturally developed countries, it is a lengthy process to go from relying mainly on animal power to the coexistence of animal power and machinery and finally to replacing animals with machinery. We should enthusiastically create conditions for shortening this process as far as possible. In our province at present, machinery and horses exist together, and the problem of two sets of costs has not been properly solved. In some areas, as the masses say: "It is as if two sets of musical instruments are used in one drama--two sets of costs are incurred for one piece of land; the horses consume fodder and the machines fuel oil, and grain output increases but not income." According to investigations of typical cases, expenses incurred by machinery generally constitutes 15 to 20 percent of agricultural production costs, and expenses incurred by horses around 30 percent. To reduce expenditures, some communes or brigades must let the horses remain idle while using the machinery, or let the machinery lie idle while using the horses. If this problem is not solved, it will be very difficult to alter the situation in which agricultural mechanization remains stagnant. Last year the 37 brigades in the experiment achieved progress in solving the problem of the coexistence of machinery and horses and of two sets of costs. Originally these brigades together had 3,869 draft horses. After massively employing machinery and forming complete sets, 1,486 draft horses, constituting 38.4 percent of the total, were replaced. In keeping with the principle of trying to be positive and prudent, some of the replaced horses were given to those communes and brigades which lacked farm animals as a supplementary motive power, some were given to the transport department for use in sideline occupations and some were exchanged for cattle and sheep for animal husbandry. Disposing of some and keeping the others not only helped solve the problem of two sets of costs but also enabled farmwork to continue when the machines were out of order. After the number of horses was reduced, production costs generally fell from around 20 yuan per mu to 15 or 16 yuan, a reduction of 15 to 20 percent. This is an important matter for Heilongjiang. Our province has 1.6 million draft horses, and if half of them are replaced by machines, we can annually reduce fodder grain consumption by 800 to 900 million jin, or reduce expenditures by over 300 million yuan. A major transformation accompanying the development of agricultural mechanization will be the replacement of animal power by machine power as the principal motive power. Obviously, this will involve a process of development between quantity and quality changes. This transformation can be accomplished gradually only if there is an accompanying increase in the number of machines and improvement in the standard of forming complete sets. We must seek truth from facts, do only what we are capable of, aim at what is advantageous to production, adopt reliable measures and feasible methods, gradually replace horses with machinery and change two sets of costs into one set. We must not be hasty and must not surpass the existing level of productive forces.

/Accommodate locally the labor force made redundant by mechanization and advance toward the depth and breadth of production./ After the massive employment of machinery and formation of complete sets, the degree of mechanization is raised, and generally the employment of the labor force can be reduced by 30 to 40 percent. It is very important to accommodate this redundant labor force. Ours is a socialist country, and we cannot let large numbers of peasants become unemployed after agricultural mechanization, as in the capitalist countries. We must find a way which is suited to our realities. Our province has a great deal of land and natural resources but a small population. We must take full advantage of this superiority, vigorously promote agricultural mechanization and more rapidly build the bases of commodity grain and bean production. If the work is done properly, not only will the labor force made redundant by mechanization not constitute a burden, but they can be organized to play a more useful role in comprehensively developing farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery to radically alter the agricultural economic structure characterized by relying on only one kind of crop. After those 37 brigades had achieved preliminary mechanization last year, 6,465 workers, or 40 percent of their total labor force, were made redundant. In keeping with the local conditions of natural resources and the requirement for the comprehensive development of agriculture and the comprehensive construction of the countryside, the brigades accommodated these workers locally to advance toward the depth and breadth of production. First, some were accommodated in agricultural capital construction. They were organized into teams specializing in collecting manure, producing fertilizers, irrigation, water conservancy and planting trees and forests, so that mechanical and biological technical measures could be combined and conditions could be created for obtaining high and stable yields in agriculture. Second, some were accommodated in the rearing, breeding and planting occupations to vigorously develop animal husbandry and change the situation of a disproportion between farming and animal husbandry, as well as to vigorously develop the production of cash crops and simultaneously develop grain and cash crops. Third, some were accommodated in the processing of agricultural and sideline products to vigorously help establish enterprises run by communes and brigades, to help incorporate production, processing and sales in one chain and to help activate the rural economy. Thus, the redundant workers can be accommodated in appropriate positions, can fully contribute their abilities, can benefit from collective production and can share the wealth. Conversely, they also help accumulate funds for hastening mechanization. In this undertaking, somewhat greater difficulty in accommodating the labor force has been experienced by the regions in the plains producing nonwheat grains. Here there are no hills, water or prairies, so that there was less diversification in occupations. In such regions the labor force replaced by machinery should for the most part be employed in planting trees and forests, collecting manure, producing fertilizers, and participating in irrigation projects and enterprises run by communes and brigades. Accommodating the labor force locally is favorable to the development of the specialization and socialization of production. To do this we must emphatically grasp two kinds of work: First, we must organize various forces to serve agriculture better and raise the level of socialization of production. Second, we must gradually turn the sites of the communes into small towns of the countryside. In a planned way we must develop the communes' agricultural and sideline products processing industry, agricultural machinery maintenance and repair industry, transport industry, construction industry, commerce and service trades, so that centers for serving agricultural production and the commune members' livelihood will be established. We must take the road to combining agriculture with industry and the towns with the countryside. In this way the prospects become very wide, and we need not worry about the employment of the redundant labor force.

/Vigorously grasp mechanization work over the entire area and organically combine the particular points with the entire area./ Over the past year our practice has been to combine the particular points with the entire area and to fan out from point to area. We had to duly grasp the massive formation of complete sets at particular points as well as the formation of complete sets over the entire area by stages, so that the wealthy brigades were mechanized first, the poor ones were assisted and the mediocre ones were brought along. This year the state has decided to give priority to satisfying our province's needs for agricultural machinery and has planned to allocate to us over 12,000 large and medium-sized tractors, 50 percent more than last year. Only 27 of these tractors will be used at the points undergoing experimentation in mechanization, and 73 percent will be employed over the entire area. We are persisting in the principle of requiring the poor brigades to rely mainly on themselves and to take state support as a subsidiary measure. We are enthusiastically helping them to develop production, open up diverse sources of income, accumulate funds and create conditions for gradually increasing their stock of machinery. We are also providing them with some loans and some small machines to promote their transformation. As for those mediocre brigades, we are selectively increasing their stock of complete sets of machinery according to their investment abilities and their practical needs in production, so that they can achieve mechanization step by step. To mechanize over the entire area we must likewise proceed from realities to do our work in a planned way with attention paid to focal points. We cannot do things in a simplistic way. Management of the existing agricultural machinery must be strengthened. Last year the average working capacity of the tractors in our province was rather low, merely 180 standard mu per horsepower. The work capacity differs vastly among various counties, with some attaining as high as 250 standard mu and some merely attaining around 100 standard mu per horsepower. The provincial average oil consumption was 0.77 kg per standard mu, and the figure for some brigades with high consumption was over 1 kg per standard mu. The three costs (fuel costs, repair costs and management costs) ranged from over 3 jiao to 6 or 7 jiao. If agricultural machinery is well managed, this year the provincial average working capacity of the tractors will exceed 200 standard mu per horsepower, the average oil consumption will be 0.75 kg per mu and the three costs will be below 5 jiao per mu. This will be equivalent to adding 5,000 tractors to the whole province without increasing investment or the number of complete sets of agricultural machinery. We must devote therefore our efforts to management, which must improve rapidly. This year we must comprehensively adopt economic methods to manage the agricultural machinery stations, teams and sets. We must practice the agricultural machinery management method adopted by Kaoshan Commune of Suileng County, that is, "independent accounting, assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses, charging fixed fees, allocating workpoints on a per mu basis, managing machinery on the basis of single items and giving both rewards and penalties." We must correct the phenomenon of "indulging in excessive collectivism" and link the machine operators' personal economic benefits with the amount and quality of work done, skill in handling the machinery, fuel consumption and so on, so that we can fully mobilize the agricultural machine operators' enthusiasm. In addition, we must vigorously strengthen technical training work for agricultural machinery personnel and strive to raise the standard of mechanized scientific farming. In our province, spring droughts, low temperatures and early frosts are very frequent. In view of this natural characteristic, we must use the machinery to race against time in farm work, conquer the "three calamities," protect seedlings and fight for bumper harvests. We must further improve the degree of mechanization in the whole province in several main jobs, such as sowing, intertilling, deep soil-loosening and top-dressing. We must also duly grasp repair and supply work and continuously improve "rear service" work. This is one important link in developing agricultural mechanization. The commune members are most worried about the inability to repair the machines when they are out of order and the lack of spare parts or fuel. In view of this problem, last year we summed up the experience of the Zhaozhou County agricultural machinery repair and manufacturing plant, which in conjunction with the local supply company practiced "integration of repair and supply and undertaking everything from the beginning to the end." Popularizing this experience, we strove to radically solve the problem of communes and brigades having to send many men everywhere to purchase spare parts. We summed up and popularized the experience of the Suihua County agricultural machinery repair and manufacturing plant, which practiced "setting up a retail outlet at the front door and running the factory at the rear," so that production, supply, marketing and repair were all incorporated in one chain. We also summed up and popularized the experience of the Suibin County agricultural machinery company, which "endeavored to perfect the basic skills," so that the quality of service was improved. The popularization of such experiences brought relatively marked improvements in the whole province's agricultural machinery "rear service" work and promoted the development of agricultural mechanization.

In 1979 the whole province was greatly affected by the success of the experiment in massively employing machinery and forming complete sets. Looking at the achievements of the brigades in the experiment, the vast numbers of cadres and the masses have more clearly perceived the superiority and brilliant prospects of agricultural mechanization. They enthusiastically requested that their own brigades be used for experiments in mechanization. Provincial, local and county authorities together examined the applications from brigades and made selections strictly according to the criteria for experimental units. They decided that this year 742 brigades in the whole province would undergo experimentation, as compared with 37 last year. These wealthier brigades are taking one step before the others in becoming even wealthier and in carrying out mechanization. They will more powerfully propel the development of agricultural mechanization in our province.

CSO: 4004

A VISIT TO NORTHERN SHAANXI--PRELIMINARY SURVEY ON BUILDING LIVESTOCK BREEDING AND FORESTRY BASES ON THE LOESS PLATEAU

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 13-18

[Article by Ren Fengping [0117 0023 1627]]

> [Text] Editor's Note: Recognizing the importance of grain and failing to recognize the necessity to grow grass, plant trees and develop livestock breeding and forestry is a one-sided understanding which once brought great harm to our country's agriculture. The author of this article conducted an investigation and, in accordance with the facts he heard and saw personally, has illustrated how overcoming such a one-sided understanding and adding to that the strengths of policies and science will bring about a new change and a bright future in agricultural production and in the peasants' livelihood.
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> In our propaganda work at present it is of extreme importance to carry out investigation and study in a down-to-earth manner and avoid empty talk. To change our style of work, boost the vigor for work and bring about a new writing style, we must vigorously advocate publishing good investigation reports in newspapers and journals.

"If We Want Northern Shaanxi To Become Rich, We Must Grow Grass and Plant Trees"

Recently our reporter conducted a month's "superficial" investigation on the loess plateau of northern Shaanxi (mainly the prefectures of Yulin and Yanan), and he has come up with a preliminary study of the questions of how to build a livestock breeding and forestry production base in the northwest region and how to vitalize the loess plateau region. His talks with some county, commune and production brigade cadres and commune members show that the latter love to use the following pet phrase: "If we want northern Shaanxi to become rich, we must grow grass and plant trees."

This phrase enunciates the question of man's understanding of the laws of nature and also points up the fact that we have committed an extremely one-sided error in our previous effort to implement production policies. It also indicates the effective scientific measures for properly handling the relationships among agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding in the future. Because in the past we have emphasized grain production alone, we have seriously ignored livestock breeding and forestry. We have even destroyed forests in order to open up land, reclaimed land for farm use and grown crops indiscriminately. We have caused great disharmony among agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, upset the ecological balance, weakened our soil fertility, maintained a low and unstable level of agricultural production over an extended period of time and failed to improve the people's livelihood.

Agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding promote one another, and each is indispensable. Man's understanding of the laws of nature is like man's understanding of the laws of economics; that is, there should be a process of practice, understanding, more practice and more understanding. Sometimes, too, it is necessary to pay a high price or to suffer punishment by the laws of nature before one truly wakes up. The experiences and lessons of many communes and production brigades in northern Shaanxi show that to grasp grain production single-mindedly will only lead one to the dead end of "becoming poorer the more land one reclaims and reclaiming more land when one becomes poorer." Another path, one that is in accordance with the laws of nature, is the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding.

The saying "If we want northern Shaanxi to become rich, we must grow grass and plant trees" is the same thing as saying "If we want northern Shaanxi to become rich, we must run agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding well." Why, then, do people prefer the former saying to the latter? This is because there has been too much empty talk about "agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding" in the past. Just as a county party committee secretary in northern Shaanxi once said: In the past, when we shouted "agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding," we were very firm verbally but very weak at heart. We had long understood what "integrating the three factors" meant, but we had never conscientiously acted in accordance with this policy. In fact, we only carried out agricultural production single-mindedly, because we felt that livestock breeding and forestry were like "distant water that could not quench present thirst." As a result, not only did we fail to promote grain, and not only did we have a meager output of marketable grain, but we could not even maintain self-sufficiency of grain for the agricultural population, and we even arbitrarily destroyed the rational structure of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding.

Nevertheless, once people truly understood through practice the law of nature that agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding promote one another, the situation changed radically. The Xiaosigou Production Brigade of Qinghua Commune in Yanan Municipality has only 29 households. In the past 10 years they have relentlessly grasped the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, made rational arrangements for the use of land in agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, and returned the distant and poor land for forestry and livestock breeding purposes. At the same time, they also grew grass and planted forests on the barren hillsides. Although the acreage of arable land was reduced from some 800 mu in 1970 to 400 mu in 1979, which meant reducing the average arable land for each person from 7.1 mu in 1970 to 2.9 mu in 1979, the per-mu output and total output of grain increased greatly. Total grain output increased from 62,000 jin in 1970 to 208,000 jin in 1979, an increase of over 200 percent. The grain ration for each commune member increased from some 400 jin in 1970 to 870 jin in 1979. The total income from agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding and sideline undertakings of the whole production brigade increased every year and reached 44,900 yuan in 1979, an increase of 500 percent over that of 1970. The average income of every member of the labor force rose from 255 yuan in 1970 to 898 yuan in 1979, an increase of 252 percent. The average income of each person rose from 101 yuan in 1970 to 316 yuan in 1979, an increase of 212 percent. The individual income of each commune member rose from 55 yuan in 1970 to 176 yuan in 1979, an increase of 220 percent.

Growing grass is of particular importance on the undulating hills and ravines of the loess plateau in northern Shaanxi. At present many communes and production brigades in northern Shaanxi are grasping the task of growing grass in their gradual transition from taking agriculture as the primary factor to taking livestock breeding and forestry as the primary factors. Grass not only can provide fodder for goats and other draft animals but also can act as an effective fertilizer for improving soil fertility. It also can solve the fuel shortage problem for a portion of the commune and production brigades. The experiences of many communes and production brigades show that, to effect the transition from taking agriculture as the primary factor to taking forestry and livestock breeding as the primary factors, the first thing to be taken care of must be grass, for growing grass will yield quicker results than planting forests. Some people say: "Growing grass means growing grain." This is because sweet clover and alfalfa belong to the legume family and not only can produce manmade pastures in large amounts, thereby benefiting the development of livestock breeding, but also can improve soil, promote soil fertility and increase grain production. Xinsai Commune in Wuqi County is situated in the upper reaches of the Le River; it is high and cold, and its soil is poor, thereby making agricultural production extremely difficult. In the past 3 years it has vigorously developed green manure and sweet clover, practiced growing grass and growing crops by rotation, and brought about great results in promoting grain output and increasing the income of the collective and the commune members. The Shugua Production Brigade of this commune has persisted in growing sweet clover every year since 1966. It has grown various kinds of crops and increased output by 30 to 100 percent.

The people of Qingjian County in Yulin Prefecture conducted a scientific analysis of the economic value of growing sweet clover. Through investigation they discovered that 1 mu of sweet clover can yield 4,000 jin of green grass, approximately 500 jin of grass stubble, 250 jin of ammonium carbonate, 77 jin of calcium superphosphate, 120 jin of potassium carbonate and a large amount of organic substance. The organic substance can be converted to humus, which is an agent for improving soil structure, a retainer of soil moisture and nutrients and a regulator of the physical structure of the soil, and it has a particular ability to improve soil and fertilize the land. The people of this county hold that only by grasping the growing of grass relentlessly and fertilizing the soil continuously can they truly realize high and stable outputs of grain at low cost. Last year the entire county grew some 166,000 mu of grass, including some 141,000 mu of sweet clover, some 13,000 mu of alfalfa and some 1,300 mu of sha-da-wang, thus realizing the demand for an average of 1 mu per person. Practice is a great school. Practice is the only criterion for testing the truth. Some people cherished three ideological "fears" toward growing grass (first, they are afraid that grasping grass will reduce grain; secondly, they are afraid that the effort may be futile; and thirdly, they are afraid that the commune members' income will be affected). These people have all raised their understanding in practice. The Shizegua Production Brigade of Donglahe Commune in Qingjian County vigorously persists in grasping the growing of grass. Every year it maintains the status of 1 mu per person, practices growing grass and crops by rotation, and increases grain output steadily year after year. The average grain output per person each year is maintained at over 800 jin. The sale of grass alone yields every person an average cash income of 17 yuan. The commune members all say happily: "Growing grass on a large scale is good, because it is a small investment that brings a ten thousand-fold profit." Practice makes people realize that in the undulating hills and ravines of northern Shaanxi the destruction of vegetation is the important cause of the decline of natural productivity and the slow development of social production. Thus, expanding the acreage for growing grass and planting forests, improving the factors for vegetation, and developing livestock breeding and forestry in order to maintain a normal proportional relationship among agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding will make it possible to swiftly change the backward outlook of northern Shaanxi.

The planting of forests is also a fundamental measure for changing the undulating hills and ravines on the loess plateau of northern Shaanxi. Forests can preserve water resources, regulate climate and reduce disasters. People can understand and accept this. Thus, here we also emphasize the issue of grass. Practice has no limits, and understanding, too, has no limits. People's understanding of the role of planting forests and building a forestry base is a practical process of further raising understanding and solving ideological problems. In his letter to the Yi County CCP Committee of Hebei Province, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "For many years, whenever we mentioned carrying out farmland capital construction, some of our comrades instantly thought of building water conservancy projects, producing chemical fertilizers and manufacturing tractors. Of course, I do not blindly oppose these things. But I feel that building forests is more important." He further pointed out: "Building forests is conserving water, building forests is producing grain, building forests is producing light industrial products and building forests is setting up local small-scale industries." Later, in other documents he added the following: "The vast majority of regions throughout the country should also vigorously grow grass. Localities with favorable conditions should give their commune members some barren hills, barren slopes and sandy patches on which to grow grass. Whoever grows grass owns what he or she grows." Acting precisely in accordance with the spirit of Comrade Hu Yaobang's opinion, the people of northern Shaanxi are determined to truly launch agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding well in northern Shaanxi.

"The Bells Are Not Effective but the Policies Are"

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and under the guidance of the two documents on agriculture, a rural economic policy has been implemented by stages, and the countryside of northern Shaanxi has presented an unprecedented excellent situation. A momentum of truly running agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding well is gathering. Northern Shaanxi is large and sparsely populated; its economy is backward and its people are still not well off. In such a locality, if we pay attention to appropriately relaxing our policies, arousing the productive enthusiasm of the various production brigades and households to do things in a down-to-earth manner, suiting measures to conditions, propagating strengths and avoiding weaknesses, it is possible to speed up the pace of construction. In the past, as a result of the interference and sabotage of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," almost every day some "tails of capitalism" were lopped off. The masses of commune members who bought some vegetables in the spring, some cucumbers in the summer, some saplings (tree saplings) in the fall and a basket woven from willow twigs in the winter were all labeled "tails of capitalism." Men who fed a lanha sheep (an improved fine-wool sheep) and women who fed a "nine-jin fowl" (hen) were also labeled "tails of capitalism." This seriously blunted the enthusiasm of the masses of commune members for developing production and seeking a richer life. On the other hand, we also must admit that in executing some policies in the past we imposed too many restrictions on and intervened too frequently in work. We did not dare take the actual situation of a locality into consideration and adopt effective policies and measures to suit the conditions of that locality in order to bring the potential of the people and the land and the superiority of the natural resources into play. This was also an important factor restricting the enthusiasm of the masses. Recently the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee formally adopted a resolution on turning northern Shaanxi into livestock breeding and forestry production bases. To develop livestock breeding the provincial party committee decided to abolish all irrational restrictions and to advance boldly with the collectives and commune members. No restrictions will be imposed on the number of draft animals and hogs and goats raised by commune members. When a commune member raises a draft animal, localities with favorable conditions will designate roughly 1 mu of land on which he can grow fodder or will assign the production team to grow fodder collectively and supply fodder to the commune members. To accelerate the pace of forestry construction, the provincial party committee decided: The country has barren hills, barren land and barren deserts. Land which the state-run forestry farms cannot handle at present can be allotted to neighboring communes and production brigades to be built into forests. The forest belongs to whoever builds it. Also, the state and the collective can operate cooperatively and share the profits. A portion of the barren hills, barren land and barren deserts belonging to the collective can be given to commune members, who can grow grass and plant trees on it and own it. In addition, forestry authorization certificates are issued as a form of trust in the people. Such policies, which accord with the actual situation and with the urgent demands of the masses, have won the support of the broad masses of communes, production brigades and commune members. "The bells are not effective but the policies are" is how the cadres and masses sum up their personal experiences.

In northern Shaanxi at present, as a result of the relaxation of policies, in areas where there are barren hills, barren slopes and barren deserts, in addition to private plots and fodder plots every household is given 3 to 10 mu of fuel forests. In Qiaowan Commune, Jingbian County, every household is given 4 to 6 mu of fuel forests, and commune members are mobilized to grow grass. This spring, in addition to the 10,000 mu of forests built by the collective, the commune members built 3,500 mu of forests and planted 23,000 trees on all four sides of their residences. To solve the problem of a lack of saplings for commune members, the commune provided its members with some 50,000 poplar tree saplings, worth 2,500 yuan; some 6,000 apple tree saplings, worth some 1,300 yuan; some 500,000 jin of willow tree seeds, worth some 10,000 yuan; and some 10,000 willow trees, worth some 5,000 yuan. Liu Xingfu, a member of the No 2 production team of the Mujie Production Brigade, planted some 600 poplar and willow trees around his house and on the forest land allotted to him. Dang Qianshan, leader of the Wujiamu production team of the Qiaogouwan Production Brigade, planted some 600 poplars, some 200 willows and some 50 fruit trees.

Jizixian Commune in Fu County, Yanan Prefecture, has launched collective forest building by the commune and production brigades and at the same time actively assists commune members to build forests, thereby greatly enhancing the speed of forestry construction. Last year and this spring the commune members throughout the commune planted trees on 1,993 mu of land; they planted 797,200 trees on the forest land and 150,000 trees around their houses, thereby reaching a total of 947,200 trees. To encourage the commune members to actively build forests, during the spring and fall forest-building seasons this commune's production teams arrange 7 to 10 days of individual forest-building time for commune members of every household and give 4 working-day workpoints for the building of 1 mu of forest. Also, they allow commune members to engage in the planting at intervals of forest grains, forest grass, forest legumes, forest vegetables and forest herbs, the yields from which go to the commune members themselves. Last year this measure produced 200,000 jin of grain and legume products and some 6,000 jin of oil-bearing products, herbs and other industrial crops.

In the past, when commune members went to work in the fields, they worked in obedience to the production team leaders. Now, before the sun rises, the commune members have already gone to work. In the past, people held that northern Shaanxi was a poor place that "was dry 9 out of 10 years and where the people were dependent on the heavens for their meals." Now the people no longer think so, but believe that the poverty over the years was caused primarily by the interference and sabotage of the ultra-left line. Furthermore, the excessively rigid policies also tied the people's hands and feet. Now the policies are correct, the people's enthusiasm for production is truly aroused, production has been brought to life and agriculture and livestock breeding and forestry will truly be promoted. A commune member of the Jingjie Production Brigade in Jinjitan Commune, Yulin County, said with emotion to county party committee first secretary Qu Kuanhai: "If we had not blindly curbed prosperity 10 years ago, we would have long since been rich. In the next 10 years, as long as the policies remain unchanged, we can still become rich."

"Scientific Research Workers Who Break Through Brambles and Thorns in the Adverse Situation"

In northern Shaanxi, in order to invigorate our country's agricultural, forestry and livestock breeding undertakings, many scientific research workers have fought in arduous circumstances over an extended period of time. They have braved the fierce sun and desert storms and have worked diligently day and night. Some people described their difficult life in the following words: "From a distance they look like coal miners; from nearby they look like beggars. Only by asking do we know they are from the forestry station." Of the many agricultural, forestry and livestock breeding scientific and technological workers I interviewed, most were from the Northwest Agricultural College. Some of the comrades came from agricultural and forestry institutes in places like Wuhan and Nanjing. They have all stood at their posts, broken through brambles and thorns in adverse circumstances and brought forth outstanding results.

Chinese pine is an evergreen coniferous tree. It is a fine breed of tree of the timber-producing forest of northern Shaanxi. As a windbreak and to fix the sand it is more useful than the poplar. This is because the poplar sheds its leaves in winter; thus, when the wind is strongest in the winter and spring in northern Shaanxi, the poplar cannot help check the wind velocity. According to a determination by the Sand Control Research Institute, sand is whipped up when the wind velocity reaches 3.8 meters per second. In the Jingbian area the wind velocity in the winter and spring seasons reaches 7 to 8 meters per second. It is therefore necessary to rely on the evergreen Chinese pine, which is able to bring into play its special power of reducing wind velocity and fixing the sand.

In view of the geographical factors, Jingbian district in northern Shaanxi is situated in a dry grass region, with very little rainfall and strong and frequent winds in the winter and spring. The building of large areas of small-leaf poplars and drought-resistant willows has become a problem. This is because wind and sand are strong and the climate adverse, and small-leaf poplars are thereby unable to grow healthily and become "small old man" trees, while the drought-resistant willows simply die off. The resolution to this problem has already become an important topic for the scientific and technological workers. Nevertheless, how arduous a task indeed it is to plant large areas of Chinese pine and camphor pine in the wake of the wind and in the sand dunes!

To enable the Chinese pine to live and grow to maturity on the sand dunes, the most difficult problem is the nurturing of saplings. It is necessary not only to enable the pine seedlings to emerge from the soil alive, but also to enable the pine saplings to withstand such stern tests as wind corrosion, sand invasion and its own diseases (such as withering).

Who can break through this pass? Here we need fearless fighters who have resolute will, possess professional knowledge and are determined to shed their heart's blood for the four modernizations. Without these fighters it is pointless to talk about transforming nature and realizing the four modernizations.

Luo Bingchun, a female technician of the Shashimao forestry farm in Jingbian County is one resolute fighter who diligently nurtures Chinese pine in the wake of the wind and sandstorms. In the fall of 1963 this student, who graduated in the forestry profession from the Northwest Agricultural College, was assigned to work on the forestry farm of Jingbian County in northern Shaanxi. Two years after she began the work of nursing saplings, her research work was cut short for 10 years as a result of the interference and sabotage of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In spite of this, Luo Bingchun did not lose her burning desire to turn the country green and build the northwest. After the smashing of the "gang of four," she disregarded her poor physical health and plunged into the urgent and heavy task of nursing saplings. In the short period between 1977 and 1979 she made outstanding contributions to the work of nursing saplings and building large areas of forest in the wake of the wind and sandstorms. She nursed 3.45 million Chinese pines, camphor pines and North China larches for the state, met the needs of building 2,600 mu of forests and insured a survival rate of over 70 percent.

Comrade Luo Bingchun dedicated all her energy to nursing saplings. To change the situation in which just one kind of tree was grown in the dry grass region, she tried in every way, by going through classmates, relatives and friends, to introduce more than 20 kinds of tree saplings. Then she tested them, carefully observed their development, explored the laws of nursing saplings and gradually unified the biological and ecological characteristics of the trees with the environmental characteristics of that locality. She conducted a large amount of scientific research and statistical analysis on seed sterilization, soil sterilization, fertilizer application and strengthening of saplings, and comparison between the growth of saplings and disease prevention. She formulated a set of methods for nursing saplings that display scientific ingenuity and accord with the particular ecology of that locality. Her work was acknowledged and commended by the higher-level leading organs.

Comrade Luo Bingchun lived a simple and frugal life. She was quiet and never talked about her hard work and contributions. She paid no attention to the rude intervention and unreasonable reproaches which she encountered in her work. She said, "To turn the motherland green and build and open up the vast northwest is the policy decision and call of the party Central Committee. As forestry scientific and technological personnel of new China we can only do our job well and must definitely not make a mess of it. This is our duty."

To do a good job of building livestock breeding and forestry bases, many scientific research workers working in northern Shaanxi have made many good suggestions, the primary ones being: (1) Properly solve the problem of talents moving to other places. For instance, there were 600 forestry scientific and technological personnel in Yulin Prefecture in 1965. In the last 15 years, not only was there no increase in number, but the number was reduced by 200 people. (2) Scientific research tasks undergo great changes and are unstable. Furthermore, there is not a sufficient scientific research fund, and the ascertained scientific research fund cannot be appropriated for the basic-level units in time. A serious phenomenon of "holdup in work due to poor organization" has appeared in scientific research work. On this issue, scientific research personnel express urgent concern. (3) Due to the inconvenient transportation in northern Shaanxi, there is great difficulty in inviting professionals and professors from other places to come and lecture in northern Shaanxi. Many scientific and technological personnel have very little opportunity to learn from and exchange experience with advanced regions throughout the nation. A state of scientific and technological "isolation" has appeared. These personnel hope that higher-level leading departments and scientific committees at various levels can solve in a planned manner the problem of continuing education for scientific research personnel who are working in arduous circumstances and enable these workers to develop a broader vision, enhance their professional knowledge and serve the four modernizations in a better way.

We Do Not Have To Wait Until We Are Old To Move Mountains

Spending a month in northern Shaanxi, I could see everywhere the production enthusiasm of the thousands and tens of thousands of commune and production brigade member households which has been aroused by the party's policies, as well as the great momentum that has accompanied it. The peasants all said happily that "The policies have warmed the people's hearts, and there is gold all over the land," "The heavens may be ineffective, but the policies surely are effective," and "When the policies are correct, real vigor in production is aroused and a better and richer life is promised."

I am still using the growing of grass and building of forests as the example. The Shihuicha Production Brigade of Lijiacha Commune in Zichang County, Yanan Prefecture, has a total acreage of 33,000 mu, of which 5,360 mu is arable land, which means an average of 8 mu per person. Beginning this year it will grow grass and plant trees on 1,000 mu of land annually, so that by 1989 this production brigade will have 10,000 mu of grassland and 10,000 mu of forests. Is this plan "armchair strategy"? No. This past spring the production brigade grew grass on 895 mu of land, collectively built forest on 531 mu of land and built forest by individual commune members on 202 mu of land. To plant trees on a large scale this production brigade has already nursed 71.5 mu of tree saplings this year--the production brigade being responsible for 30.5 mu, the production teams for 17.5 mu and individual commune members for 23.5 mu. The Baiyangshuwan production team in the production brigade has 127 people and has developed 328 mu of forests, an average of 2.6 mu per person. This year the production team has nursed saplings on 4 mu of land, and individual commune members have nursed saplings on 78 mu of land. Commune members Xing Youfu, Xing Youcai, Xing Shengman and Zhang Zhian have nursed saplings on 3 mu of private plots. From 1949 to 1979 the Shihuicha Production Brigade developed 2,930 mu of forests, building an acreage of 100 mu of forests every year. From this year onward it will build 1,000 mu of forests every year. This speed is indeed impressive.

Another convincing model is the Mangkeng Production Brigade of Qinhe Commune in Yulin County, Yulin Prefecture. This production brigade is situated in the heart of the Maoniaosu Desert, 60 li northwest of the city of Yulin. Prior to 1971 there were very few attempts to grow grass and plant trees here. Shifting sand rolled incessantly, and drought and waterlogging occurred frequently. The entire production brigade had only 38 mu of scattered irrigated fields and some 700 willow trees. Every year only 70,000 to 80,000 jin of grain was produced. The livelihood of the masses was extremely poor. Many commune members basically sustained a living by going away to work. Nevertheless, in 1971, by summing up experiences and lessons and with the assistance of personnel from the Shaanxi provincial forestry scientific institute, this production brigade formulated a plan for the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding and worked for 8 years in a down-to-earth manner. In addition to developing 600 mu of irrigated land, it established 20 forest prevention belts, 10 of which were primary belts and 10 secondary belts, with a total length of 30 li, as well as 16 li of belts surrounding the sand dunes. It also developed 300 mu of timber forests. Together with the trees which commune members planted around their houses, the production brigade now has a total of 131,000 trees, an average of 437 trees per person. It also set up apple orchards, Chinese wolfberry gardens and vineyards and developed nearly 100 mu of industrial forests. It built 6,300 mu of sand-fixing forests, chiefly using desert willow trees, covering 66 percent of the desert acreage. Last year every person in the production brigade increased his average grain possession from 300 jin in 1970 to 1,710 jin. The average grain ration for each person increased to some 500 jin, and the average distributed income for each person increased from 40 yuan in 1970 to 107 yuan. Since last year the members have been able to fell some trees. They sold 200 trees and obtained an income of some 4,000 yuan. Every year they are nursing saplings on more than 50 mu of land. Besides transplanting some of them, they are selling some 270,000 saplings every year, obtaining an annual income of some 8,000 yuan. Now they are continually building forests, with the target of transplanting 10,000 trees every year. By 1984 this production brigade will possess 200,000 trees, an average of 700 trees per person. From 1984 onward it will transplant 10,000 trees annually and at the same time fell 10,000 trees. The production brigade estimates that the felling of trees will bring in 200,000 yuan a year, an average of 700 yuan per person.

A plan to relax policies, readjust arrangements, accelerate the pace of building northern Shaanxi and turn northern Shaanxi into livestock breeding and forestry bases is now being formulated in a down-to-earth manner. All the people are continually emancipating their thinking, working in a down-to-earth manner, making efforts to suit measures to conditions and writing about their efforts. As long as we conscientiously implement the general and specific policies of the party Central Committee on developing production in the countryside, it is possible to swiftly change the backward outlook of northern Shaanxi's economy. If the state provides appropriate assistance, there will be an obvious change by 1985 and a big change by 1990 in the speed of building northern Shaanxi into a production base for livestock breeding and forestry and in the extent of improving the livelihood of the people of northern Shaanxi. This is what we mean by not having to wait until we are old to move mountains. Of course, this does not mean that we can underestimate the difficulty presented by our nation's large population and weak base. We also are not saying that this generation alone can accomplish this historical task. We should continue to give prominence to the spirit of the foolish old man in moving mountains and struggle arduously generation after generation. But as long as the policies we formulate protect and promote the development of productivity, we can speedily change the backward outlook of northern Shaanxi's economy.

Reviewing the talks by many professionals, professors and practical workers at the scientific conference on comprehensive harnessing of soil erosion in the northwest loess plateau, held in Xian this April by the State Agricultural Commission, the State Scientific Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and reviewing what I have seen and heard in this past month's visit to northern Shaanxi, I found particularly inspiring the introductory passage to an article by Comrade Tong Dalin, in which he said: "Are the loess plateau and the vast northwest deserted and poor? Yes and no. In the course of realizing the four modernizations, is this region destined to be more backward compared with the rich south? Not really. It all depends on the people's efforts."

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IT IS IMPERATIVE TO ENERGETICALLY ENCOURAGE THE PRACTICE OF INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

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[Article by Ma Zhongyang [7456 0112 2254]]

[Text] Carrying out investigation and study, which means the concrete application of our party's ideological line or materialist epistemological line, has always been a work style upheld by the party. It is the basis for getting to know a situation, implementing our policies and acquainting ourselves with and reforming the world. Without investigation and study it is entirely impossible to get to know new conditions and problems in our work or to successfully carry out the four modernizations. Furthermore, without investigation and study it is also impossible to implement the principle of seeking truth from facts, overcome subjectivism, strengthen and improve the leadership of the party and enhance the fighting capacity of the party. Therefore, it has become an issue worthy of our immediate attention to energetically encourage the practice of investigation and study.

I

The development of science requires investigation and study on a large scale; without them there can be no scientific development. The practice of the founders of Marxism-Leninism has provided very convincing proof of this point.

During his lengthy scientific research, Marx carried out detailed and thorough investigations and studies, setting a brilliant example for communists. When he was working on the book "Das Kapital," he spent 10 hours a day in the library, gathering a good deal of material, perusing some 1,500 books, making detailed excerpts and sorting out all kinds of related statistics and raw material. He said: "In doing research work one must have all the necessary data, analyze all their forms of development and probe into the internal relations of such forms." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 23) He never based himself on any unverified material. Science is by no means a kind of selfish pleasure-seeking. Marx asked all those engaged in scientific studies to first of all use their knowledge to serve mankind. In his opinion, however, knowledge that has not been obtained through detailed and careful investigation and study is of no use of man.

In writing his book "Conditions of the Working Class in Britain," which was praised by Lenin as "an outstanding piece of work in world socialist literature," Engels made detailed studies of all the works previously published on the subject. He examined with a critical eye a great variety of official and unofficial documents and also spent 21 months touring many cities to personally carry out investigations. In this work there are detailed records and vivid descriptions of the living quarters and working conditions of the workers there.

To refute the narodniks, Lenin rigorously examined and collated material used in their works and pointed out what in those works was inconsistent with relevant facts, what facts had been distorted and what they had fabricated. Lenin held that whether the views of the narodniks conformed to the social economic conditions then in existence in Russia and to the actual historical situation should be the criterion for testing whether such viewpoints were correct. According to recollections by Lenin's relatives, while he was in prison Lenin spent his time primarily on scientific research. The great deal of material used in his book "Development of Capitalism in Russia" was gathered by him during his imprisonment. Once, when his relatives informed him that the imprisonment was nearing an end, Lenin replied: "So quick? But I have not yet collected all the necessary material."

What have the investigations and studies conducted by Marx, Engels and Lenin shown us?

First, Marxism is science, and scientific research requires a strictly scientific approach and methodology. However, we have experienced misfortunes in this respect. Kang Sheng, who once usurped the leadership of our cultural and educational field, claimed that random actions meant scientific research. In mid-October 1958 he told the principals of the country's agronomical colleges: "What is scientific research? There is no mystery about it. Scientific research means daring to take random actions." On 30 October 1958, speaking at the Hefei Engineering College, he said: "You must acquire the spirit of superciliousness," "and that means random actions," "because random actions mean scientific research." On 4 November 1958 Kang Sheng clamored in Shanghai: "What is called scientific research? It means being daring in taking random actions on a certain basis. Young people dare to do this." We affirm the significance of hypotheses or even fantasies in scientific research, but no achievements can be made through these without well-conceived and careful investigations and studies. Therefore, such hypotheses and fantasies have nothing to do with the "random actions" advocated by Kang Sheng. What could prevent disastrous results from our scientific research with people such as Kang Sheng--who displayed not one iota of scientific attitude but were in fact antiscientific--at the helm of our cultural, educational and scientific research fields?

Second, scientific socialism is a branch of science and should be treated as such. Science is a subject of study but not, like religion, a subject of blind worship. The founders of scientific socialism never provided any immutable prototype, and scientific socialism cannot and should not provide any immutable "prototype" for people to "copy." Today we are practicing socialism, and it is imperative to explore concrete forms of socialism that suit the conditions of different countries by means of practical investigations and studies. In the vast garden of socialism we need a myriad of flowers in a profusion of colors, instead of a solitary flower in love with its own fragrance.

Third, without detailed data it is impossible to carry out research or judge the correctness of existing conclusions, nor is it possible to bring forth scientific and original opinions. Therefore, data forms the basis of scientific research. Without it, any research is at best a castle in the air.

Fourth, apart from making comparisons on historical and logical principles, scientific research also means using living or vivid examples in actual comparisons. Truth can only be identified through comparison with falsehood.

In a word, Marxism originated from investigation and study and also develops on such a basis. To further develop Marxism it is imperative to make more energetic efforts in investigation and study.

II

The development of the revolutionary cause depends a great deal upon investigation and study. Without it there will be no development. The history of our party has fully proved that. Whenever our party makes a point of investigation and study, it finds solid foundation on which to conduct its revolutionary activities and win smashing victories. Conversely, when it neglects investigation and study and does things on the basis of its assumptions, our work suffers severe setbacks.

Comrade Mao Zedong always paid serious attention to investigation and study. Many well-known investigation reports he wrote have a direct bearing on the formulation of our party's line, principles and policies. The "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," written in 1926, and the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in 1927 were the result of the investigations he focused on Chinese society during the party's infancy. His "Oppose Book Worship," written in May 1930, is an extremely important article on investigation and study. In this article Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the famous motto of "no investigation, no right to speak," and he called on the entire party to "constantly keep ourselves informed of social conditions and carry out on-the-spot investigations." He particularly emphasized that the absence of such investigations would give rise to idealist assessments of class conditions and idealist instructions on work. He added that the result would be either opportunism or putschism. He offered sharp criticisms of this, saying: "Quite a few comrades always keep their eyes shut and talk nonsense, and for a communist that is disgraceful. How can a communist keep his eyes shut and talk nonsense? It won't do! It won't do!" We are opposed to becoming prejudiced by preconceptions, because "conclusions invariably come after investigation, not before." Some people try to obtain appropriate material through "investigations" to verify their preconceptions. Such a method will only encourage subjectivism and the practice of coercing others by means of administrative orders and is detrimental to our work style of carrying out investigation and study. We should be on guard against it.

It was after the CCP Central Committee reached the decision on investigation and study in 1941 that carrying out investigation and study became a regular practice within our party and very popular with our cadres. The Central Committee's decision pointed out the existence of impurity in our party's work style: "The leading organs of the entire party, as well as all the comrades within our party, have not yet gained a thorough understanding of the seriousness of the damage done to our revolutionary work over the past 20 years because of subjectivism and formalism, as well as our naivete and ignorance." Responding to the call by the Central Committee, the party carried out the rectification movement in Yanan. By means of investigations and studies of the various aspects of the party's revolutionary practice in the past, the entire party, especially its leading cadres, summed up such practice in a scientific way and unfolded extensive education in Marxism throughout the party. In this way the principle of seeking truth from facts came to be widely accepted and implemented in the party, while subjectivism underwent thorough criticism. With the entire party attaching great importance to the pertinent decisions of the party Central Committee and to articles written by Comrade Mao Zedong to rectify the party's work style, namely, the "Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," investigation and study really transformed the work style of the party. Elevating investigation and study as a component part of the theory of knowledge to the level of world outlook and methodology and popularizing them among the cadres has been an accomplishment of our party.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: Deciding on principles for our work in the light of the actual situation is the most fundamental method of work that every communist must firmly bear in mind. Only through investigation and study can we accurately grasp the actual situation, and we cannot know the correct principle or policy to follow unless we make clear the concrete situation involved. Investigation and study constitute the process of the application of the materialist epistemological line. Only through this process is it possible for man's understanding to deepen and for his subjective thinking to comply with objective reality. "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat." We can win a battle only when we have come to know our own conditions and those of the enemy. In our practical work other than fighting wars, if we want to attain the expected results, we must also carry out investigation and study, gain a thorough understanding of all kinds of conditions involved, ascertain the objective laws governing the working of things and apply them to direct our own actions. That is why what we call freedom means the understanding of necessity.

"No investigation, no right to speak" is a Marxist work principle put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. It once played a very important role in our practical work. Regrettably, we have not always adhered to this principle. After the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, we became imprudent in the wake of our tremendous victories. In 1957 there came the widening of the scope of the struggle against the rightists, and in 1958, in providing leadership in economic work, we went against the objective laws, deviated from the principles of carrying out thorough investigations and studies and of endorsing things only after testing them, committed the errors of "messing things up by giving wrong orders," "engaging in exaggeration and boasting" and "trying to effect the transition to communism prematurely," and seriously affected the economic life of the state as well as the people's livelihood. These errors constituted one of the primary causes of the difficulties that lasted for 3 years.

In January 1961 Comrade Mao Zedong called for "vigorously carrying out investigation and study" and "making this year one of seeking truth from facts." In response, central departments and all the provinces conducted a great number of investigations. To rectify the mistakes made in the previous few years, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Li Fuchun set forth the eight-character principle of "readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards" in order to restore the national economy. On the basis of investigations and studies, a series of work regulations were adopted in that year, including the 60 regulations on the people's commune, the 70 regulations on industry, the 60 regulations on higher education, and so on. In January 1962, at an enlarged Central Committee work conference, the party Central Committee called on the entire party to study democratic centralism, put democratic life on a sound footing and practice the "three don'ts." Under the guidance of these correct principles and policies, normal order in our economic and political life was rapidly restored.

However, just a few years later the entire party was thrown into greater convulsions, namely, the 10 catastrophic years. The work style of seeking truth from facts and carrying out investigation and study was trampled on, and the entire party and country was subjected to large-scale destruction and tremendous disasters. On the one hand this was the result of the deliberate sabotage by counterrevolutionary careerists and conspirators, and on the other it was the result of violations of the principle of seeking truth from facts and carrying out investigation and study. This has been a bitter lesson for our party in our effort to seriously sum up past experiences.

Looking back over past history we can see that the practice of investigation and study has a direct bearing on the correctness of our party's line, principles and policies and is directly related to the success or failure of our cause. Therefore, if we make vigorous efforts to carry out investigation and study, we can certainly promote the development of the revolutionary cause and make our party flourish.

For our people to realize the four modernizations in accordance with actual conditions in our country is a new task. On the new Long March and to blaze a new and Chinese-style trail we must rely on our own efforts in practice and exploration. Only when we carry out thorough and careful investigation and study will we be able to gain accurate information about new conditions and find effective solutions to new problems now facing us. We must unswervingly abandon the kind of practices that mechanically copy formulas worked out by others in disregard of practical conditions in China. We must see to it that our cadres truly carry out investigations and studies on every matter they deal with and translate into action the motto of "no investigation, no right to speak"; we must also see to it that no one is allowed to make decisions or direct any work before he conducts investigation and study.

III

How do we conduct concrete investigation and study?

First, we must make preparations.

Ever since the smashing of the "gang of four" we have been gradually restoring the party's fine traditions. However, bringing order out of chaos remains an enormous task. There is still ideological ossification among us. The pernicious influence of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng has not yet been eradicated; instead, it is still stubbornly asserting itself in certain fields and units. Therefore, to do a good job of investigation and study we must first of all continue to emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts.

According to the opinions expressed by Comrade Mao Zedong over the years, to conduct investigation and study we must go into the very midst of the masses, drop pretentious airs, make ourselves willing pupils of the people and honestly and sincerely learn from them. At the same time we must guard against any tendency to enjoy listening only to favorable comments while spurning sincere advice that might grate on our ears. We must learn to listen to the opinions of all sorts of people and allow others to give their opinions, no matter whether they are nice words or not and no matter whether they are in favor of or against our own ideas. Only in this way will people dare to speak their minds and will it be possible for us to obtain true information from investigations.

We must study party policies pertaining to the subjects of our investigations and studies; however, we must not turn them into restrictions that fetter us. In the process of investigation and study, if we discover that the actual situation conflicts with the party's policies, we must go against the actual situation but must report it to higher authorities exactly as it is. To do otherwise would mean negating the significance of investigation and study. Generally speaking, our party's policies are formulated on the basis of investigations, but it would be wrong to think that there is a solution that holds good for all time or can smooth out all sorts of complicated problems. Therefore, only when thorough investigations and studies are carried out and attention is paid to the implementation of party policies in the light of actual conditions can we insure the implementation of party policies in a concrete manner and enrich and improve them in the process.

Do investigation and study involve risks? It should be acknowledged that any action that upholds the principle of seeking truth from facts and insists on dialectical materialism inevitably will meet with all sorts of interference and opposition or even persecution. Conducting revolutionary activities will not be smooth sailing. However, under the socialist system it would not be a natural thing to have to take tremendous risks in conducting thorough investigations and studies. In the past some comrades were subjected to persecution and struggles due to the investigations and studies they carried out, but this occurred under exceptional circumstances when normal inner-party political life was impossible. We have now drawn lessons from this experience and written them into the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," providing protection against the recurrence of such things by means of relevant regulations incorporated in the documents on party laws and rules.

Second, do a good job of selecting typical examples and dissecting sparrows.

The purpose of investigation and study is to solve problems. What deserves our attention here is that we should make clear whether a subject of investigation is typical of its kind, that is to say, whether it is of universal significance. This is very important. What we called dissecting sparrows refers to analyses of typical examples. Therefore, we must first do a good job of selecting typical examples. In real life it is often the case that some advanced units are mystified by propaganda, and when people who really know the ropes examine these units they can find much to comment about and will say that it is impossible to popularize the experiences of such-and-such advanced units. What is the reason? It is that such units have their special conditions and other units are incapable of using them as models. If other units are forced to copy such typical examples, there will be resentment, and no exact copy of the original model can be reproduced. For example, when investigations are conducted in the countryside we must not use the same examples all the time and must never try to employ exactly the same methods in different localities, where conditions are bound to be different. Even if what we deal with are units that have the same natural conditions, there are surely some units that are better, units that are mediocre and others that have fared poorly. In this kind of situation, it is good for us to make comparisons between the good and bad units during our investigations and studies, because by comparing we can distinguish.

There is one lesson to learn. We should let people carry out investigations and studies on advanced units that are well known throughout the country and allow people to air their opinions on them. In particular we should allow people to express any doubts about them or any ideas in opposition to the ways in which such advanced units are being run. However, over a fairly long period in the past, once certain units became "red banner" units, people usually were only allowed to visit them, learn from them and praise them; they were not allowed to conduct investigations into them, criticize them or voice opposition to the way things were done in them. At that time, if one raised some doubt about such units, one would be regarded as trying to "fell the banner." In this way, people could only pay tribute to such units but were not given access to the true features of such units. It seemed that people in those units were all "advanced" and that their deeds invariably were "exemplary." In fact, there are backward things in an advanced unit and advanced factors in a backward unit. Only such a point of view is in line with dialectics of the objective world. During the 10 catastrophic years some advanced units were reduced to the status of tools of the "gang of four" conjurers' magic wand and seemed to be capable of providing anything needed by the "gang." The first day the press reported on a certain unit reaping a bumper harvest, the next day there could be another report about the party branch in that unit being a model party branch, the third day there might be further reports on how well the unit's militiamen performed, and on the ensuing days there were followup reports about the excellence of the martial art skills of those militiamen. Because they were loaded with fancy phrases that exaggerated the merits of such units, these reports catered to the ultraleftist needs of the "gang of four" but completely distorted the true image of the units. Such fabrications surely arouse suspicions, and how can people who entertain such suspicions be blamed? What is gratifying is that lies have now been laid bare, idealism has gone bankrupt and the people no longer will cherish blind faith.

Third, we must carry out well-conceived investigations and thorough studies.

In conducting investigations we must guard against listening to opinions from only one side and still more against paying attention to only one aspect of our problems while paying no heed to the overall situation. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly told us that it is essential to carry out well-conceived and careful investigations. By this we meant that we must get to know not only the general situation but also the situation involving special subjects, and not only one aspect of a thing under review but also the other aspects of it. We must understand the present situation and history. We must grasp new questions as well as old ones. In our investigations, discussions should permit different conditions to be explained and different views aired, so that one person's knowledge can complement someone else's. In sum, we should strive to acquire comprehensive and systematic information during our investigations. Since we want to investigate actual situations, we cannot base ourselves on assumptions. Instead of issuing orders to the masses, we must become their willing pupils; instead of merely asking them to give information that we prefer, we must let the masses speak their minds freely.

By thorough studies we mean repeatedly checking the great deal of material we acquire and analyzing it by examining its relationships with other things and comparing them with historical facts. We must not entertain preconceptions; we must not try to draw any conclusion prematurely; and we must study both current and historical facts and ascertain the intrinsic relations of complicated facts and the laws governing the development of things.

Fourth, discard the dross and select the essential, eliminate the false and retain the true, proceed from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside.

This concerns the process of epistemological development from the stage of perceptual knowledge to the stage of rational knowledge. During our investigations, when we process the material already gathered, we must follow this procedure. First of all, we should discard the dross from the material and select the essential, eliminate the false and retain the true. What is the dross and what is the essential? The former means having a smattering of knowledge through cursory observation. The latter can be obtained by examining and checking the material over and over again. The false means what is fabricated, that which brings us trouble if we are duped by it. Therefore, we must be particularly on the lookout for this danger. For a long time in the past the proneness to boasting and exaggeration, as well as bureaucratism at higher levels and the practice of lower levels to report only good news and hold back unpleasant information, led to the strange situation in which people who had dished up false reports were commended, while those who had reported the truth were criticized, and in which people who made exaggerated or false reports or made empty promises were promoted or entrusted with important tasks. Therefore, correcting the practice of trickery and deception is itself a struggle. Our failure to clear away such practice would mean that materialism would lose ground and that the rectification of the party's work style would be impossible. Hence, such a practice should never be allowed to exist within the party.

To deepen our understanding it is necessary to proceed from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside. This conforms to epistemological dialectics, which requires us to gain a more profound, accurate and comprehensive understanding of the interrelationships of things and the objective laws governing them. We usually say that we must avoid subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality, and to achieve this we must make earnest efforts to repeatedly study, ponder over and compare all material in our hands and process it before we can say that the task of a specific investigation and study is fundamentally fulfilled.

Energetically encouraging investigation and study is an urgent requirement of the four modernizations, as well as a task with which the times have charged us. This task also means promoting our understanding of objective reality and the situation in our country. Only when we have created an atmosphere of keenness to carry out investigation and study can we really bring our strong points into full play, avoid shortcomings and make plans for the four modernizations in light of the concrete situation.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

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> [Text] Editor's Note: In order to improve and strengthen leadership in building modernization, each Communist Party member, especially leadership cadres at all levels, must definitely take pains to study science and technology and all types of specialized knowledge to become an expert in his professional work. This is an urgent task now facing the entire party. The following article, presented here for everyone to study, consists of the drafts of lectures which Professor Qian Sanqiang gave to the party Central Committee Secretariat. In the future we will continue to publish more articles of this type.

People are becoming more and more aware of the importance of science and technology, because they have already become a powerful force of social development, making enormous changes in the face of production in society and in the living conditions and spiritual outlook of mankind. Science has also changed the relationships between these factors. How science and technology actually developed; what historical periods they went through; what functions science and technology had in social development; what relationships exist between scientific experiment and production; and what things in the development of science are subject to laws--these are questions regarding which this article plans to make a brief, initial exposition.

1. Ancient Science and Technology (Prior to the 16th Century)

In the long historical periods of gradual development, ancient science and technology went through the social stages of primitive society, slave society and feudal society.

About 500,000 years ago (in the Peking Man period) mankind began to learn to use fire, and this gave an enormous impetus to the development of civilization. About 20,000 years ago men began to use the bow and arrow and gradually learned to tame and raise animals, raise crops, fire pottery, construct simple housing, perform rudimentary hand weaving and make observations on the growth of animals and plants, river flood periods and changes in star positions, all of which made him aware of the seasons for farm crops. All these developments belong to the budding stage of science and technology.

Between approximately 6,000 and 4,000 years ago the ancient centers of civilization, such as Babylon in the Tigris-Euphrates River valley (in present-day Iraq), the Nile River valley, the Ganges River valley and the Yellow River valley, gradually began to take shape. Sooner or later these areas developed slave societies, with a minority of people leaving physical labor to take up mental labor and producing writing systems. The work tools used gradually progressed from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age, and even some early iron tools were produced. The pyramids built in ancient Egypt and the exquisite bronzes of Shang and Zhou China are examples of the high levels of scientific and technological development attained in this period.

From the 7th century B.C. to the end of the 2nd century B.C., ancient Greece was the high point of slave society's scientific and technological development. Ancient Greece was the center of science and culture in ancient Europe, as well as an important point of origin of modern science. The city states of the Mediterranean coast produced a number of natural philosophers who began to smash the bonds of religious superstition and freely investigate all sorts of natural phenomena and produce a primitive theory of the elements and atomic theory. The great accomplishment of the classical school of Aristotle was that in addition to his philosophical work he carried out a great amount of work in such areas as the classification of animals, anatomy and embryo growth. The highest scientific accomplishment of ancient Greece was Euclid's "Elements of Geometry," and his scientific method of rigorous logical analogy was of enormous importance to the development of modern science. Somewhat later came Ptolemy's system of geocentricity and Galen's system of medicine. These two systems are the summation of ancient Greek astronomy and medicine.

The development of ancient China's science and technology occupies a special position in the world history of science and technology. China was the first country in the world to become a feudal society (the

Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods), and although China's scientific beginnings are small compared with those of ancient Greece, nonetheless, in the few hundred years until the Qin and Han dynasties, many departments of China's science and technology had formed their own special systems and in many ways surpassed those of the West. From the Han dynasty to the Tang dynasty there were over a thousand years of development, and in the Song and Yuan dynasties (the 10th through the 14th centuries) a high point was reached. The English historian of science Joseph Needham said: "From the 3rd to the 13th centuries (China) had a level of scientific knowledge that the West could not hope to overtake.... These Chinese inventions and discoveries far exceeded those of contemporary Europe, and this was especially true prior to the 15th century." (Joseph Needham, "Science and Civilization in China") Our four great inventions--gunpowder, the compass, printing and paper--greatly accelerated the rise of modern European civilization. Marx called them "prerequisites for the development of the bourgeoisie." In technology, ancient China also has a series of inventions and creations, for example: iron casting, ceramics, silk (silkworms, mulberries, weaving), and so on. Ancient China also made a number of contributions in mathematics and astronomy, as well as in other natural sciences. For example: the calculation of pi, numerical value solutions for equations of higher degree, abundant records on heavenly phenomena and earthquakes, relatively accurate historical methods, cartography, the earliest astronomical instruments and earthquake instruments, and so on. Chinese medicine and pharmacology even today have worldwide recognition as great treasure houses. To sum up the above, during the one thousand and several hundred years prior to the development of modern Western science, China's science and technology were in a great many areas superior to those of the contemporary Western world.

While ancient China's science and technology were continually absorbing the results of advances from nations in other parts of the world, they also were traveling both land and sea routes to spread their own accomplishments eastward to Korea and Japan and westward to the Arab nations and then onward to Europe, making contributions to the Renaissance and the eventual development of modern science and technology. This naturally brings up the question: Since ancient Chinese science and technology were in a position of world leadership for a thousand and several hundred years, why were modern science and technology not developed in China? This question is multifaceted and requires deep penetration and deep investigation. Considering it from the aspect of social causes, the self-sufficiency of the small peasant economy of the feudal rule later placed severe constraints on development of the production forces, long preventing the buds of capitalism in China from developing, while modern Western science was following the birth and development of capitalism to make continual developments. In China the feudal ruling class emphasized agriculture and repressed commerce, was contemptuous of skills, respected the classics and praised antiquity, and used the imperial examination system, all of which were severe obstacles to the development of China's society and economy and science and technology.

2. Modern Science and Technology (the 16th to 19th Centuries)

Modern natural science is a product of the Renaissance. The Renaissance was a great movement of intellectual liberation in opposition to the confinements of feudal ideology, and it originated in Italy, which then was the most industrially and commercially advanced country. The original goal was to restore classical Greek culture. Around the time of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a large number of intellectuals from the Eastern Roman Empire, taking with them copies of ancient Greek and Roman texts, became scattered throughout the countries of Western Europe and lent precipitous development to this movement. Later the discovery of the American Continent (1492) and the opening of new navigation routes enabled West European industry and commerce to reach unprecedented heights, accelerating both the dissolution of the feudal system and the development of capitalism. During the thousand years of feudal society in Europe the church rigidly controlled thought, making science and all other thought slaves to theology, permitting only blind superstition and prohibiting independent thinking. People were expected to obey the church rather than investigate the natural phenomena before them. Living was preparation for ascent to heaven after death, rather than for life on earth. In spiritual opposition to this were the "worldly" people and Greek culture, which put the real world of nature at the center and which the newly risen city dwellers used in various degrees as a powerful weapon to destroy the bonds of ignorance repressing thought in the Middle Ages.

At that time the development of production technology also played a part in and provided conditions for scientific advances. Engels said: "After the Crusades, industry made tremendous developments and gave birth to new realities in mechanics (weaving, clockmaking, mills), chemistry (dyeing, metallurgy, winemaking) and physics (eyeglasses). These realities not only provided much material for observation, but also provided experimental techniques which differed from anything in the past and made possible the manufacture of new tools. It can be said that this was the very first time a truly systematic experimental science became possible." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 524)

Modern natural science is the continuation and development of ancient science, but the two have essential differences. Ancient science includes that of ancient Greece, China, India and Arabia in the Middle Ages. It basically was in the stage of description of phenomenon, summation of experience and speculative thought, expressed for the most part in an intuitive and unorganized form, while modern science (using physics as an example) combines systematic observations and experiments with a rigorous system of logic to form a system of scientific theory derived through experimental facts.

Because the growth of modern science shook the ideological foundations of feudal rule, from the very beginning it encountered harsh repression. The forerunners of modern science were tormented and persecuted, even to the point of death. The year 1543 saw natural science's declaration of independence from theology. In that year the Polish astronomer N. Copernicus (1473-1543), near death, published the work into which he had poured his lifeblood, "The Revolution of the Heavenly Orbs," thus offering a serious challenge to the geocentric world view officially sanctioned by the church. In that very same year the Netherlands anatomist A. Vesalius (1514-1564) published "The Structure of the Human Body," issuing a challenge to traditional concepts, and not long thereafter was persecuted by the church. The Italian philosopher G. Bruno (1548-1600) spent 7 years in jail and finally was burned at the stake for publicizing the works of Copernicus. The Italian physicist Galileo was put on trial at age 70 and died in prison.

Let us take Galileo as a representative of the founders of modern science. He advocated experimentation and observation as the fountainhead of scientific knowledge and as the standard for testing theories. Galileo used a telescope of his own manufacture to observe the heavens, discovered many astronomical phenomena and forcefully proved the Copernican theory of earthly movement. He carried out a series of experiments on the movement of objects and overthrew the traditional concepts of movement as represented by Aristotelian thought (which held that any movement of an object required a motive force and must have a fixed goal). Moreover, he used a precise mathematical model to describe the laws governing the motion of objects, thus creating scientific method by uniting mathematics with scientific experiments.

Using the foundation of Galileo's work and J. Kepler's (1571-1630) three laws on the movement of the planets, the English physicist I. Newton (1642-1727) summed up the laws of motion of objects into three fundamental laws of motion and one law of universal gravitation, and from this he established a complete system of mechanics theory. In this way he devised a closely knit unified theory of the laws of motion for earthly objects (the so-called "profane") and the laws of motion for heavenly objects (a part of the spiritual "heaven"), the two of which previously had been thought to be totally unrelated. This is physics, but it also can be described as the first great theoretical synthesis in the history of mankind's understanding of the natural world. Newtonian mechanics forms the foundation for all physics and astronomy and is the theoretical foundation for the engineering technology of all modern machinery, earthen and wooden structures, and communications and transportation. This great accomplishment enabled the world view of mechanical materialism to assume an ascendant position and rule the entire realm of natural science for the next 200 years.

The 16th and 17th centuries saw the establishment of modern science, and in all areas, whether scientific knowledge, scientific thought or scientific methodology, a new era dawned. This is especially true of physics and astronomy, which reached new heights in the 17th century. With the invention of calculus, the discovery of the circulation of the blood, the invention of the microscope and the establishment of the concept of chemical elements, the fields of mathematics, biology and chemistry all made major advances. In the 1750's the Swedish scientist C. Linne [Linnaeus] (1707-1778) created a scientific system of taxonomy with his research and systematic arrangements in botanical taxonomy. In the 18th century the French chemist Lavoisier (1743-1794) overthrew the theory of fire as an element and gave a scientific explanation of the phenomenon of combustion, producing a great breakthrough in the advancement of chemistry.

In the history of the 18th century the most important events are the English Industrial Revolution and the French bourgeois-democratic revolution. These two great revolutions demonstrated the great influence of science on society, and they also provided a strong material foundation and powerful social guarantees for the advancement of science. After the bourgeoisie grasped power, they adopted policies to protect and encourage science, enabling it to increase its pace of development.

The Industrial Revolution began in the 1760's and was the first technological revolution in history since the rise of iron. It began with the mechanization of the weaving industry and is marked primarily by the widespread use of the steam engine. The main credit for improving the steam engine goes to the English craftsman J. Watt (1736-1819), who used the then new discovery of latent heat to improve the efficiency of the steam engine. The use of the steam engine ranks as mankind's greatest victory in taming natural forces since the discovery of the use of fire. After the steam engine came into widespread use, the 19th century saw the successive invention of the steamship (1807) and the steam locomotive (1814), producing a fundamental revolution in the communications and transportation industries. At the same time there were enormous developments in metallurgy, especially in steel refining, and in the machine industry. The results of this technological revolution are described in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848: "In the period of less than one hundred years that the bourgeoisie exercised class rule, the production forces created are more and greater than all those created in previous periods." In the 1860's there was an invention that exceeded even the steam engine in lightness and efficiency--the internal combustion engine. The invention of the steam engine was first a success in handicrafts and later a unification with scientific principles. The invention of the internal combustion engine can be attributed to scientific experiment; it was first advanced in theoretical form in 1862 and, with this leadership, was manufactured in 1876.

The French Revolution originated in the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment was an ideoligical movement in total opposition to the feudal traditions and had as its core content science and democracy. These are explained as follows: One aspect spread the scientific knowledge represented by Newton and the materialist ideology represented by the French encyclopedia school, and the other aspect propagandized freedom, equality, democracy and systems of law advocating "innate human rights," "sovereign rights residing in the people," and "all men are equal before the law." This revolution brought a new face to French scientific enterprises and put them about 50 years ahead of the rest of the world (in mathematics the lead was even greater). The scientific measuring system (metric) now commonly used throughout the world and the present system of teaching science were both products of the French Revolution. The following 200 years of world history offered actual proof: Modern social development depends on science and democracy, and the modern state depends on internal driving forces for its existence.

After preparations in all fields during the 18th century, the 19th century then became the period for overall developments in science and technology. In the history of culture the 19th century is known as the "age of science." This is because: (1) Science directly exerted a great stimulus on production and on man's material livelihood, and, moreover, science began to exert a leadership function over production, which is clearly demonstrated by developments in electromagnetism, which then brought on the age of electric power, starting the second technological revolution (beginning in the 1870's). (2) Many branches of science, especially geology and biology, began as descriptions of observations, then acquired theoretical concepts, and gradually became unified fields of study. In each major area of science there were continual developments of fundamental significance, and, all the while, new fields of science were being established. (3) Scholarly activities and broad international scientific exchanges developed, more scientific groups were established, the misunderstandings of nationalism began to give way, and scientific thought, spirit and methods began to deeply penetrate people's minds.

The greatest 19th century accomplishments in natural science were in the theory of evolution and in electromagnetism. The English scientist C. Darwin (1809-1882) published "On the Origin of Species" in 1859, systematically explaining how all the untold numbers of plants and animals in the living world, including mankind, evolved from the simple to the complex and from lower to higher stages. Moreover, he offered the theory of natural selection to explain the evolution of living organisms. Darwin's theory of evolution was a summation of his predecessor's work in taxonomy, comparative anatomy, geopaleontology and evolutionary thought, with the addition of his own worldwide scientific observations and systematic research on the changes found in large numbers of plants and animals, all of which he organized and synthesized for over 20 years to achieve his results. Darwin's establishment of the theory of evolution fundamentally overthrew the "theory of divine creation," which has long dominated biological thought, and sent a shock wave through scholarly circles. "On the Origin of Species" sold out on the very first day of publication. However, the theory of evolution was also subjected to opposition and attacked by religious circles and ideologically conservative scholars.

The evolution of cell theory and the theory of the conservation of energy were the three great discoveries used by Engels to establish the views on nature of dialectical materialism. Cell theory, established in 1838-1839, holds that all plants and animals are formed of cells, that cells are the basic unit of life, and that all organisms were developed from a single cell. This revealed the basic unity of life and affirmed that all organisms were developed from a single cell. This revealed the basic unity existing between all living phenomena. The theory of the conservation of energy (the law of conservation and transformation of energy) was independently discovered in the 1830's and 1840's in five countries by some 10 scientists in six or seven different fields through research on the efficiency of the steam engine, human metabolism and the like. It revealed the unity between all forms of movement in such areas as heat, machinery, electricity and chemistry and attained the second synthesis of physics. In addition, early in the 19th century (1803), on the basis of experiments, J. Dalton (1766-1844) established atomic theory, transforming the thought of ancient Greek philosophers into modern science and creating a new era in man's understanding of the structure of matter. In the 1830's the English geologist C. Lyell (1797-1875) summed up his predecessor's contributions to geology research, provided a great mass of new materials from new geologic investigations, and offered his theory of geologic evolution as well as a method to study geologic change. In 1869 the Russian chemist D. I. Mendeleyev (1834-1907) discovered the law of periodicity of the chemical elements and revealed the periodic relationship between the characteristics of an element and its atomic number.

The 19th century was the beginning of the age of electric power. The use of electric power was the second technological revolution after the use of the steam engine. This technological revolution did not directly originate in production, but in scientific experiments and in research on electromagnetism. Electricity and magnetism are natural phenomena discovered over 2,000 years ago, but prior to the 19th century people thought they were unrelated. In the 19th century, with the invention of the electric battery (1800) and the effect of electric current (electric current can affect a magnetic needle) in 1819, research on the two made rapid advances. In 1831 the English worker-turned-scientist M. Faraday (1791-1867) discovered the law of electromagnetic induction (when a magnet and a conductor are moved in opposition, electric current is produced in the conductor); this is the theoretical basis of the electric generator, which opened the gates of the electric age and provided a new type of power for mankind. However, 35 years passed from the time of Faraday's experiments before the electric generator was put to use in production. To explain the phenomenon of electromagnetic induction, Faraday proposed the "field" concept, although almost all physicists at that time felt this was wild and unorthodox thinking. But 20-30 years later the English theoretical physicist J. C. Maxwell (1831-1879) accepted Faraday's concept and, moreover, proved it with a description in mathematical language. In 1864 Maxwell summed up all electromagnetic phenomena in a number of mathematical equations. From these equations it can be deduced that the natural world has electromagnetic waves, that their speed of transmission is equal to that of light, and that light is but a very small portion of the wavelength of a special form of electromagnetism. The theories of Faraday and Maxwell not only predicted the existence of electromagnetism, but also revealed the unified basic nature of light, electricity and magnetism, thus completing the third great synthesis in physics and, moreover, opening new paths for modern man's material civilization. The prediction of the existence of electromagnetic waves was not proven until 1888, when the young German physicist H. R. Hertz (1857-1894) did so with experiments. The discovery of electromagnetic waves foretold the possibility of radio communication, yet the technology for this began to be developed only after 1895.

The second technological revolution began in the seventh decade of the 19th century, and at that time electric generators and electric motors of practical value were already being manufactured. In the 1880's the problems of long-distance electrical transmission also were solved. During his lifetime Marx was very concerned with this problem. After the invention of the incandescent lamp (1879), cities began to have modern lighting, the uses of electricity became more widespread and high-power electric power plants were built in response to demand. The wireless technology produced at the end of the 19th century was another powerful tool of communication in addition to the already widespread telegraph (invented in 1837) and telephone (invented in 1876). In this fashion, mankind began the historical use of electric power for motive force, illumination and communication (automatic control was added in the 20th century) as the foundation of modern civilized life.

The passage from experiments in electromagnetism and theoretical developments to the emergence of the electric age vividly expresses the entry of science into a relatively mature stage. As regards production developments, science not only functioned as a direct impetus but also had already moved in advance of production, exercising a leadership effect, and this was the beginning of a new relationship between the two.

In the final years of the 19th century, at the same time as the beginnings of the electric age, the converter steel refining process was invented in England, and there was a huge increase in the production of steel, which gave birth to the age of steel in the materials industry. In Germany, with rapid developments in the field of organic chemistry, the coal tar so disliked as a waste material began to receive comprehensive utilization, and the organic synthesis chemical industry began to grow.

3. Modern Science and Technology (the 20th Century)

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the advent of the revolution in physics brought natural science into a new historical stage—modern science. The appearance of atomic energy, the electronic computer and space technology in the 1940's and 1950's began to have extremely far-reaching effects, producing overall technological revolution, the third such revolution, and it still continues to develop both in depth and breadth.

From the theoretical system of physics (also called "classical physics") established by Galileo and Newton to the latter period of the 20th century, the discovery of the principle of the conservation of energy, the brilliant accomplishments of Faraday and Maxwell in the theory of electromagnetism, as well as victories in other fields tended to make many physicists believe that the theory of physics was close to completion and that all their followers could do was fill in some supplementary details and developments. This meant that in principle developments in physics had reached an apex. However, just at this time an insurmountable crisis appeared in the system of classical physics, one which originated in a series of new discoveries and in several experimental facts which the classical theory of physics could not explain. At that time the old school of physics thought to use a patchwork method to support the framework of classical physics, but the Jewish physicist A. Einstein (1879-1955) of Germany saw that the situation had an unavoidably revolutionary shape, and that the only way to solve the contradiction between the new expetimental facts and the old theory of physics was to carry out basic reforms of the foundations of the theory of physics. In 1905 he first advanced the special theory of relativity and then in 1916 the general theory of relativity. The theory of relativity refutes Newton's concept of absolute space and time, revealing that there is an essential unity among space, time, matter and motion, and includes Newton's theory of mechanics within a special set of circumstances. The theory of relativity is the foundation of microphysics for the interior of the atom, as well as the theoretical foundation of astrophysics and cosmology. This was the fourth great synthesis in the physical sciences.

The German physicist Max Planck (1853-1947) sought to overcome the problems classical physics encountered in explaining the phenomenon of blackbody radiation, and in 1900 he offered the quantum hypotheses: When physical matter emits and absorbs radiation (i.e., electromagnetic waves), the transmission of energy is discontinuous, that is to say, energy is composed of the smallest units (the quantum) of division. Einstein was the first person to support the concept of the quantum, and he also helped to propagate it. In 1905 Einstein offered the theory of light quanta, believing that light had the characteristics of discontinuous particles. This was in opposition to the mid-19th century's seemingly incontrovertible wave theory of light. This was the first time that mankind recognized the most fundamental characteristic of microcosmic matter—wave particle duality. But not until quantum theory was united with the theory of atomic structure were any rapid developments made or did they gain any general attention.

A fundamental feature of 20th century physics was the old concept that the atom could never be split and that it was forever unchanging, which made man's understanding of matter continually look from the macrocosm to the microcosm of the interior of the atom. At the end of the 19th century a series of startling discoveries began. In 1895 the German physicist W. K. Roentgen (1845-1923) discovered X-rays. In 1896 the French physicist A. H. Becquerel (1852-1908) discovered radioactivity. In 1897 the English physicist J. J. Thompson (1856-1940) discovered the electron. In 1898 the French physicist P. Curie (1859-1906) and his wife Marie Curie (1867-1934) discovered radium. In 1911 the English physicist E. Rutherford (1871-1937) used alpha rays to produce experimental proof of scattered rays. At the center of a 10^{-8} centimeter atom was a 10^{-12}-10^{-13} centimeter positive nucleus, seemingly occupying the whole of the atom. In 1913 the Danish physicist N. Bohr (1885-1962) applied the quantum concept to Rutherford's model of the atom and its nucleus to point out that negatively charged electrons outside the atom revolved about the atom's nucleus on different orbits, and when the electron jumps its outer orbit to an inner orbit it emits an electromagnetic wave (including X-rays) of corresponding wavelength. The number of electrons in the atom corresponds to its number on Mendeleyev's periodic chart of the elements, thus providing a theoretical explanation of Mendeleyev's chart.

Although Bohr's theory of atomic structure was very successful in solving the problems of atomic physics, it nonetheless ran into some difficulties, especially in that there were some fundamental gaps of a theoretical and logical nature. The difficulties of the old quantum theory were overcome by a group of young physicists, including the Frenchman L. de Broglie (1892-), the German W. K. Heisenberg (1901-1976) and the Austrian E. Schroedinger (1887-1961). Between 1923 and 1928 they established the wave theory of matter, discovering that the electron was like all matter in resembling light, having the characteristics of both waves and particles, demonstrating the unity of the nature of waves and particles. Moreover, they established a completely logical system of quantum mechanics (wave mechanics), successfully revealing the fundamental laws of microcosmic matter and completing the fifth great synthesis in the physical sciences. Quantum mechanics gave great impetus to atomic and molecular physics and, moreover, built a bridge between chemistry and biology and physics and mathematics.

During World War I, experimental work in microphysics was halted, but it resumed immediately at the end of the war. In 1919 Rutherford thought that, if alpha particles were to bombard a relatively light nucleus at the speed an element naturally emits them, a transformation would occur in the nucleus. This was proved through an experiment; after being bombarded by alpha rays, the nucleus of a hydrogen atom became an oxygen atom. Following this, in 1930 the German physicist W. Bothe (1891-1957) and others discovered that bombarding the relatively light nucleus of beryllium with alpha particles could produce a ray with a penetrating force far stronger than that of either X-rays or gamma rays. In 1932 the English physicist J. Chadwick (1891-1974) proved that these rays were neutrons. People immediately realized that the atomic nucleus was composed of neutrons and protons (a hydrogen atom nucleus). The discovery of the neutron greatly accelerated the progress of research in atomic physics. In 1934, after the husband and wife team of F. Joliot-Curie (1900-1958) and I. Joliot-Curie (1897-1956) discovered the phenomenon of artificial radiation, the Italian physicist E. Fermi (1901-1954) and his coworkers used slow neutrons to bombard atomic nuclei, resulting in the emission of artificial radiation from 37 different elements and also transforming the element in the very last position on the periodic chart. When they used neutrons to bombard the element uranium, which was found in the very last position on the periodic chart, they thought they would obtain a suprauranium element, but they actually derived a much more complex phenomenon, which they found to be inexplicable. In Germany at the end of 1938, O. Hahn (1879-1968) and F. Strassmann discovered that bombarding uranium with neutrons produced the element barium, having about half the atomic weight of uranium. This was the discovery of fission of heavy nuclei. This important discovery was proved by different methods in 19 laboratories throughout the world. Based on contemporary understanding of nuclear physics, many scientists had calculated that the process of nuclear fission of uranium would produce several neutrons and that these neutrons would induce nuclear fission in other uranium, this being the so-called "chain reaction." Consequently, several months later these calculations were proved experimentally at the same time in France, England and the United States. According to a formula on the relationship between mass and energy inferred in 1905 by Einstein in the special law of relativity, when fission of heavy nuclei occurs, the energy emitted is a million times greater than that of an ordinary chemical process. After the outbreak of World War II, the United States constructed an atomic reactor pile in 1942 under the leadership of E. Fermi. In 1945 the first atomic bomb was built. Atomic energy then came under man's control and initiated the third technological revolution in human history. Looking back on these 40-some years from the discovery of radiation to atomic energy, one sees once again the proof that science precedes production and has a leadership relationship with it.

After microphysics research had produced so great a "result" as atomic power, there were great advances in knowledge of the structure of the next level of matter beneath the nucleus, and new particles were continually discovered, reaching over 200 at present. The characteristics, structure and interchangeability of these new particles is the major theme of present-day particle physics. The most recent theoretical research proves that electromagnetic and weak interaction are united, so the synthesis of theory again takes a step forward.

Following the rapid developments in physics, the production of new experimental techniques and stronger tools of observation, man's "visual powers," whether directed inward (the microcosm) or outward (the macrocosm), were enlarged a thousandfold: Man's "insight" is already effective at from 10^{-8} centimeters (a hundred millionth of a centimeter), the size of the atom, to under 10-13 centimeters (a billionth of a centimeter), the interior of an elementary particle. Man's "field of vision" has already expanded from a diameter of 100,000 light-years (1 light-year is about 1 trillion kilometers) of the Milky Way System to the 10 billion light-years of the cosmos. Among the array of technological equipment which most captures people's attention are the cyclotron, invented in 1932; the electron microscope, invented in 1934; and the radio telescope, invented in 1936. The year 1957 saw the beginning of successful launches of artificial satellites, with the subsequent development of spaceships and remote sensing technology. In the 1960's there was the substitution of enriched neutron sources in experimental reactor piles and the synchronic electron accelerator.

Modern technological equipment and modern physics theory were powerful stimulants for advances in chemistry, astronomy, geology and biology and, moreover, generated a large number of frontier sciences and overlapping sciences. Because of this, the natural sciences formed an organically unified body, deeply revealing the unity between different levels of matter. In the middle of the 19th century the newly formed scientific dialectical view of nature made great progress, and the domination of the mechanistic view of nature over the natural sciences was overthrown.

During the 20th century startling advances in biology were made, with enormous changes in research methods and scientific thought. The biological sciences were influenced by chemistry and physics; there were great changes in research methods, and biochemistry and genetics became the two liveliest branches of the biological sciences in the 20th century.

Around the 1930's, systematic research on a series of chemical changes in biological metabolism was performed with great success, and some research had already reached the molecular level. A great amount of work proved that in all organisms each and every chemical reaction involves over 10,000 enzymes (the main component is protein) in a catalytic function. The efficiency rate of these catalysts is 10^8-10^9 times higher than most organic or inorganic catalysts. Research in biochemistry also proves the basic similarity of many major metabolic processes in all sorts of organisms. For example, all oxygen-breathing creatures produce carbon dioxide and water through an identical chemical reaction—tricarboxylic circulation. At the center of the highly efficient storage and release of energy is the high energy phosphocreatine found in the adenosine triphospate molecule. It provided the energy necessary for such important tasks as muscle contraction and protein synthesis.

Long ago, in 1865, the Austrian geneticist G. Mendel (1822-1884) discovered the genetic laws named after him: that the hereditary traits of all living things are carried by sets of "particles" which are either dominant or recessive and which can separate in the genetic process and so on. However, his work remained buried for 35 years. Stimulus from the theory of evolution occasioned more rapid research in genetics at the end of the 19th century, and after Mendel's laws were rediscovered in 1900, many experiments proved that Mendel's laws were followed by everything from microorganisms to mankind. Around the 1920's a group of scientists led by the American T. H. Morgan (1866-1945) took steps to prove that what Mendel called particles are "genes," which are strung out on the chromosomes in the cell, and that genes are the transmitters of heredity. From the 1940's to the 1960's, geneticists progressed from the level of the cell to that of the molecule, producing a series of remarkable results: the proof that DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) carries the messages of heredity, and the discovery of the double helix structure of DNA, which clarified the fact that the genes are a fragment of the long DNA chain which is an organizational part of the chromosome. On this fragment is arranged a sequence of three threads of genetic signals, much like a secret code, which records and translates a series of responses, passing the organism's traits on to the next generation. Therefore, regarding chemical changes in an organism, besides the changes in molecular structure and changes in energy, there additionally is the concept of changes in information, again showing the unity of the biological world, this time on the level of genetic information. These accomplishments were the results of efforts by American, English and French microbiologists, almost 30 of whom received the Nobel Prize, the most famous being the Englishman F. H. C. Crick (1916-) and the American J. Watson (1928-). These great accomplishments are the accumulated results of long-term individual work and mutual interaction between genetics, biology and microbiology, plus the intellectual and methodological influences of the revolution in physics around the 1940's.

These accomplishments reveal the unity within living things at higher levels and especially show that, after the secrets of heredity had been unlocked to reveal the essential features of life, it was as though the winds of revolution had swept through the field of biology. This biological revolution, which has so thoroughly attracted people's attention, is a continuation of the revolution in physics. This period of development in biology thoroughly demonstrates the great driving forces that are contained in science. The problems posed in science were approached through scientific experiments and logical inferences and summed up as rules in accord with the activities of living objects. After these rules were recognized, progress was made in revealing the force they exerted in the scientific developments themselves and their function in leading production. The rise of genetic engineering, deep medical research on difficult diseases and the pathology of hereditary diseases, investigations in immunology and pharmacology, and the nurturing of new crops in agriculture are all far-reaching influences produced by the revolution in biology.

At the beginning of the 20th century, with large-scale automobile production (starting in 1908), the invention of the airplane (1903) and the rapid growth of radio-electronics (the key was the invention in 1906 of the triode electron tube), the second technological revolution continued its ever-deeper development, and the level of industrial production was greatly increased. This was especially true of developments in electronics, which not only greatly promoted radio communications technology but also established the preparatory stages for automation and cybernation in production.

After the 1940's the period of the third technological revolution began with the appearance of the atomic energy industry (1942), electronic computers (1946) and space technology (1957). The technological content of this revolution was much more abundant than that of the two earlier revolutions, and the influences were even more far reaching. They included automatic controls, remote sensing, lasers (Einstein produced the theoretical basis for this in 1916) and other technologies, as well as the synthetic materials industry. At the same time, new forms of comprehensive theoretical bases appeared: cybernation, information theory and systems theory.

In the 20th century the leadership function of science over production technology no longer was primarily the application of science in developing single items of technology, but rather the opening up of whole new areas of technology and in the creation of whole new industries. For example, nuclear physics produced the atomic energy industry, the electronic computer was produced from mathematical logic and electronics, space technology was produced from fluid dynamics, materials science and electronics, electronic technology was produced from the physics of solids (semiconductors), and laser technology was produced from the quantum theory.

Because of the close association of science and production, because of the need for powerful technological equipment, and because of the large-scale development of comprehensive research centers, scientific enterprises were increasingly socialized, and the scope of research activities became ever greater, reaching enterprise scale, national scale and even international scale. Of course, a great many medium- and small-scale research units continued to exist, but with total personnel and funding much higher than in the past. The keys to success or failure in scientific enterprises are to manage things according to the laws of scientific development and the laws of economics and to have far-sighted, efficient scientific management.

4. Some Preliminary Views on the Special Features of Scientific and Technological Developments

1. Science originated in production and in the observation of natural phenomena, and in the early periods its development depended on the needs of production and society. Production in recent times has supplied experimental materials and the equipment and tools for experiments, thus creating conditions for experimental science. The development of capitalism was simultaneous with the very rapid developments in science and technology. When science and technology had developed to a certain level, they "became direct production forces" (Marx, "A Critique of Political Economy (Draft)") and, moreover, exerted a direct leadership function over production. The bourgeoisie placed control of the results of science and technology in their own hands, enabling production "to develop at an unheard-of speed and on an unheard-of scale." (Engels, "Anti-Duhring") Science and technology have already become an important organizational component of politics and economics in major capitalist countries, creating an enormous disproportionate development between the Third World and capitalism and becoming a serious problem confronting mankind.

2. Historically, science has been a driving force and a revolutionary power, but, on the other hand, science also did not develop spontaneously and required certain social conditions. To provide for their own benefit, the bourgeoisie needed science and technology and needed to control the services of the intellectuals in science and technology, so they adopted measures to protect, support and reward them and continually made adjustments in science and technology policies. Changes in the location of the world's centers of science of course are related to many factors, but one main factor is the correctness of the policies. Generally speaking, disregard of the development of science will result in permanent technological and scientific backwardness; disregard of the application of scientific research and disregard of technology and economics will prevent any rapid progress from being made.

3. The internal dynamic of scientific developments is found in objective facts and the theory of the unity of opposites. Its basis is experimentation and observation, and its mode of development is the hypothesis. Scientific development is a process of continual deepening of mankind's understanding of natural laws. Science is constantly being updated and constantly making progress; there are no unchanging, permanent conclusions or "ultimate truths." When experimental facts and previous theories develop unresolvable contradictions, there must be a revolution in scientific theory. However, this revolution is based upon the continuation and accumulation of knowledge and experience. The new can be created only by carrying forward mankind's extant knowledge and theories, subjecting new facts and theories to partial, indirect and even opposing sides to reflect the truth through analysis and comparison in all fields of expertise, finally arriving at a theoretical synthesis. At present,

because of developments in the computer and information sciences, science is again fermenting new syntheses and new breakthroughs in the penetration of the secrets of life through the understanding of matter on an even deeper level.

4. Science is a spiritual wealth jointly owned by all mankind. It has no boundaries and no class qualities. The right and wrong in science can be resolved only through discussion and debate, and it must exclude the obstacles of external interference and customary pressures. The basic conditions for the flourishing of science are political democracy and contention among all schools of thought. The results of science and technology can be applied on any level, the only difference being the correctness of the application and the purpose of the application. The historical development of the world's nations over these few hundred years reflects many different experiences. In our process of building the four modernizations, in addition to importing advanced technology from various countries, we must also make a wide selection among the different types of states and put them to our use.

(Parts 1-3 are of joint authorship; part 4 is by Qian Sanqiang.)

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CLOSE ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO ACHIEVING ECONOMIC RESULTS

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[Article by Chen Jiyuan [7115 0679 0337]]

[Text] The Pressing Need To Achieve Economic Results

In the past 30 years we have achieved great success in our socialist construction, which began in a state of "poverty and blankness." At present there are over 350,000 industrial enterprises in China. Fixed assets of the industrial enterprises owned by the state amount to 320,000 million yuan, equivalent to 25 times the fixed assets built up in the 1,000 years preceding liberation. However, we must see that our current production level and people's living standards are not commensurate with the scale of our economic construction and the huge amount of funds we have spent. There are, of course, many reasons for such a state of affairs, but paying no attention to economic results is considered to be one of the important reasons. The technical and economic indexes which reflect our economic results indicate that the gap between the world's advanced level and ours has not narrowed but instead has widened. Ignoring economic results has become the crux of the problems in our economic work.

For many years this fallacy was spread: Enterprises should be preoccupied with only the political and not the economic side of the accounts, and they have nothing to do with economic results or economic responsibilities. Those who took care of material interests were branded as revisionists, and those who mouthed high-sounding words were taken as Marxists. In economic theory, people viewed the commodity economy as something which contradicted the socialist economy and denied that the means of production are a commodity; they held that in the process of socialist production attention should be paid only to utilization value and not to actual value, so that it was not necessary to calculate consumption, costs or profits or to practice strict business accounting. To achieve economic results one should first correct one's thinking, thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultra-leftist line and clarify the above-mentioned erroneous ideas.

The actual situation in China today is that the excessively high accumulation rate should continue to be lowered and that investments should not be greatly increased. Therefore, it is of great significance to achieve and enhance economic results in economic work. By achieving economic results we can gain funds and time, bringing the limited funds and the existing productive capacity into full play. Thus, we can strive to accelerate our economic growth by improving economic results.

What Is Meant by Economic Results?

When people are engaged in economic activities they use and spend a certain amount of labor (including human and materialized labor). The results of labor, however, may be satisfactory or unsatisfactory. By economic results we mean the comparison between the results of labor on the one hand and the amount of labor used and consumed on the other during economic activities. The amount of labor used during economic activities refers to the amount of materialized labor--including factory buildings, machinery and the reserve of raw materials needed to guarantee normal operations--which is used in the process of labor. Labor consumption refers to the actual labor consumption in the process of manufacturing products, including consumption of human and materialized labor. The comparison between the results of labor on the one hand and the amount of labor used and consumed on the other can be made in many ways. Therefore, there are many ways of expressing economic results. The comparison between the results of labor and the amount of labor used indicates the economic results of labor used, whereas the comparison between the results of labor and the consumption of labor shows the economic results of labor consumption, which can be divided into the economic results of human and materialized labor.

As long as the commodity economy exists, the comparison between labor consumption and the results of labor is generally expressed in the form of value, namely, the comparison between expenditures and income, or the comparison between costs and earnings. Its concrete expressions are as follows: the comparison between income and consumption of funds; the comparison between income and wages and that between income and costs, and so forth. The comparison between economic results and the amount of labor used can be expressed in the comparison between income and the amount of funds used. Fundamentally speaking, given the same quantity and quality of products, the less the labor consumption and amount of labor used, the better the economic results; the more these are used, the worse the economic results. This can be expressed in another way: given the use and consumption of the same amount of labor, the better the quality and results of labor, the greater the economic results; the poorer the quality and results of labor, the smaller the economic results. Therefore, as far as economic activities are concerned, economic results are inversely proportional to the amount of labor used and consumed and directly proportional to the results of labor.

To enhance economic results from different aspects, various kinds of indexes may be used to indicate economic results. These indexes are integrated with each other and mutually complementary, forming an index system to show the economic results. For example, the economic results of human labor can be checked by the index of labor productivity; the economic results of materialized labor can be checked by the amount of raw materials used to produce each unit of products and the number of products produced by each piece of equipment; and the economic results of human and materialized labor as well as those of labor used and consumed can be checked separately or comprehensively by various kinds of indexes, such as cost of products, wage profit rates, cost profit rates and funds profit rates.

In different societies, owing to the different nature of the relations of production, people make different appraisals of the nature, content and aim of economic results. The following are some distinctions with regard to appraisals of economic results given by socialist and capitalist systems:

1. The aim of capitalist production is to seek surplus value and its transferred form of profits. Therefore, the capitalists are concerned about the comparison between the profits they gain and the capital they pay in advance. That is to say, "gaining the greatest possible surplus value of surplus products with the least possible advance payment." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book 2, p 625) These are the economic results which the capitalists assiduously seek. Under a socialist system, since the aim of production has changed, the fundamental criterion for measuring economic results is the production of the most and best possible products needed by the laborers as well as society with the least possible amount of labor used and consumed.

2. Under a capitalist system, seeking surplus value is the sole motive in promoting production, and providing the laborers with the necessary means of subsistence is only for the sake of squeezing out surplus value, just like adding coal to the boilers or supplying livestock with forage. Therefore, as far as the economic results of labor consumption are concerned, the capitalists are concerned with gaining more profits by paying less capital in advance. Marx clearly pointed out: "Because of its contradictory and antagonistic nature, the mode of capitalist production which brings harm to the workers' lives and health and lowers their living standards is considered a way to conserve capital and is thus regarded as the means of increasing the rate of profits." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 102) Under a socialist system, the situation is completely the opposite. Society will not allow the conservation of actual labor or materialized labor if it harms the physical conditions of laborers and lowers their living standards. As far as the economic results of materialized labor are concerned, we are concerned about the conservation of human labor in order to provide the laborers with more spare time and make them develop in an all-round way--intellectually and physically.

3. The social production of capitalism is in a state of anarchy. Though a few enterprises pay attention to economic results, from the point of view of the whole society it is very difficult to do so. In a capitalist society the economic results achieved by the enterprises are frequently associated with a great waste of labor and products in the society. In socialist public ownership, it is not merely a few enterprises that must pay attention to achieving economic results, but the economic activities of the entire society that must and can be taken as a whole in paying attention to achieving economic results. Fundamentally speaking, in a socialist society the economic results achieved by a few enterprises are in keeping with those achieved by the whole society. The former is the foundation of the latter. However, these two are sometimes contradictory. Under such circumstances, the economic results achieved by a few enterprises should be subordinated to those achieved by the whole society.

How To Achieve Better Economic Results

Under a socialist system, economic results are determined by many factors, such as politics, economy, science and technology and natural conditions, and are the outcome of the comprehensive activities of society, enterprises or individuals. Take the economic factor, for example. It can be divided briefly into those factors which determine economic results within the bounds of society and those factors which determine economic results within the bounds of enterprises. In the determination of economic results the role of different factors is interrelated and interconnected. To achieve the best economic results we must be good not only at making economic policy within the bounds of society but also at dealing with the work within the bounds of enterprises.

A socialist economy is a planned economy based on public ownership. Economic policy within the bounds of society plays a decisive role in economic results. To sum up past experience, avoid a great waste of manpower, materials and financial resources and obtain the best economic results, we should emphasize the solution of the following problems.

A big effort should be made to strike an overall balance and especially to deal with the relationship between speed and proportion. The aim of accomplishing socialist production is to develop the national economy at high speed. However, high speed should be based on rational proportions; without the latter the former is merely empty talk. The saying that speed ranks first and proportion second and that the latter should be subordinated to the former is erroneous in theory and harmful in practice. High speed which is founded on a subjective wish is beyond the possibilities of objective conditions and harms the proportionate development of the national economy. As a result, there is more haste and less speed. Instead of gaining high speed, eventually we have to lower the speed. In the past we blindly went after high speed, overemphasizing the growth of the accumulation rate and exceeding the capabilities of the state's financial and material resources. This led to a serious disproportion between accumulation and consumption, and the production of consumer goods was put aside. As a result, there was little improvement in the people's living standards, and the enthusiasm of the masses was dampened. Instead of gaining high speed, we had to greatly lower the rate of economic development. In the past, in order to blindly go after high speed, we overemphasized giving priority to the development of heavy industry. As the total scale of growth of heavy industry was beyond the capacity of agriculture and light industry, we had to put aside the growth of agriculture and light industry. Thus, the development of the economy was seriously affected. Therefore, when working out future plans we must stick to the principle of seeking truth from facts and doing what is possible. In addition, we must make a big effort to strike an overall balance, including the balance of finance, credits and materials, to guarantee the sustained, planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy and prevent ups and downs and the occurrence of an abnormal situation in the development of the national economy.

We must give play to strong points and make a rational distribution of production in line with the characteristics and advantages of different places. The layout of production will have a direct bearing on economic results. In the past we used to follow the same pattern by stressing that all localities should build up complete, independent and self-supporting economic systems. Even areas with little or no coal and iron ore were urged to go in for the development of steel and coal industries in a big way and areas suitable for the growing of industrial crops were asked to be self-sufficient in grain. Such a practice runs counter to economic and natural laws, retards the economic development of localities and brings about poor economic results. We must get rid of narrow views of small-scale producers and carry on socialist modernization with the thinking of social large-scale production. Regional plans with a scientific basis should be formulated. Each locality should proceed from reality and build up economic structures which bring their superiority into full play, including the natural superiority (climate, soil and resources) and economic superiority (technical force, managerial experience and traditional technique and arts). Each locality should have its own focal point and peculiarity. In regions with rich deposits of iron ore, coal, petroleum and nonferrous metals, emphasis should be placed on exploring for and making use of these resources. In regions where the machine building industry and the light and textile industries are well developed and there are ample supplies of raw materials, stress should be laid on developing the machine building and the light and textile industries. In regions where industrial crops are traditionally planted or natural conditions are suitable for growing them, emphasis should be laid on developing industrial crops. In regions where there are rich forest reserves and grasslands, priority should be given to expanding forestry and animal husbandry. In short, we must give play to strong points and try by every means to make the limited manpower and material and financial resources attain the greatest possible economic results. We cannot make a rational distribution of production in different localities without the guidance of state plans. Under the guidance of unified planning, all localities should strengthen economic coordination and turn the regional superiority into the superiority which is needed for the realization of the four modernizations. Based on the economic structure of the best regions, the national economic structure built by striking an overall balance will attain the greatest economic results.

Regulation by planning should be integrated with that by the market. A socialist economy is a planned commodity economy built on the foundation of public ownership. It is different from a capitalist commodity economy and is a commodity economy guided by planning. It is also different from a communist planned economy and is a planned economy based on a commodity economy. Such specific features of a socialist economy have objectively determined that only by integrating regulation by planning with that by the market can we exercise effective guidance over the development of the socialist economy. We cannot afford to coordinate the complicated economic activities of society through guidance by planning alone. When social production is arranged in a conscious and planned way in society, we must simultaneously utilize the law of value to regulate the social economy, so that by readjusting itself constantly and automatically the socialist economy can maintain the appropriate ratio required by social production and society and develop in a planned and proportionate way. Therefore, we must protect socialist competition. Such competition plays and has played an even greater role in promoting the development of production of enterprises, improving the quality of products and services, making the products meet the needs of the market and getting rid of bureaucratic ways of doing things. Facts have proven that without socialist competition it is hard to improve economic results.

We must carry out specialized coordination and make enterprises change their nature of "big and complete" or "small and complete." For the past year or so, in many provinces, municipalities and industrial departments, "big and complete" or "small and complete" enterprises have been reorganized in the course of the readjustment of the economy. Specialized production is organized according to products, parts and technology. All this has played an important role in attaining better economic results. Take the four "small and complete" electrical machinery plants attached to the Beijing Bureau of Machinery, for example. They were reorganized and divided into four general assembly plants, three specialized plants for the production of spare parts and technology and two rear-service plants. In 1979 their output and profits increased by more than 30 percent. Having organized the capabilities for equipment maintenance and repair, the Tianjing First Bureau of Machine Building Industry restored the general plant for equipment maintenance and repair. As a result, the maintenance capacity increased by 45 percent, and the varieties of spare parts reached over 340, with efficiency 6 times higher than before.

Of course, the factors which determine economic results within the bounds of society are by no means confined to the aspects mentioned above. However, improving the work is of vital importance for achieving better economic results.

Within the bounds of enterprises there are many factors which influence economic results. We should therefore do a lot of work in this regard. This includes:

--Handling economic affairs by economic means, expanding the autonomy of enterprises and strictly practicing the system of business accounting. For the past year or so an experiment has been going on in some units to apply such economic measures as retaining a certain amount of profits, paying a fixed assets tax and issuing credits for investment in capital construction. Since the material interests of the enterprise and individuals are linked with their fruits of labor, we can bring into full play the enthusiasm of enterprises and workers. In this way they will make full and effective use of fixed assets and combat waste in capital construction investment. Thus, visible economic results are achieved, with output going up, quality improved, production costs lowered and profits increased. In 1979, of 100 experimental local enterprises in Sichuan Province, 84 increased their total output value by 14.9 percent, profits by 33 percent and profits turned over to the higher authorities by 24.2 percent compared with 1978. This is convincing proof. Now we have made a good start in handling economic affairs by economic means. We must sum up experiences, gradually set up an effective system of handling economic affairs by economic means which are suited to the specific conditions of our country and create conditions for raising economic results of enterprises by a big margin.

--Tapping the potentials of the existing enterprises, renovating or transforming them and giving full play to their potentials. Practice has proved that upgrading existing enterprises before building new ones requires less investment and achieves better economic results. Take the Lanzhou chemical industrial corporation, for example. By diverting only 56 million yuan of funds, it succeeded in tapping the potentials and increasing the productive capacity by as much as 100,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, whereas the newly built Liujiaxia chemical fertilizer plant, which used the same amount of investment, only managed to have a productive capacity of 50,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, or only half that of the former. Take another example--the Lanzhou plate glass factory. When it was newly built the investment required was as much as 18 million yuan, and it had a productive capacity of 750,000 standard packing boxes. The average investment required for a productive capacity of 10,000 standard packing boxes was 240,000 yuan. After tapping potentials and carrying out renovation and transformation, it increased its productive capacity to a million standard packing boxes, and the fund diverted was 1.27 million yuan. The fund needed for the increased production of every 10,000 standard packing boxes averaged out to 50,000 yuan, equivalent to one-fifth the previous investment. Facts have shown that to attain better economic results we must rely on the existing enterprises and take them as a forward position for the realization of the four modernizations. We must increase output, profits and speed through the tapping of potentials, renovation and transformation.

To achieve better economic results we need to adopt other measures, such as enhancing the administrative and managerial levels of enterprises, unfolding technical innovations and applying advanced technology and equipment, further eliminating the pernicious influence of the so-called "corruption is a crime and waste is in the nature of things," increasing production and practicing economy, and broadening sources of income and reducing expenditures.

To pay attention to economic results we must get rid of one-sidedness and have an all-sided point of view. Emphasis should be placed on handling the relations between partial and overall results, between direct and indirect results and between immediate and long-term results.

CSO: 4004

APPLY THE METHOD OF DEMOCRATIC RECOMMENDATION IN PROMOTING MIDDLE-AGED AND YOUNG CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 38-40

[Article by the Kaifeng Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] To seriously select successors and boldly promote middle-aged and young cadres is our party's important strategic policy and an important measure for achieving the four modernizations. At present we must promote large numbers of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to leadership posts. In light of our understanding, we must continue to emancipate the mind and doggedly follow the mass line. Only in this way can we do this job well.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the leading groups at all levels in our Kaifeng Municipality have been consolidated and have undergone fundamental changes. The overwhelming majority of them perform well or relatively well, but they still leave much to be desired in satisfying the requirements of the four modernizations. The masses say that some of our existing leading groups are "groups seeking the firm implementation of policy" and "groups committed to launching movements" and are not groups devoted to the four modernizations. To change such a situation and gradually reinforce the ranks of cadres with young and trained people, we must promote a number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres who firmly adhere to the party's ideological and political lines, possess professional knowledge and leadership abilities and have been tempered and tested at the grassroots levels--cadres to consolidate various leading groups. This is a major, urgent task confronting our municipal party committee. To do this job well we must do a lot of work. In the second half of last year and the first half of this year, respectively, we prepared two preliminary lists showing leading cadres at the county level and their equivalents who had been nominated. A comparison between the two lists showed that the first contained a large number of old people and people with a low cultural standard and too few cadres trained in special fields. The second provided more younger people and more people with a high cultural standard, especially those trained in special fields. The two lists--the first unsatisfactorily prepared and the second satisfactorily prepared--reflected two different ways of thinking and two different approaches. Last year we had not fully emancipated our minds and were not very clear about the kind of people required by the four modernizations. As a result, we adopted the old approach of relying solely on the Organizational Department and a small number of leading cadres to nominate people for office behind closed doors and in a relatively secret way. Thus, some outstanding trained people were not discovered. This year we repeatedly studied the documents of the Fifth Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and the relevant speeches by the leading comrades of the party Central Committee. We also studied the experiences of other areas. We had a relatively clear idea of the kind of people required in the new period. We became bolder. Therefore, on the basis of summing up experiences we adopted the methods of democratic recommendation by the masses and investigation by the Organizational Department. Only in this way was a relatively satisfactory list worked out. This shows that, so long as we follow the correct ideological line, use proper methods and really rely on the masses to select qualified people for office, outstanding trained people geared to the needs of the four modernizations will come to the fore.

In ordinary times we used to say that we must trust and rely on the masses and consult them on all matters. But when it comes to the concrete business of promoting and using cadres, some comrades are not so bold. When we first started using the method of democratic recommendation to promote middle-aged and young cadres, some comrades said that we had always relied on the Organizational Department to investigate and promote cadres. How could the masses know the cadres better than those handling cadre work? Practice provided a good answer to this question. This time, 137 leading cadres were selected for the preliminary list of candidates through democratic recommendation by the masses. Eighty-four of them, or over 60 percent, originally had been left out by the Organizational Department. Most of them were technical cadres trained in special fields. It can be seen that the masses of people have greater foresight and a clearer idea of the cadres than the Organizational Department. The ancients said: "Winged steeds are often seen, but there are few Bo Le's capable of discerning horses." From the period immediately after liberation to 1966 there were 2,205 graduates of institutes of higher learning and 1,872 graduates of secondary colleges in our Kaifeng Municipality. How can it be said that no qualified people can be found among all of them to fill important posts? It can be said that "winged steeds" remain to be discovered by "Bo Le's." Where are the "Bo Le's"? Practice shows that there are more "Bo Le's" among the masses. As our cadres live among the masses, their every speech, every movement and every strong or weak point is clear to the masses. Their attitude toward the party's ideological and political lines, their way of thinking, their professional level, their leadership abilities and their style are observed and personally sensed by the masses in ordinary times. The masses know well who can become a good leader in the four modernizations effort. Generally speaking, our Organizational Department is relatively clear about a cadre's family background, his circle of friends, his work experience, and so forth. But, restricted by objective factors, the comrades of the Organizational Department cannot possibly keep in constant touch with every cadre. What they know about a cadre's actual performance is often secondhand and abstract, and not so direct and concrete as what the masses know. If we do not follow the mass line and refrain from listening to opinions from all quarters at every level, we are liable to be deceived by appearances and be one-sided. Therefore, the method of combining democratic recommendation by the masses with an investigation by the Organizational Department is a good way of discovering talent and promoting outstanding trained people.

In recommending cadres democratically we not only arouse the masses to nominate people but invite them to spell out the reasons for their recommendation, to put forward views about what is expected of a nominee and to help the party committee assign people to jobs commensurate with their abilities and make the most of people's talents. As the masses of people constantly mix with cadres, they know something about their special characteristics and their special training in a particular field; they know which ones are material for "a commander" or "a general." When it comes to the offer of jobs, the masses, after discussions and comparisons, can often put forward very good ideas about what a cadre they have recommended is good for and whether he is fit for production management or for party and government work. The tractor factory had in its employ a medium-level technical cadre who graduated from a college of engineering in 1959. This comrade had basic training in a special field and actual experience in production. He followed a correct ideological and political line and had relatively good organizational and leadership abilities. The party committee was originally prepared to promote him as an assistant factory manager. Later the masses were aroused to democratically recommend cadres. Those in the factory who recommended him represented the majority. A fairly large number of comrades in their letters of recommendation spelled out the reasons why they had nominated him. They also clearly suggested that he should be allowed to act as factory manager. After further investigation by the Organizational Department and a serious study by the factory party committee, the suggestion was considered to be a good one and was resolutely adopted. At present the party committees of various units that have adopted the method of recommending cadres democratically have seriously analyzed and studied things in light of the views put forward by the masses. Based on the peculiar characteristics of the recommended cadres and guided by the principle of making the most of everyone's talents, they have formulated plans and "followed a definite direction in training." They are prepared to promote a person as soon as he is ripe for promotion.

Some comrades have sometimes wondered whether the practice of democratically recommending cadres runs counter to the principle of party control over cadres. We hold that this does not run counter to that principle. On the contrary, it is entirely compatible with it. In all matters we should not set party leadership and the mass line in opposition. The same applies to the matter of promoting and using cadres. Party control over cadres means that, under the leadership of the party committee, we must follow the party's organizational line and its policy on cadres in training, promoting, using and supervising cadres and insure the implementation of the party's political line organizationally. Are we not prompted by the realization of this aim when we fully arouse the masses to action? Through democratic discussion and recommendation and to strengthen the various leadership groups, we promote those outstanding cadres who are in the prime of life, adhere to the party's ideological and political lines, combine professional knowledge with leadership abilities, have been tempered and tested and are full of promise. In promoting and using cadres the leadership organ concerned seriously listens to the opinions and suggestions from the masses before making a decision. This will only make the leadership organ see things in much broader terms and make more correct decisions. What is wrong with this? This is entirely compatible with the principle of party control over cadres. If we do not follow the mass line in doing cadre work and make a mystery of it, this will not promote proper party control over cadres. Many of our comrades have personal experience in this respect. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" we have achieved great results in our cadre work. But there have also been some shortcomings. For instance, we have very seldom got in touch with the intellectuals and have not known them well, to say nothing of promoting them. The chief reason why this has happened is that we have not been guided by correct thoughts and have been under the influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In addition, this has to do with our not having paid attention to the opinions of the masses. The masses have the greatest respect for facts. They understand and know intellectuals well by working along with them. Their assessment of what the latter say and do is relatively objective. Since the shift in emphasis in the party's work, the masses have not been happy with the lack of specialized and technical cadres among leading groups. They have urgently demanded that those who know the ropes lead them in promoting the four modernizations. In recent years, precisely because we have combined attention to mass opinions with a serious study of the party's policy on intellectuals, we have improved our work and paid relatively serious attention to training and promoting intellectuals. Therefore, following the mass line can help us emancipate our minds, overcome one-sidedness, promote cadres in light of the actual needs of the four modernizations and do a better job of controlling and using cadres.

In democratically recommending middle-aged and young cadres, some comrades have also worried that this may lead to factionalism, making it impossible for them to do their job well. Undoubtedly we should pay attention to factionalism. But practice shows that, so long as we strengthen leadership in a down-to-earth manner and do our work conscientiously, such a situation is not likely to arise. As far as the conditions in Kaifeng are concerned, every one of us is fed up with factionalism. We want stability and unity very badly. We bitterly hate the factional activities of a small number of people. Factionalism among the masses has to a large extent been overcome. The overwhelming majority of people know the situation as a whole and take the collective interests into consideration. They show great enthusiasm and a high sense of responsibility in properly promoting leading cadres. This time there was no factional trouble in the process of democratically recommending cadres in over 50 units throughout the municipality. The masses were very interested in our party's cadre work and very eager to air their views. A female cadre of the Nanguan District wrote three letters of recommendation. After she had prepared the first one, she felt that the person she had recommended was not good enough. She wrote another letter. When she was going to cast her vote, she again felt that her reasons for the recommendation were not convincing enough. After serious consideration, she wrote another letter of recommendation. Only then did she drop her cherished vote into the box. The masses have taken the business of recommendation very seriously, because they clearly see that the leading cadres are leaders in the four modernizations and representatives of mass interests. Whether the person elected is capable of properly wielding and exercising power for the people concerns the four modernizations and the future of the unit or enterprise involved. This also has a direct bearing on the personal interests of the voters. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of comrades who participate in recommendation are enthusiastic, serious and responsible in their approach.

To do this job well it is of great importance to strengthen party leadership. We first let the Organizational Department of the municipal party committee conduct experiments in six units. With the experience acquired, work was started in certain units where the leading groups had followed a correct ideological and political line, factionalism had been basically eliminated and the leadership was relatively strong. As far as the conditions of various units are concerned, to do a good job of democratically recommending cadres we must act as follows: 1) We must properly arouse people ideologically and organize everyone to seriously study the relevant documents well, to get a clear idea about the great significance of promoting middle-aged and young cadres and to have an overall understanding and grasp of the requirements for promoting cadres. 2) We must demand that everyone develop a sense of responsibility as the master of the house, correctly exercise democratic rights, officially vote for a person after full discussion and deliberation and give his reasons for doing so. 3) The results of voting are taken care of in a concentrated manner by the leading responsible comrades of the party committee and the Organizational Department and referred to the higher-level party organization and the Organizational Department of the municipal CCP committee and not announced to the public. 4) The Organizational Department is allowed to consider the persons recommended by the masses, one by one. Based on a comprehensive analysis of the reasons given for recommendation and the results of investigation, the party committee formulates plans for training and promotion.

This way of following the mass line in promoting middle-aged and young cadres will help to restructure the ranks of cadres. It is also a good way to let the masses of people be masters of the house. It is widely hailed by the masses of cadres and people. Many leading comrades said: "By arousing the masses fully and promoting cadres openly, we can have better foresight, see things clearly, have the right person elected, win mass support and feel secure. It is really 'a good way of selection.'" The masses of people said: "By being allowed to recommend leading cadres, we are really treated as masters of the house; we trust the cadres selected this way." However, our work has only just begun. Some shortcomings, such as a relatively small circle of people participating in democratically recommending cadres, slightly too few workers being involved in recommendation, and so forth, are unavoidable. In the future we must continue to make studies and improvements in practice so as to discover and promote more trained people for the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

IN DEALING WITH THE CADRES, WE SHOULD NOT JUST HEM AND HAW BUT MUST IMPOSE STERN DEMANDS ON THEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 41-43

[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]]

[Text] Leading cadres must make strict demands on themselves and on the cadres in areas, departments and units under their jurisdiction and must uphold the party's principles in everything. This is a most important issue.

Today there are too many good fellows. Hemming and hawing, they are casual and indulgent, leave principles aside and seek only harmony and peace. This situation is found everywhere. They do not distinguish between right and wrong. First of all, they do not support and encourage the correct views and the cadres who uphold principles and act according to the party policies, while they fail to criticize, educate or punish the wrong ideas and those who violate organizational discipline and pursue incorrect practices. In the second place, they do not distinguish between the superior and the inferior. Those who have knowledge and ability, an emancipated ideology and an active mind and who are skillful in studying problems and courageous in innovating are not employed rationally or promoted to leadership posts, while the mediocre and inept receive appointments, and some of them can only be promoted, never demoted. Their incompetency is overlooked and the dissatisfaction of the masses ignored. In the third place, they do not distinguish between the diligent and the lazy. Those who study hard, work vigorously and labor actively fail to receive commendation or concern, while those who seek no improvement, eat three meals a day and do no work are condoned. The inevitable consequence of such practice is slackness in organization and sluggishness in work, making it impossible to thoroughly implement the party's lines and policies and to cultivate and train cadres.

Why do some leading cadres hem and haw? The reasons are many sided. Objectively, as a result of the 10-year disruption of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," indifference and slackness have become a habit. At times, when one individual conscientiously performs work, he encounters all kinds of difficulties due to the lack of coordination on the part of everyone else. At other times, when a leader grasps the work tightly, he inevitably offends others and is regarded as someone who likes to create discord. Therefore, some leading cadres have the negative feeling that it is better to do less than more. Subjectively, it is mainly a case of several kinds of fear existing in the mind, such as the fear of offending the superior and losing one's job, the fear of offending everyone and losing one's votes, the fear of offending one's colleagues and making it hard to work with them, the fear of being accused of suffering from the remnant ultraleftwing poison if one is strict in criticizing and handling, etc. Some people say: "Today, relationships are very important. If they are not handled properly, one will suffer a disadvantage." To them, promoting "relationships" is advantageous, while the quality of one's work is of no importance. Therefore, they would rather be casual than uphold principles.

Hemming and hawing toward the cadres and failing to give a definite opinion on issues are not the upright attitude of a Communist Party member but the undesirable bureaucratic practice of the feudal society. A prime minister in the Tang dynasty by the name of Su Weidao was always compliant. His motto was: "Do not be decisive and clear in handling matters, because one will be blamed for errors. By being ambiguous, one will straddle both sides." ("Ancient History of Tang," Vol 94) He was therefore known as "Ambiguity Su." Such a philosophy of the feudal bureaucrats is incompatible with the proletarian world philosophy. To the cadres of our party, especially the leading cadres at various levels, the interests of the party and the people are above everything else, and regardless of the time and place, they must firmly uphold the correct principles and wage a relentless struggle against all incorrect ideas and conduct. To raise the party's fighting strength and pursue the four modernizations, we must wipe out the undesirable old ideas and obsolete practices. Inevitably we will infringe on the interests of those who are unwilling to improve and progress and offend those who follow unhealthy trends and evil practices. or who even violate law and disrupt discipline. If we abandon principles for fear of offending others and fail to demand strictly of the cadres, it will be detrimental to our work.

Naturally, to make strict demands on the cadres does not mean that we should be overbearing. We firmly oppose the practice followed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" toward revolutionary cadres in the past: that is, of capitalizing on their errors, hitting them with a club, attaching labels on them and carrying out "cruel struggles and ruthless attacks." Our party has always stressed the flexible combination of the solemnity of principles and the method. Even when it comes to comrades who have made mistakes, we must also start from the standpoint of cherishing them, present the facts and give the reasons with the attitude of rendering help, and patiently conduct a critical education. As regards those who temporarily fail to see the light, we must wait patiently and help them temper and reform themselves in practice. We also oppose impractical demands which cannot be fulfilled even after a vigorous effort, because they are not genuine strict demands but will damage the cadres' enthusiasm. As for the practice of exaggerated and excessive criticism of defects and errors, this will only turn the cadres into cautious "gentlemen," always feeling ill at ease and apprehensive, and it will also be detrimental to their growth.

Then, how do we make strict demands on the cadres? In accordance with the party's organizational line and the criterion of a Red and expert cadre, we must strictly supervise and examine their manifestations, so that we will distinguish clearly between right and wrong, merits and mistakes, and reward and punishment. We must firmly support, actively encourage and boldly promote those in their prime who firmly follow the party's political and ideological lines, possess specialized knowledge and leadership ability, work diligently, and are honest, upright and unselfish. We must boldly conduct a critical education of, and at times severely handle, those whose ideological and political lines are incorrect, who seek special privileges and follow bureaucratism, or who even violate the law and disrupt discipline. On the question of upholding party principles and observing party discipline, we must treat all cadres with equality and make matter-of-fact evaluations. Thus, with demands and inspections, commendations and criticisms, reward and punishment, promotions and dismissals, we will encourage the healthy trends, check the evil practices and thoroughly correct the idea of sharing the same amount of food whether one works or not.

To make strict demands on the cadres, leaders must first make strict demands on themselves. "Teaching by example is better than teaching by words." If one cannot set an example, one will not be able to make strict demands on others. How can one make strict demands on others if, for instance, one seeks special privileges while mobilizing others to struggle arduously, promotes relationships while asking others to act according to principles, stands high above the masses while appealing to others to penetrate reality, remains satisfied with an amateur status while urging others to study their profession, etc.? No attention is paid to the words of some leaders, not because their words are unreasonable, but because their words differ from their deeds and they have lost credibility.

As long as we uphold the party's principles, make strict demands, conscientiously perform ideological work, stimulate the lofty aspirations of all the cadres, and unite and pursue the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, our cadre ranks will grow rapidly.

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CSO: 4004

A RANDOM TALK ON THE 'THEORY OF MATERIAL BENEFIT'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 42-44

[Article by Jun Qi [1498 1505]]

[Text] A common saying today is: "Get some material benefit." The main idea is to leave revolutionary ideals and the four modernizations aside and instead find the means to acquire some money and material things and improve one's life. This idea is also found among some party members and cadres. Let us tentatively call it the "theory of material benefit" and analyze it.

Material benefit means material advantages actually enjoyed. If it refers to material interests gained after expending labor, it gives no cause for much criticism. Marx once pointed out: Everything that people strive for in their struggles is linked with their interests. Lu Xun [7627 6598] also said: "One is survival; two is food and clothes; three is development." The final goal of revolution is to eliminate exploitation and the classes, build a communist society with an advanced material and spiritual civilization and satisfy to the maximum the people's needs in all aspects. Communist Party members are not ascetics or puritans. The cause for which they struggle also includes the material interests of individuals, except that, during the 10 years of calamity, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng [1660 3932], in their dictionary, obliterated developing production, improving life and feeling concerned for the material interests of the masses; they denounced these as "revisionism." They misrepresented their ultra-leftwing political slogan as revolutionary ideals and hoodwinked the people with lies and exaggerations. Today, when we are bringing order out of chaos, some people, including certain Communist Party members and cadres, have gone from one extreme to the other, heaving a deep sigh and saying that they are "disillusioned with this mortal world. They feel that everything is false, empty and remote and that only "material benefits" are tangible and visible. Shelving the revolutionary ideals and disregarding the interests of the party and the people, they constantly stretch their long arms to grab some benefit and defend their selfish conduct plausibly.

Their first argument is: "Discuss ideals less; think more of material benefits.... Communism is remote, and only material benefits are realistic." This is a sort of pragmatism. Everyone has ideals, but the question is: What kind of ideals? Are they to promote the welfare of mankind and society, or are they to further the desires of individuals and cliques for power, material things and interests? A Communist Party member should establish a noble communist ideal. This ideal is built on the foundation of the scientific understanding of the law of social development, not on groundless imagination. Though requiring a long time for its realization, it will be realized. Without the communist ideal, one is not a true Communist Party member. Stalin said: "A great energy can only emerge for a great goal." Only with a great ideal can there be a great strength. Only by establishing a firm communist life and world philosophy will one have a firm standpoint, with great foresight, broad vision and full energy. One will not become conceited over victory or discouraged over defeat, fighting as long as one lives and exhausting oneself until death. To realize their great ideals, countless revolutionary martyrs, one stepping into the breach as another fell, struggled courageously, risking their lives and shedding their blood and never hesitating to sacrifice themselves for the cause. China's socialist reality today is chiefly the realization of the ideals of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. In other words, on this great land of China some of the revolutionary ideals for which they sacrificed themselves have been realized, some are in the course of being realized and others will be realized. Naturally we must also understand that the revolutionary road is long and tortuous, but as long as we adhere to our chosen course, practice what we advocate and struggle generation after generation, "internationale" will emerge in the history of mankind. Many Communist Party members link the concrete work they perform with lofty ideals, with the cause of the party and the people, making achievements and contributions. Today we stress the principle of "to each according to his labor" and material incentive, but we must also emphasize the principle of "from each according to his ability" and lofty ideals. Concentrating on material benefits and ignoring ambition, enjoying prosperity and being unable to withstand misfortunes, being joyful when the revolution is successful and pessimistic when encountering setbacks are not the proper spirit of a Communist Party member. Those with a shallow vision and narrow outlook, who hanker after immediate benefits, forget their class origin and lose their ambition for some small advantages, do not deserve the glorious title of Communist Party members.

Their second argument is: "I do not have much to do with the four modernizations, but I am closely linked with material benefits.... Regardless of what happens to the state, modernize the family first." Under the guidance of such ideology, some party members and cadres are indifferent to the four modernization construction but eagerly pursue personal enjoyment, always hoping to reap some profit by utilizing all kinds of opportunities. They have turned completely upside down the relationships between personal and collective interests, temporary and long-range benefits. The four modernization construction is where the fundamental interests of our party and our people lie, and it is closely linked with the individual. If the four modernizations are not advanced and material wealth is not increased, how can we improve the people's life or the well-being of the individual and the family? Instead of adding bricks and tiles to the four modernization construction, some people undermine the foundation of socialism. Such a practice is truly reprehensible. To buy some inexpensive foreign merchandise for the "small family," they exhaust every means to find an excuse to go abroad, without regard to the waste of state funds. To make some private gain for the small unit (actually for the individual), they unscrupulously damage the interests of the state and the people by such means as arbitrarily raising prices and indiscriminately issuing bonuses. To gain some trivial personal advantage, they do not hesitate to convert the public into the private and invent such ingenious pretexts as "trial viewing," "trial listening," "trial wearing," "trial using," "trial tasting," etc. Such practices are far removed from the demands of the party's political line. According to a common saying, "avarice knows no bounds." The unscrupulous pursuit of personal enjoyment will not only fail to satisfy personal desires but make it impossible to concentrate on the four modernization construction. Only by concentrating on the four modernization construction and turning our beloved country into a powerful socialist state will we lay the material foundation to improve individual and family living. We must never lose a great deal for something small and forget the interests of the whole for personal gain. A Communist Party member must, at all times, observe the following principle: Whenever there is a conflict of interest between the individual and the state, between the temporary and the long-range, or between the partial and the whole, we must subordinate ourselves to the collective, the long-range and the whole. In other words, it is a question of controlling the secondary situation with the overall situation and subordinating the minor principle to the major principle. Only by keeping the four modernizations in mind at all times, envisioning the overall situation and emancipating oneself from the shackles of fame and profit will one stand high and see far. Otherwise, if one confines oneself in a small personal world and racks one's brains over personal profit, it will be difficult to realize one's aspirations, no matter how beautiful they are, and one inevitably will drop out of the ranks of the times.

Their third argument is: "With power, one can act.... Do something for oneself, for the family and for the children." Even if one makes a mistake for this reason, it will only be "a spell of self-criticism and an entire life of comfort." This is the "theory" of some party members and cadres who pursue private gain and seek special privileges by means of the power of their office. This obviously is extremely wrong. Who has given us our power? What must we do with it? The power of any cadre or work personnel is granted by the people and can only be used to protect the people, create welfare for the people and serve the people heart and soul, not to make private gain or serve oneself or one's relatives. We are the public servants of the people, not their masters. At no time may we separate ourselves from the people. If we go against the will of the masses, we will lose our qualification as public servants, and the people have the right to recall the power they granted. As the Chinese Communist Party is the party in power, many party members and cadres perform leadership work in party and government organs, economic units and all kinds of work posts, and most of them serve the party and the state with all their heart and all their might. However, permeated with feudal consciousness and bourgeois ideology, a minority of them abuse the power of office, convert the public into the private, squander state funds for banquets and gifts and waste the people's money. They engage in undesirable practices and arrange pleasant work and good pay for their children, relatives and friends by all kinds of improper means. All these things affect the enthusiasm of the masses for the four modernizations and damage the party's prestige. The Communist Party must stress the principle of building the party to serve the interests of the people. In face of an issue, whether the public or the private comes first is an important criterion to determine whether a Communist Party member has truly established a communist life philosophy. Selflessness, arduous struggle, being first to bear the hardships and last to enjoy the comforts, anticipating the people's concerns and enjoying the pleasures after them--these are the noble qualities required of a Communist Party member. This is the reason why Communist Party members are progressive and why they are "created of special material." A party member, especially a party cadre, will lose his qualifications if he places personal interest above the party interest and seeks private benefits for himself, his family and his children. Scrambling for power and profit and pursuing malpractices for selfish ends are intolerable to party discipline and state law as well as contemptible.

The above discussion warrants our serious attention. Among the masses the mediocre "theory of material benefit" must not be permitted to spread; among party members and cadres it must not have a foothold. The individualist "theory of material benefit" is incompatible with the superior tradition of the party and the vanguard role of a party member. If one hankers after fame and profit and has no lofty goals in mind, how can one lead the masses to make the country strong and advance courageously? If one is indifferent to the affairs of the state, but thinks only of one's enjoyment and concentrates on one's own "cozy nest," how can one lead the masses to work vigorously and improve rapidly and to promote the four modernizations with their entire effort? If one harms others to benefit oneself and seeks special privileges, how can one lead the masses to serve the public selflessly and struggle arduously? In one word, when a person is not upright, how can he rectify others? Communist Party members who are determined to reform should possess an epochal and class feeling of responsibility, stimulate their revolutionary spirit and stand in the foremost ranks of the four modernization construction!

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COMMENTING ON THE VIETNAM-LAOS-KAMPUCHEA 'SPECIAL FEDERATION' ADVOCATED BY THE LE DUAN CLIQUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 45-48, 33

[Commentary by Tan Shi [6223 3290]]

[Text] After invading and annexing Laos and Kampuchea, Vietnam's Le Duan clique hurriedly concocted an "Indochina federation" similar to that which was imposed by the colonialists on the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and which had disappeared when the colonial rule came to an end. When they thought that their invasion and annexation of Laos and Kampuchea had become a fait accompli and that these two countries had already been consolidated under their control, they discarded their scruples. On 2 February 1980 Le Duan declared that from now on the "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea should be "continuously strengthened." On 19 April their propaganda minister, Hoang Tung, said blatantly: "Facts are facts: The three Indochinese countries--Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea--have already united." People "may call them whatever they like" but "no one can alter this fact." All this thoroughly demonstrates their ambition to permanently occupy and annex the two neighboring countries.

The Le Duan clique has long harbored a desire to concoct an "Indochina federation" or so-called "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. What is the real nature of this federation?

1. The Federation Is a Variety of Contemporary Colonialism

To deceive world opinion and the people of the three Indochinese nations, the Le Duan clique has fabricated a number of absurd lies, stating that their relations with Laos and Kampuchea are "special relations of a kind seldom seen and of a truly exemplary nature, characterized by boundless loyalty and honesty," a "brilliant manifestation of the correct combination of genuine patriotism and pure proletarian internationalism," and so forth. Now let us see how they have treated Laos and Kampuchea under the guise of so-called "pure internationalism" and "special relations of honesty."

Laos

After the war the Le Duan clique refused to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Laos. Instead, they increased the number of their troops in Laos to 50,000 or 60,000, further strengthening their military control over the country. They occupied mines and military bases in Laos without taking the Laotian authorities into account. Without the permission of the Vietnamese occupation authorities, no Laotian is allowed to go in and out of these areas. More than 6,000 Vietnamese administrative officers have been sent to Laos as "advisers" to control various departments of the Laotian central authorities or even grassroots units in charge of politics, diplomacy, economics, military affairs, culture, and so forth. Resolutions and important documents of the Laotian party Central Committee and government are formulated in Hanoi. Administration of personnel is also controlled by the Vietnamese. The transfer, promotion and punishment of cadres at all levels of the Laotian central authorities and local governments have to be decided by the Vietnamese "advisers." Bodyguards of some senior leaders are Vietnamese. The Le Duan clique has resorted to various conspiratorial means to attack and isolate the Laotian patriotic forces and has sent thousands of spies to Laos. Groups of "unreliable" Laotian senior and middle-ranking cadres have been sent to Hanoi to "study" or are kept under close surveillance in Laos.

In July 1977 a Vietnamese party and government delegation led by Le Duan visited Laos and imposed a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" and a "boundary treaty" on Laos. They have annexed a vast territory in Laos and legalized their nationwide control and military occupation of the country.

Under the control of the Le Duan clique, Laos' natural resources have been wantonly plundered, and the nation's economy has been severely sabotaged. Mineral products, timber, local products, and so forth have been continuously sent to Vietnam by "special" means. Goods sent to Laos by the international community have been constantly withheld or commandeered by Vietnam. No effort has been made to restore industrial and agricultural production in Laos. Instead, production has been devastated, and the people's livelihood is getting worse and worse. In the face of the brutal rule of the Vietnamese invaders and economic bankruptcy, more than 300,000 Laotian people (one-tenth of the country's population) have been forced to leave their country and escape to foreign countries. The people of Meo nationality, who have a good tradition of resisting foreign invaders, have been incessantly encircled and slaughtered by the Vietnamese occupation troops in recent years, and the whole race faces extermination. In the meantime, the Le Duan clique has moved a large number of Vietnamese to Laos. According to reports by foreign news agencies, more than 100,000 Vietnamese have now been moved to Saravane and Attopeu in Laos.

Kampuchea

The Le Duan clique has a bitter hatred of the Democratic Kampuchean Government and people, who are upholding national independence and opposing the "federation of Indochina." As early as the war of resistance against the United States, they were already trying to control the revolutionary power of Kampuchea from within with the help of their agents, but the plot did not succeed. After the war the Le Duan clique regarded the "shelter" areas provided by Kampuchea for the Vietnamese troops during the war as Vietnam's territory and refused to withdraw their troops from these areas, which they later turned into forward positions for invading Kampuchea. Moreover, they occasionally carried out subversive activities against Kampuchea, but they were always foiled in their attempts. Therefore, with the support of the Soviet hegemonists, the Le Duan clique brazenly decided to launch a full-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea. In November 1978, after signing a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" with the Soviet Union--a de facto treaty of military alliance--the Le Duan clique sent hundreds of thousands of troops to invade Kampuchea in December and brought back their running dog, Heng Samrin, to Phnom Penh. A puppet regime was thus propped up at bayonet point. In February 1979 the Le Duan clique concocted the so-called Vietnamese-Kampuchean "treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation," trying to legalize their invasion of Kampuchea. They committed all manner of crimes, such as burning, killing and looting wherever they went in Kampuchea. They looted large amounts of gold, silver and antiques from the Kampuchean imperial palace and statues, relief sculptures and so forth from Angkor Wat. They also stole relief goods provided to the Kampuchean people by the international community. In addition, they reaped and seized the rice crops of the Kampuchean people. They relentlessly slaughtered the Kampuchean people with chemical poisons and chemical weapons. The Le Duan clique's military invasion and occupation of Kampuchea has brought an unprecedented catastrophe to the country. Tens of thousands of Kampuchean people have been slaughtered by the Vietnamese aggressor troops in this barbarous war, and more than a million Kampuchean people were compelled to leave their homelands and escape to the Thai-Kampuchean border. Those who stay at home are suffering from hunger, sickness and misery. In addition, the Le Duan clique has imported a great number of Vietnamese into Kampuchea. Only 6 months after the invasion of Kampuchea, more than 200,000 Vietnamese had been moved to Kampuchea. They are scattered along the coastal and eastern provinces of Kampuchea. Recently, Vietnamese immigrants have been installed in some western provinces such as Battambang.

The Le Duan clique, however, has been unable to fulfill its plan of completely occupying Kampuchea. The Vietnamese aggressor troops have been vigorously resisted by the Kampuchean Army and people led by the Democratic Kampuchean Government. The aggressors have become bogged down in a quagmire. The Democratic Kampuchean Government, which is carrying out a patriotic struggle, continues to be recognized all over the world by countries that uphold justice. Peace-loving people throughout the world sympathize with and support Kampuchea.

It is obvious that the so-called "Indochina federation," or "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea as the Le Duan clique calls it, actually consists of the Vietnamese regional hegemonists' annexation of and colonial rule over two neighboring countries whose independence and sovereignty are universally recognized. If there is any distinction to be made between this type of colonial rule and that of neocolonialism, it is this: Vietnam, under the rule of the Le Duan clique, is utterly destitute. The Le Duan clique is unable to "export commodities or capital" to foreign countries. The only thing they can do is to exercise brutal military rule and loot and plunder. Such colonialism has emerged from the womb of a nation which was subjected to feudalism and colonialism for a long time. This nation once won its independence after many years of warfare. However, it has now become an appendage to social imperialism, because it has been betrayed by its ruling clique. Judging from its specific characteristics, it can be regarded as a variety of contemporary colonialism.

2. The Inherited Traditions of the Vietnamese Feudal Dynasties and French Colonialism

After the Vietnamese small hegemonists had succeeded in their invasion and occupation of Laos and Kampuchea, the Soviet big hegemonists sent a greetings message in the name of one of their organizations, saying: "The long-cherished 'wish from the days of old' of forming a close federation has been successfully realized." The Soviet Union tried to use history to cover up Vietnam's aggression, but such an act became more of a hindrance than a help. If we review history, we discover how the Vietnamese feudal ruling class "longed" to annex Laos and Kampuchea "from the days of old."

From the days of old, various nationalities with different historical backgrounds have lived in the area which we now call Indochina. The Vietnamese nationality lived along Vietnam's coastal area north of 10 degrees north latitude, around the middle and lower reaches of the Red River, where a sovereign state of the Vietnamese feudal dynasty was founded in the 10th century. In an area located between 18 and 12 degrees north latitude lived the Chiem nationality, who believed in Brahmanism. The state of Zhancheng was founded there after the 2d century. The Thai and Lao nationalities lived in the western mountain areas which extended southward from the west bank of the Red River on China's border and the east bank of the Mekong River to the border of present-day Kampuchea. Present-day Kampuchea and the southern part of Vietnam were the territory of the Zhenla state (present-day Kampuchea), which was founded in the 1st century.

After establishing their dynasty, the Vietnamese feudal ruling class regarded southward and westward expansion as its basic national policy. Vietnamese history books blatantly praised this process of expansion as the "southward march." After a protracted southward invasion, the Vietnamese feudal rulers completely annexed all the territories of the civilized ancient state of Zhancheng in 1693. The Chiem nationality was ruthlessly exterminated. A great number of the Chiem people were slaughtered, and many of them were captured and became serfs working in the feudal manors. The rest were driven to the remote, thickly forested mountains in the west, and they lived together with primitive tribes. After occupying the land of the Chiem people, the Vietnamese aristocrats, bureaucrats and landlords rented it to Vietnamese immigrants and exploited them through a high land rent.

In the mid-15th century the Vietnamese feudal ruling class gradually expanded westward, occupying a vast territory on the west bank of the Red River where the Thai nationalities lived. Afterward, they attacked the Xiem Khoung Plain and the Plain of Jars and once occupied Luang Prabang. The Vietnamese were later forced to retreat after they were defeated by Laos. In 1827 the Vietnamese feudal dynasty once again occupied Vientiane and the vast territories in the middle and upper parts of Laos and looted Luang Prabang. The Kingdom of Lanchang was founded on Laotian territory in the 8th century, when the prefectures of Zhenjing, Zhenbian, Zhenning and Zhenman were set up in order to control Laos.

After annexing Zhencheng, the Vietnamese feudal rulers continued their southwestern drive and carried out armed intervention in Kampuchea. In 1699 the Vietnamese troops pressed on to Phnom Penh, once forcing the Kampuchean king to surrender. After 1753 the Vietnamese feudal rulers annexed the whole area of Shuizhenla (the present-day Mekong Delta in the southern part of Vietnam) and employed Vietnamese immigrants to reclaim wasteland. Because a large number of Vietnamese had emigrated to Kampuchea, the Khmer nationality became a minority nationality. In 1834 the Vietnamese Nguyen dynasty, which had seized power with the support of the French colonialists, occupied Phnom Penh, turning Kampuchea into Vietnam's "City of Zhenxi," which was directly ruled by Vietnamese officials. The Kampuchean people carried out an armed struggle everywhere against the Vietnamese, and with support from Thailand they later expelled the Vietnamese troops. In 1845 the Nguyen dynasty again sent troops to invade Kampuchea, forcing the Kampuchean king to accept a king of the Khmer installed by the Nguyen dynasty and to submit to the "suzerainty" of Vietnam.

The task which the Vietnamese feudal ruling class had not thoroughly accomplished was later carried out and completed by the French colonialists. After occupying the southern part of Vietnam, the French colonialists invaded and occupied Kampuchea in 1863, the whole of Vietnam in 1885 and Laos in 1893. In 1887 the French merged Vietnam and Kampuchea, which they had occupied, into a "French Indochinese federation." Laos was later amalgamated into the federation, which was administered by the French governor in Indochina. This "Indochina federation" was a colonialist yoke imposed on the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea by bayonets.

Reviewing this phase of history, we can see very clearly that the purpose of the Le Duan clique's southwestern expansion to annex Laos and Kampuchea is to realize the "long-cherished" dream of the Vietnamese feudal dynasty and inherit the mantle of the French colonialists. The process of the Le Duan clique's expansion and annexation is the same as that of the feudal dynasty and colonialists in history, which is one characterized by bloody massacre, plunder, genocide and the exodus of a large number of people.

3. A Component Part of the Global Strategy of Soviet Social Imperialism

The annexation of Laos and Kampuchea and the establishment of an "Indochina federation" are important steps in the Le Duan clique's invasion of and expansion into Southeast Asia and toward their becoming regional small hegemonists. They are also a component part of the global strategy of Soviet social imperialism.

To vie for global hegemonism, Soviet social imperialism has long been trying to establish and control a "security system in Asia." In the meantime, it badly needs bases in Southeast Asia to step up its further southward expansion, such as naval and air bases at Cam Ranh Bay, Da Nang, Xin Shan Yi [2450 1472 0001] and Saigon in Vietnam, Kompong Som in Kampuchea, the Plain of Jars in Laos, and so forth. If the Soviet Union is successful in implementing the plan, it will be able to advance a further 4,000 km southward to the western Pacific area, threaten the Strait of Malacca and link up its strategic deployments in the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union will also coordinate its further westward drive by land toward the Gulf area with its southward strategic advance, linking them with the main battlefront in Europe. Thus, the strategic system of global hegemony and expansion will be complete. Therefore, the Soviet Union needs a henchman who will provide military bases and serve as a ruffian. The Le Duan clique has thus been selected. This is the main reason why the Soviet global hegemonists have been generous enough to foster the Vietnamese regional hegemonists with daily "aid" amounting to $3 million.

The Le Duan clique has set its mind on becoming a hegemonist in Southeast Asia. While extending its control over Laos and carrying out a full-scale invasion of Kampuchea, they openly said that "Indochina is the key for opening the gate to Southeast Asia." They are now speeding up their "strategy of attack" by maintaining a powerful military force of 1.2 million men in a country with a population of 50 million. Vietnam, which is economically destitute and on the verge of bankruptcy, is not able to afford endless external expansion and military aggression.

Therefore, it is the Le Duan clique's inexorable logic to throw themselves into the arms of the Soviet social imperialists and embark on the road of openly opposing China, invading and annexing Laos and Kampuchea and carrying out aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia. Not long ago the Le Duan clique said with great candor: "We have never spent a single cent on arms and munitions, because they are all supplied by our Soviet friends." This shows how closely the Vietnamese regional hegemonists have embraced the Soviet global hegemonists. The Le Duan clique relies on the political support and military and economic aid of the Soviet Union. It is by means of this support and aid that the Soviet Union controls Vietnam, firmly binding it to the Soviet war chariot and using the Vietnamese to serve its global strategy. Of late the Le Duan clique has openly proclaimed: "The cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union has developed into an all-round cooperation and federation." This shows how the Le Duan clique, which claims to be "nonalined," has become the henchman and accomplice of Soviet social imperialism at the expense of the national independence, sovereignty, livelihood and property of the Vietnamese people.

4. Hell on Earth for the People of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea

After the death of Chairman Ho Chi Minh and the unification of Vietnam, the Le Duan clique resorted to all sorts of schemes and intrigues to seize the leadership of the party and state. Motivated by their long-cherished ideas of big Vietnamese chauvinism, which they have been developing viciously, the Le Duan clique has expeditiously embarked on the road of oppressing the domestic population and minority nationalities, carrying out external aggression and expansion and bullying and humiliating the small and weak neighboring nations.

The Le Duan clique pursues factional and autocratic rule at home, casts aside people who disagree with them and frames honest and innocent people. They are implementing a policy of national oppression, abrogating the rights of the two national autonomous regions established long ago in the northern and northwestern parts of Vietnam and depriving the national minorities of their autonomous rights. The Le Duan clique is carrying out a wholesale campaign of "purifying the border," slaughtering, persecuting and expelling people of various nationalities living along the northern borders. They are bloodily suppressing various nationalities in the western plains. In the meantime, they are expelling and persecuting Chinese residents and Vietnamese residents of Chinese origin throughout the country, thereby committing the most brutal and ruthless crimes of racism in modern history.

Today, under the rule and occupation of the Le Duan clique, the so-called "Indochina federation" has become a hell on earth for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Various nationalities in Laos and Kampuchea and some nationalities in Vietnam, such as the (Dai Y), Khmer, Hoa, Thai, Nung, Meo, Dao, Lap Dac, Chiem, and so forth are bullied by the big

Vietnamese chauvinists. The broad masses of the Vietnamese people have been severely harmed as a result of reactionary policies implemented by the Le Duan clique at home and abroad. The Le Duan clique cannot but admit that in Vietnam people lack grain, factories are short of materials, farmland is impoverished because of the lack of fertilizers, daily necessities are in short supply, foreign exchange has dried up and creditors are knocking at the door again and again. Under the brutal and fascist rule of secret agents, the Vietnamese people have been deprived of all their democratic rights, and thousands upon thousands of cadres and masses have been thrown into labor camps. Not being able to withstand the oppression and miserable life, millions of Vietnamese have fled their country through various channels. Foreign reporters who visited Vietnam last June said that Vietnam "has become a land of terror, hatred and poverty."

Through the above analyses we can see very clearly that the Le Duan clique is intrinsically a national chauvinist and reactionary group which has inherited the mantle of feudal rulers and colonialists and closely embraced social imperialism. It is trying to permanently and forcibly annex two independent and sovereign states and nations which have a long history and cultural traditions. All this runs counter to the trend of history. Our revolutionary teacher Engels pointed out: "No one can subjugate a nation without receiving punishment." The perverse acts of the Le Duan clique are apt to meet with firm resistance from the people of Kampuchea and Laos. It will be strongly condemned and punished by just and peaceable countries and peoples throughout the world. The Vietnamese people, whose suffering and hardship is increasing from day to day, will come around to the realization that they must rise against the suppression, invasion and expansion of the Le Duan clique. The Le Duan clique is being increasingly isolated from the world community and the broad masses of people, and it has found that things are becoming increasingly difficult. The clique's efforts at pursuing regional hegemonism and concocting some sort of "Indochina federation" or so-called "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea will inevitably end in failure.

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WE SHOULD WELCOME FRANK WORDS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 p 49

[Article by Shaqin [3097], Boxiang [0130 4382] and Zhiliang [1807 5328]]

[Text] In our contacts with some leading cadres we sometimes hear the following complaints: Certain comrades like to "raise objections," certain comrades "do not follow instructions well," etc. Such words from the leaders deserve attention. We recall an old proverb which states: "The questioning of one man is worth more than the yes of 1,000." It means that when we are listening to the views of others, the sound of the agreement of 1,000 people cannot compare with the frank words of one person. Today, to admonish our leading comrades with this proverb appears to be highly necessary.

Those who agree and those who question are two kinds of people with entirely different kinds of attitudes. When the leader makes a statement, those of the former kind disregard the right or wrong and say yes continuously, displaying complete obedience, while those of the latter kind think independently and determine whether it is compatible with reality before deciding on how to carry it out. When inspecting and summarizing work, the former lavish unprincipled flatteries, give all credit to the leader, take their cue from him and cover up the mistakes and defects, while the latter seek the truth from the facts, conscientiously summarize the experiences, make no exaggeration of the achievements, give no quarter when discussing problems, uphold the principles and possess the courage to criticize. One can thus see that the fundamental distinction between the two kinds of people is as follows: To the former, personal gain or loss comes first, and the superior is the most important; to the latter, the party's interest comes first, and the truth is the most important. It reflects two different ideological lines and qualities.

In real life it is often easy to hear the sound of agreement but difficult to listen to the sound of questioning, because the patriarchal practice has become a habit for some people. Some leading cadres like to hear agreement from all their subordinates. Others, though verbally advocating "full democracy," "criticism from the masses" and "no retaliation, no labeling and no clubbing," the moment the masses express critical views and reveal the defects and errors in work, feel that the "skeleton in the closet" is exposed and that they have "lost dignity." They either resort to every means to reject such opinions and accuse the dissenters of "pride and conceit" and "lack of respect for the leaders," or they hold a grudge, seek the opportunity to retaliate and force the dissenters to wear small shoes. These are the remnants of the feudal idea of special privilege and call for conscientious handling.

It is easy to be compliant and difficult to question. Though the saying that "expressing opinions brings disadvantages, and it is better to be docile" is wrong, it is commonplace in everyday life. Being compliant rather than questioning is linked with the leadership, because it is preferred by some leaders. Therefore, to truly develop democracy we must start from the leadership. A leader must detest the sound of agreement and welcome the questioning words, "bowing to the words of wisdom...glad to hear of his own mistakes." Only thus will a democratic atmosphere be created whereby people will say all they know and say it without reservation and express their opinions, including sharp criticisms, face to face; only thus can we activate the enthusiasm of the broad masses and further the party's work.

Naturally, advocating questioning words does not mean encouraging extreme democracy or permitting objections to the lines and policies of the party Central Committee; what it means is to pool the wisdom of the masses and promote the four modernization construction. As long as our leaders at all levels possess an unselfish open mind and welcome the questioning words from all sides, and as long as the broad ranks of party members and cadres develop the revolutionary spirit of seeking truth from facts and exercising conscientious responsibility, then our party's cause will flourish more and more.

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THE PAMIRS IN SNOWSTORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 inside back cover

[Woodcut by Ye Yuzhong [0673 3022 0022]]

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JPRS 76885

26 November 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 16, 16 August 1980

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26 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 16, 16 August 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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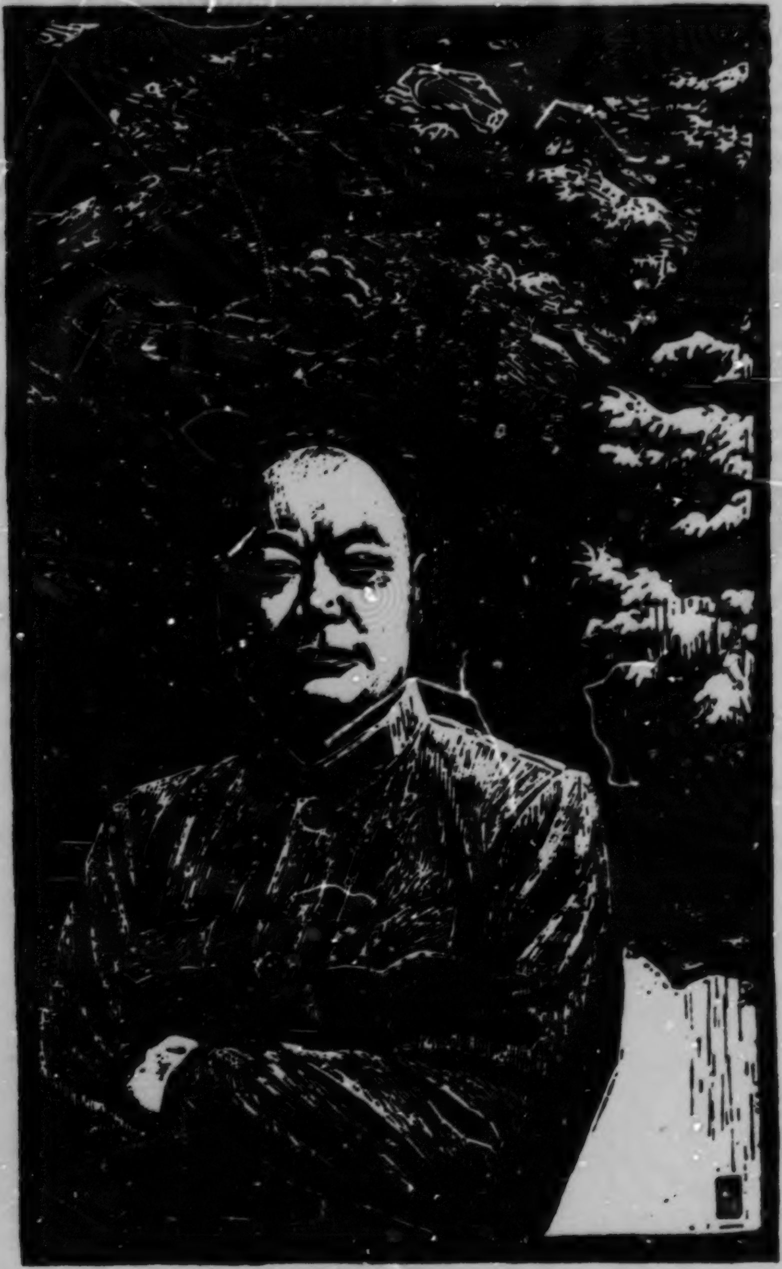
THE YOUNG PINE IS STRONG AND STRAIGHT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Wang Wei [3769 3555]]



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SERIOUSLY SOLVE NEW PROBLEMS CONFRONTING ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 80 pp 2-9

[Article by Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522]]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the end of 1977, the organizational front has been more lively and our work has yielded good results. Although we have done a great deal of work, it has been basically in the nature of readjustment and turning chaos into order. Over the past years our efforts have been directed primarily at solving problems left over by history. This is necessary, because we should not leave the problems unsolved. Moreover, we should continue to solve problems which have not been successfully solved. However, we still do not have an overall plan for organizational work to meet the needs of the general task of the new period. From now on we must make unremitting efforts to solve new problems, so that organizational work can suit the urgent needs of the four modernizations.

The New Problems Confronting Organizational Work

Many new problems and new situations confront us. Which is the most fundamental? The most fundamental new situation is that our country has entered a new historical stage. The most fundamental task during this new period is to unswervingly realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. While achieving a high degree of material civilization, we must also achieve spiritual civilization. While improving and perfecting the socialist economic system, we must also improve and perfect the socialist political system. This is an unprecedented new task which will cause profound changes in various areas. Therefore, we must make corresponding changes in our ideology, work style and work methods in order to meet the development and changes of the objective situation.

The organizational line has always served the political line and insured its realization. If the question of the organizational line is not properly solved, the political line will not be implemented. This is why, as soon as the party Central Committee has decided its political line, it takes on the question of organizational line. Whether we can implement the party's political, ideological and organizational lines has much to do with whether we have done a good job of our organizational work. We must fully understand the position and role of organizational work in the four modernizations. We must enhance our consciousness, strengthen our sense of responsibility and enthusiastically and creatively accomplish the glorious task which history has entrusted to us.

The four modernizations require a large number of leading cadres who know their trades well and cadres who have professional knowledge and capability and are in their prime. However, our present cadres cannot meet this need. The present 18 million cadres make up a reliable hard core and are the precious asset of our party and state. Without this core we would neither have achieved the success of revolution and construction nor have smoothly shifted our party's work focus. However, as historical conditions and tasks change, the weakness of our contingent of cadres has been exposed. The chief expression of its weakness is its irrational organization. We have too many cadres who lack professional knowledge and capability. We have too few cadres who possess professional knowledge and capability. The average academic standard of the cadres is too low. We have too few middle-aged and young cadres in leading groups at all levels. This is a very dominant conflict confronting us. If this problem remains unsolved, realization of the four modernizations will be hopeless.

After the victory of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, when Lenin was leading the Bolshevik Party in vigorously restoring the national economy and achieving socialist construction, he repeatedly stressed that large numbers of new personnel should be trained. He clearly pointed out: "All management work requires special skill. Some people can be the most competent revolutionaries or agitators, but they cannot be management personnel. All those who are familiar with real life and have rich experiences know that to do management work one must know his trade well, know all the conditions of production, know advanced modern production techniques and possess scientific knowledge. These are the requirements that we should by all means meet." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 394) However, economic construction and training of new personnel were severely undermined by the war. The Soviet Union began its socialist industrialization in 1926. In the face of the new construction task, Stalin attached great importance to selecting and training people talented in economic construction. He stressed again and again: "We now need new commanding cadres for industry--capable directors of mills and factories, competent executives of trusts, efficient trade managers, intelligent planners of industrial development. We now have to create new regimental, brigade, divisional and corps commanders for economy and industry. Without such people we will not be able to advance one step." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 8, p 126) Through their efforts they greatly increased the number of people engaged in economic construction and greatly promoted the technical reform of economic construction and development of production in the Soviet Union during the first and second five-year plans. During the early period of the First Five-Year Plan in China, Comrade Mao Zedong told the entire party: "To build socialism the working class must have its own army of technical cadres and of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists." ("Situation in the Summer of 1957") The task of building this vast army should have been accomplished within 10 to 15 years. However, due to the mistakes in our work, and particularly due to the 10 years of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the historic task of socialist economic work and training new people has been held up. This is a problem we should have solved long ago. It has now become our new problem. We should waste no more time.

What are the new problems confronting organizational work on our way to achieving the four modernizations? Judging from the current situation, the following are the new problems:

How should we build an army of cadres who firmly follow the socialist road, have professional knowledge and capability and are in their prime?

How should we organize and build leading groups according to the requirements of professionalization, rejuvenation and competence?

How should we select and train our successors and insure the continuity of the party's line, principles and policies?

How should we reform the present irrational cadre system in accordance with the demands of the four modernizations?

How should we reeducate and train cadres on a large scale?

How should we reeducate party members, improve the quality of party members and rectify the party organization?

How should we improve the system and methods of party leadership and raise the level of leadership?

It is not easy to solve these new problems. It requires resolve and a series of reforms. If we do not conduct reforms in our ideological work and system, we will not be able to do away with the conventions and break new ground and will thus be unable to fundamentally bring about a new situation in organizational work.

Readjust the Leading Groups in Accordance With the Principle of Doing Three Things Simultaneously

For more than 3 years we have readjusted the leading groups at all levels, particularly leading groups in the various ministries and commissions of the Central Committee and State Council, as well as the leading groups of various provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees. Such readjustment is necessary and effective. However, the general situation of leading groups is not satisfactory. This problem should be properly solved in the coming 2 or 3 years.

The following phenomena show that the leading groups are not satisfactory: The average age of the chief leaders in leading groups at all levels is too high, the number of cadres is too large, their academic standards are too low, the number of cadres who know their professions and management is too small, and the leading groups of some prefectural and county factories and mills have not been readjusted. To fundamentally change the above situation by transferring only one or two cadres will not do. We must adopt the method of "doing three things simultaneously." That is, we must promote a large number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to the leading groups, properly settle the old and weak comrades who cannot continue working and transfer some incompetent cadres to other posts. We should plan these three tasks as a whole and should not neglect any of them.

The first task is to boldly promote a large number of outstanding cadres who are in their prime, who firmly follow the party's line, and who have professional knowledge and capability to leading groups of various areas and levels.

The 11th party congress and the 3d and 5th plenary sessions discussed the question of training and promoting new people. Since last year the Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that we should seriously consider and solve this question. It has also clearly stated the principles, policies and methods to solve this question. This is an important strategic decision by the party Central Committee. The Organization Department of the Central Committee has held two forums on promoting outstanding middle-aged and young people and on implementing the spirit of the directives issued by the Central Committee. Party committees at all levels have also done a great deal of work. However, all this is just a beginning. There is still much to do to meet the demands of the Central Committee and to improve our work, our methods and, most important of all, our ideology.

All party members, particularly leading cadres at all levels, must enhance their consciousness and strengthen their sense of urgency in selecting and training successors. Our comrades, particularly old comrades, must take the selection and training of successors as an important matter which has a great bearing on the destiny of the party and state. They must stand higher, see farther and think deeper. Some comrades think that young people are immature and incompetent. Thus, they are not willing to promote young people to leading posts. We must bear in mind that most of our middle-aged and young cadres have 10-30 years of experience. They are good or at least fairly good. Immature cadres must undergo a process before they become mature. They must be trained by the party in practical work. We old comrades can recall how we ourselves became mature. Were we not appointed secretaries of county, prefectural or provincial party committees or leaders of a regiment, division or army when we were 20, 30 or 40?

At that time the party organizations placed much confidence in us. Why can we not place confidence in the young cadres we ourselves brought up? Selecting and training trustworthy successors while the old comrades are still living and in good health is a basic way to help us overcome our lack of confidence in the young people. Some people think that successors emerge automatically. When the minister has left, the bureau chief will succeed him; when the bureau chief has gone, the section chief will replace him. Thus, they think it unnecessary to select a successor. Other comrades say that although they are not young they are still strong and able to work for some time, and they think it unnecessary to be anxious about the question of successors. They agree to solve it slowly. These views are wrong. We must have a sense of urgency about the question of successors and must not tarry. We must adopt proper methods and grasp our work firmly. Otherwise, the task will be laid aside and neglected again. Comrades who participated in the first and second revolutionary civil wars are about 70 now; others who participated in the anti-Japanese war are 50 or 60. To carry through to the end the cause pioneered by our old revolutionaries and to shoulder the heavy task of the four modernizations, we need a large number of successors. We must successfully achieve this urgent strategic task. We must act without any selfish considerations, but must keep the party's interests in mind, help the party organizations to enthusiastically support a large number of outstanding middle-aged and young people and promote them to leading posts. This is the most glorious and important historic task of the old comrades and an important contribution to the four modernizations.

We must select successors step by step in a planned way. The departments and commissions of various Central Committee and state organs, as well as the party committees of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, must draw up a plan in the light of their actual conditions, set the requirements to gradually professionalize, rejuvenate and upgrade the proficiency of leading groups and adopt some basic measures to realize these requirements. While formulating and carrying out these plans, we must persist in the collective leadership of the party committee and follow the mass line. We have had many bitter lessons on the question of selecting successors. One of them is the appointment of successors by individuals. This runs counter to the principle of collective leadership of the party committee and is a reflection of the pernicious influence of feudalism. Practice has proved that this is a failure. Now we should neither allow individuals to appoint successors nor choose only a few people. We must select a group or a strata of people and then choose from the first, second and third men in command. In so doing we will have rich human resources and will gain the initiative. Some places have not done a good job of selecting successors. One of the reasons is that they have adopted the wrong method, making the selection on a small scale and in secret. They are not bold in following the mass line. We must change this method. Who understands the cadres most? The higher level leading departments or the basic-level masses? It is undeniable that the higher level authorities understand the cadres. However, the masses know the cadres best. Cadres live among the masses. Their words and deeds are observed by the masses. We must be bold in allowing the masses to comment on and recommend outstanding cadres and in listening to the opinions of the masses in various areas. On this basis the organization department can carefully observe and the party committee can collectively discuss the matter, gather the correct opinions and make the decision.

To select and train cadres on a large scale is an important measure to build up successors. At present there are quite a number of people who lack knowledge of their professions and modern management. Blindness and limitations exist in their work, and they cannot meet the demands of the four modernizations. The cadres themselves should not be held responsible for these shortcomings, which have been caused by the continuous political shifts, particularly by the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the past. The basic method to overcome these shortcomings is to create conditions to help the cadres study and make improvements. In the early 1950's our party organized cadres in various ways to study culture, theories, professions, science and technology and built up a vast army of Red and expert personnel. This was the first upsurge of restudying since the founding of the PRC. Now we must start another large-scale upsurge of restudying to rapidly train more people. To solve this problem we must be willing to spend money and make efforts; we must use every possible means to open all avenues for people of talent; we must reform the content of study, pay attention to the practical results of study and stress the promotion of the cadres' professional level and management ability. Only when the general level of the cadres is raised can we have a solid foundation for selecting successors.

The second task is to properly arrange for a number of old and weak comrades who have made contributions to the party and people to withdraw to the second or third line.

Our old comrades have braved untold dangers and struggled hard in the protracted revolutionary struggles and construction. They have made tremendous contributions to the party and people and accumulated rich experiences. They are a precious asset of our country. These old comrades not only were, but still are, the chief leaders on whom we should depend to achieve the four modernizations. We must create a good social tendency in which old comrades are respected. We should not harbor any resentment against old comrades. Young comrades must be modest and prudent, sincerely emulate the older generation, try their best to gain the help of old comrades, respect their opinions and learn from their good thinking, work style and experiences. They must enhance their capability, improve their skills and cooperate with the old comrades to advance together.

Proper arrangements must be made for the old and weak comrades who can no longer do regular work. The general principle is that we must show great respect for them in political affairs and give consideration to them in their daily life. Experiences in various places show that as long as we are resolute and have correct thinking we can employ many methods. We must continue to sum up and accumulate experiences in this aspect and solve this problem by improving the methods, systems, work and social tendency.

We must understand that our cadres and leading groups, as in other matters, are continuously replaced by new ones, so that they are always full of vigor and vitality. Some old comrades have become old and weak and lack energy. This is an objective fact independent of human will. Under these circumstances, it is possible to ask the old comrades to devise strategies in a command tent, but it will be difficult to ask them to continue their work day and night. We must relieve these old comrades of the heavy workload, so that they can think about matters of prime importance and do something suitable for them and within their ability. This shows that the party not only cares for and trusts them, but also tries to give fuller play to their role. This is a matter of greatest significance. In this respect, some old comrades of various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and various departments of the Central Committee have set a good example for us. Their consciousness is worth commending and emulating.

The third task is to transfer the unsuccessful cadres to other suitable posts so that they can play their role.

Some cadres have failed in their present positions after more than 3 years of testing. To properly transfer them is an important measure to strengthen the fighting effectiveness of the leading groups. We must specifically analyze the unsuccessful cadres and deal with them in different ways. The unsuccessful cadres we have mentioned do not include factional elements and elements who indulged in beating, smashing and looting under Lin Biao and the "gang of four," whom we should try to eliminate as quickly as possible. There are two kinds of unsuccessful cadres: The first are those who are still boycotting the party's line, principles and policies because their minds have been poisoned and their ideological and political lines are not correct. These people will be regarded as unsuccessful even if they are capable. The second kind are those who have political integrity but low ability. They are incompetent and cannot cope with their duties. The masses do not want them. Both kinds of unsuccessful cadres should not remain in their original positions and should be properly transferred. We can transfer them to other units or lower levels or send them off to study. No matter which method is adopted, we must do a good job of ideological work, so that they can take up their new posts happily and play their role in a better way. We must sincerely help them continue to make progress. This is beneficial to the party's cause and to the cadres concerned.

Further Emancipate Our Minds and Foster a New View of Recruitment

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Central Committee has continuously stressed the emancipation of the mind and seeking truth from facts. While turning chaos into order, we have broken away from the restrictions of old conventions, and our minds have been emancipated step by step. However, generally speaking the emancipation of the mind is still quite inadequate, and some conventions which should have been done away with have not been.

We must admit that there are many conventions in cadre work. For example, we have laid undue emphasis on the seniority of cadres and have neglected their ability. We have paid attention to worker and peasant cadres but have overlooked intellectuals. We have paid attention to their class origin and their performance in the past but have ignored their present performance and future development. We have not held a correct view of political integrity and ability. We have either emphasized political integrity and neglected ability or have selected leading cadres only from party or government departments and ignored the use of professional and technical personnel.

We must hold a historical and dialectical view to judge what are conventions and what are not. Some matters can be progressive under certain historical conditions. However, they can be backward under others. If we stick to old concepts and conventions rather than change our ideas according to historical conditions, these old concepts and conventions will become a force of habit which binds our hands and feet and hinders the development of our cause. Only when we have done away with the conventional force of habit can we advance rapidly.

First, how should we deal with the seniority and capability of cadres?

A cadre's seniority is the record of his revolutionary history. A long revolutionary history is an honor and deserves respect. To a certain extent, seniority reflects people's practical experience. Generally speaking, when one is more senior one has more experience. However, this is not an absolute rule. We should not think that all senior people are capable. This is because each person has his own situation, makes different efforts and possesses different capabilities. Senior members have been tested for a long time and have accumulated more experience and may therefore be more able. However, their ability is not the result of their seniority but of their efforts. If we do not hold this view, we will not be able to explain why some very senior members are not as capable as the junior ones. Therefore, we must not judge a cadre only by his seniority. We must also take his actual standard of work into consideration. However, when some comrades are assessing or appointing cadres, they often place undue emphasis on the cadres' seniority and neglect their capability. They only mention these cadres' experience and seldom consider their standards of work. We must be resolute in breaking with this convention. No matter what we do, we must be competent and have real skill. This is a minimum requirement. How can we do without genuine learning and ability, professional knowledge and knowledge of management, particularly when we are trying to achieve the four modernizations? Therefore, when appointing cadres in the future we must take into consideration their seniority as well as their competence. We must boldly promote and use those comrades who have a good political performance, ability and high standards of work despite their lack of experience. It is unwise to put comrades who have low ability and low standards of work in leading posts simply because of their seniority.

The idea of stressing seniority and neglecting ability, that is, of determining rank by seniority, is very common among leading cadres and ordinary cadres and in the party and in society. Although the appointment of an old cadre may arouse discussion, it can easily be accepted by people. The appointment of a middle-aged or young cadre may arouse even wider discussion. People often say that middle-aged or young cadres are unable to control the whole situation and are not dependable because they are inexperienced. Appointment is often according to "seniority" rather than "on merit." If we do not change the criterion for appointing cadres, we will not be able to promote the capable, promising and outstanding cadres in their prime, and the new will not be able to supersede the old. We must resolutely and thoroughly overcome the outworn concepts and firmly foster the new concept of appointing people. Only then will there be hope for our cause.

Second, how should we deal with worker-peasant cadres and intellectual cadres?

A considerable number of our cadres are of worker or peasant origin. During the revolutionary war years we had only very few intellectual cadres but many worker-peasant cadres. This was decided by the historical conditions at that time. Under the party's leadership, the worker-peasant cadres and intellectual cadres cooperated and made concerted efforts to achieve victories in revolution and construction. Our central task at present is to realize the four modernizations, and this will be impossible if we do not have a vast army of cadres who possess cultural and professional knowledge. Since the founding of the PRC we have trained a large number of intellectuals. Most of them have become cadres. However, only a small number of them have been admitted to the leading groups. Therefore, in selecting leading cadres we must pay attention to their academic standards. When recruiting cadres not engaged in production we must also carefully check their academic standards. Where can we find such cadres in the future? We must look for them among the young graduates of colleges, technical schools or middle schools and in accordance with the requirements for cadres. We must choose those who have attained a certain academic standard and must not choose workers or peasants who have a low academic standard. Some cadres have never been to college, but they work hard and have attained a fairly high academic standard and acquired knowledge of one or more professions. The party organization should attach great importance to giving full play to their role and must promote to leading posts those who are in their prime and are able to assume leadership.

Promoting cadres of high academic standards rather than peasants or workers of low academic standards does not run counter to the party's class line. We must bear in mind that the class situation in our country has undergone a drastic change and that most intellectuals have become part of the working class. All socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals are masters of our country and society, as well as the principal force of the four modernizations. It is wrong to regard promoting peasants and workers as implementing the party's class line and promoting intellectuals as violating the party's class line. Some people regard only peasants and workers but not intellectuals as our own people. They pay attention to the practical experience of workers and peasants but neglect the intellectuals' professional knowledge and their position and role in the four modernizations. This is an outmoded notion which reflects the subjective and one-sided way of thinking and should be eliminated.

Third, how should we treat cadres' past and present performance?

Talking about how to judge cadres, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must not confine our judgment to a short period or a simple incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole." ("Role of the Chinese Communist Party") When judging cadres, some comrades only pay attention to the cadres' past performance and ignore their present performance and future development. This is wrong.

Should we take cadres' past performance into consideration? Yes, we should. We should not consider their performance over a short period or a simple incident apart from its historical context. However, should we stress their past or present performance? To pay attention to present performance is our party's consistent policy and an important principle of cadre work. If we do not properly solve this problem in ideology and practice, we will not be able to correctly implement the party's cadre line. To stress present performance we must pay attention to the cadres' performance since the smashing of the "gang of four" and see whether they firmly support the party's line, principles and policies, whether they are loyal to the party's line, whether their ideological style is upright and whether they are enthusiastic in making contributions to the four modernizations. Some cadres were suppressed during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Since the smashing of the "gang of four" they have been vigorous and broadminded and have worked industriously. This should be appreciated. We must put such people in important positions. Some cadres made mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution" or in their past. They have made self-criticism and corrected the mistakes. Others have some ordinary problems and have made a summation. These people have performed well since the smashing of the "gang of four." We should trust them and should promote those who deserve to be promoted. Those cadres who performed satisfactorily in the past but not in the present should not be put in important positions.

Fourth, how should we correctly understand and grasp the criterion of possessing both ability and political integrity?

It has always been the criterion of our party's cadres that they should possess both ability and political integrity. There can be no misunderstanding about this. The question is how to understand and grasp this criterion. It needs further clarification.

Ability and political integrity mean different things in different historical periods. During the war years an important expression of political integrity was resolve to fight against the KMT and the Japanese imperialists and to struggle against the landlords. At that time, ability meant leading the army to fight, carrying out the land reform and supporting the frontline. During the four modernizations the criterion of cadres--to possess ability and political integrity--has other meanings. To be specific, cadres should persist in the four basic principles, resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies, adopt correct ideology and work style and possess professional proficiency, ability to organize and lead, genuine knowledge and practical skills. These are the requirements of the party's cadres under new historical conditions. We must adopt an all-sided rather than one-sided approach in understanding and grasping this criterion. Some comrades regard the mediocre and unambitious cadres who attempt nothing and accomplish nothing, who always say yes and never voice an opinion, as cadres with "political integrity." On the other hand, they regard those enthusiastic and responsible cadres who think independently, possess ability and are bold in voicing their opinions as arrogant and proud and lacking in "political integrity." This is wrong.

Ability and political integrity make up an entity. They cannot be separated, nor should one be overemphasized at the expense of the other. We must pay attention to both. We must stress the criterion of firmly following the party's political and ideological lines. The phenomena of neglecting the line in judging cadres and neglecting the maintenance of political purity among leading groups at all levels must arouse our serious concern. We must not admit to the leading groups those people whose ideological line is incorrect, who are not loyal to the party, who for a long time have been skeptical and resentful toward the party's line, principles and policies, have stuck to factionalism, violated state law and party discipline and acted willfully and have not seriously corrected their mistakes. Therefore, while stressing ability in selecting and appointing cadres, we must simultaneously stress political integrity. Whatever we do, we must have the necessary ability. Otherwise we will fail. This deserves our attention.

Fifth, how should we treat cadres' all-round experience in leadership and professional proficiency?

A problem which deserves our attention is that in selecting cadres we have placed undue emphasis on the cadres' all-round experience in leadership and have neglected their professional proficiency. As a result, we tend to be shortsighted and select the cadres from a limited number of people. Many talented people have been stifled, and there are not enough professional personnel in the leading groups.

Is it good to have all-round experience in leadership? Of course it is. Moreover, it is very precious. Leading cadres, particularly the chief leaders of party and government, must have all-round experience. In the future we will still need successors who have all-round experience. However, such cadres are rare. We can choose them from only a small number of secretaries of county and prefectural party committees. It is difficult to discover the large numbers of professionals in the areas of science and technology, culture and education, medical and health work, and communications and finance. To meet the needs of the four modernizations, we should select a large number of cadres who have professional knowledge and ability. It is right to demand that they possess certain organizational and leadership ability. However, it is impractical to demand that all of them possess all-round leadership experience. Such experience is accumulated gradually in practice. If we do not allow them to assume all-round leadership, how can they accumulate such experience? If we do not entrust them with heavy responsibilities, they cannot become capable personnel. The party Central Committee demands that we organize leading groups according to the requirements of professional proficiency and gradually place professionals in the leading posts of various establishments and enterprises and party committees at all levels. Under the influence of the slogan "the laymen lead the professionals," for many years we have failed to pay attention to promoting professional cadres to the leading groups. There are only a few cadres who know their professions and management. This has caused great difficulties in our work. We must resolutely change this situation. Laymen must make efforts to become professionals. Leading groups with no professionals must recruit some. When we stress professional proficiency in organizing leading groups, it does not mean that all members of the leading groups should be replaced by experts. It means that we should have a certain number of professionals who have organizational and leadership ability in the leading groups. From the 1950's to the 1960's we trained millions of cadres who graduated from universities or technical schools. They are now in their prime of life—in their forties or fifties. They now have an opportunity to make contributions to the four modernizations. Many of them have relatively high organizational and leadership ability. This shows that we have rich human resources for selecting and promoting cadres. As long as we broaden our vision and break away from the conventions of seeking personnel from party and government cadres, we will be able to discover and select a large number of outstanding successors.

On the whole, the key to correctly implementing the organizational line during the new period and to further creating a new situation for organizational work lies in the following two things: one is further emancipating the mind and correcting the ideological line; the other is reforming the irrational cadre system.

To persist in the correct ideology of cadre work, it is imperative that we treat cadres in a realistic way. Whether a cadre is good or not should be judged by his actual performance rather than by impressions, prejudice or feelings of gratitude or resentment. A cadre is good if his performance is good. A cadre is not good if his performance is not. We must reflect the actual performance of the cadres as it is and should not indulge in idealism. We must specifically analyze and realistically reflect cadres' merits and shortcomings and should not add any other subjective remarks. All things, including cadres, are developing and changing. Some cadres were in their prime and full of vigor in the past but have now become old and weak, with their ability falling short of their wishes. Some performed well in the past but now are not so good. Some were not very able in the past but have made very rapid improvement and have become experts in certain fields. However, some of our comrades are not good at judging people amid their progress and changes. They judge people from a static and absolute viewpoint. They think that when a cadre is good he is absolutely good. When a cadre is not good he is absolutely bad. When they see some achievements they think that everything is good. When they see some shortcomings they think that all is a mess. It seems that once cadres have shortcomings they are no longer good cadres; some comrades think that cadres should never make mistakes, otherwise they will "never rise up again." These comrades think that cadres who were good in the past must be good at present, while those who were bad in the past must be bad at present. There are other comrades who neglect the role played by the middle-aged and young cadres once they give full play to the role of old cadres; who regard old cadres as a hindrance once they select and promote middle-aged and young cadres; who neglect cadres' abilities once their attention is drawn to cadres' political performance; who neglect cadres' performance as a whole once they stress cadres' academic standards. All these viewpoints are metaphysical. How can we correctly implement the party's cadre line and cadre policy in the new period without correcting the ideological line and the metaphysical viewpoints?

It is essential that we enthusiastically and properly reform the irrational cadre system in order to implement the organizational line in the new period. Practice has proved that cadres' lifetime tenure, the cadres' readiness to be officials rather than common people, their readiness to accept higher posts rather than lower posts, the practice of "What I say goes," the patriarchal system and overcentralized power and some other practices have brought many disadvantages and caused great harm. These have become obstacles on our road to achieving a lively political situation and complete democracy and to building an army of cadres that suits the needs of the new period. We must "destroy the old and establish the new" cadre system, adopt practicable measures and gradually reform the irrational cadre system. We need to continuously study, explore and sum up our experiences in practice. We do believe that in the process of the four modernizations we will be able to properly solve these problems and strengthen our party organization, particularly our cadre contingent, through the efforts of the comrades of the entire party.

CSO: 4004

BE MORE CONSCIOUS IN OPPOSING PRIVILEGES

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[Article by Shen Baoxiang [3088 1405 4382]]

[Text] Leading cadres at all levels must "accept the supervision of the party and the masses. No one is allowed to seek privileges." This is one of the important stipulations of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" passed by the 5th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee. Making such a stipulation on inner-party life certainly grasped one of the outstanding current questions in party style. It reflected a strong desire of the whole party and the broad masses of people.

I

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his report on "The Present Situation and Our Tasks": "Privilege-seeking not only exists among some senior cadres but is common at all levels and in all departments. In short, some of our cadres have become overlords." Some people think that after they occupy a leading position they are superior to other people, that they are special and can be above the party organizations and the masses, disregard rules and regulations, party discipline and state laws, abuse their powers and do whatever they please. Aside from what they get from distribution according to work, they often seek various kinds of special treatment and privileges for themselves and their family and relatives outside of the normal requirements of their work (but often using the requirements of their work as a pretext). This privilege-seeking not only harms and destroys the cadres themselves and corrupts their children, but also corrodes the body of our party and state power and corrupts social morality.

Following the announcement of the Central Committee's regulations on pay and living conditions of senior cadres, and particularly after the announcement and implementation of the Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life, the broad masses of cadres have enthusiastically responded and consciously done things according to regulations. The wind of privilege-seeking has begun to be rectified. However, we must also see that the understanding of this question among various persons has not been totally uniform. In some places, actions have been taken rather slowly. Some people have had various complaints, and some are still brazenly seeking privileges. Facts have shown that it will still take a great deal of effort to really solve this problem.

Why should Communist Party members not seek privileges? The principle is not abstruse. However, each Communist Party member, particularly leading cadres of the party, must have a thoroughly clear understanding of this question ideologically and consciously start with himself.

Privilege-seeking for cadres is incompatible with the nature of the Communist Party. Marx said: "The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means a struggle, not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 136) The sacred duty of a communist is to struggle for the final emancipation of the proletariat and the broad masses of oppressed and exploited people and the achievement of communism. Serving the people wholeheartedly, being the first to suffer hardships and the last to enjoy comfort and being "the first to worry and the last to enjoy"--such is the fine tradition of our party. A revolutionary's material life should be improved only on the basis of the development of production and should conform to improvements in the masses' livelihood. It is absolutely impermissible for him to seek personal privileges in excess of the limitations of prevailing material conditions, in disregard of the people's hardships or even in a manner harmful to or contravening the interests of the masses. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out in his book "How To Be a Good Communist" that communists "are absolutely opposed to privileges of any kind for anyone, consider it impermissible to think in terms of privileges for themselves, and would deem it unthinkable, and indeed a disgrace, to occupy a privileged position among the people." In short, whether or not one seeks privileges is the manifestation of the presence or absence and the purity or impurity of the party spirit.

Privilege-seeking by cadres is also incompatible with the socialist political system. The Marxist theory of the state pointed out that under the socialist system civil servants of the state are public servants of the people. They are "responsible servants of the society itself." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 439) They must diligently and conscientiously dedicate themselves to the management of the affairs of the state and to working for the interests of the people. They must accept the supervision of the people and must not enjoy any special privileges. This is precisely one of the distinguishing marks of the new type of state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All those civil servants of the state of the exploiting classes are, in essence, overlords who oppress the people. They are the rulers of the people and are people who enjoy privileges. Therefore, whether or not our cadres seek privileges as civil servants of the state is a matter of principle which bears on the question of what type of political system we wish to maintain.

Privilege-seeking among cadres also runs counter to the requirements of building the four modernizations. In our country the precondition for achieving the four modernizations is that the whole party must have the revolutionary spirit of pioneering through arduous effort. Our cadres, particularly our leading cadres, must set themselves as examples and be leaders in engaging in arduous struggle, caring for the hardships of the people and actively solving the difficulties of the masses. We must see that, under present circumstances wherein material conditions are relatively poor, privilege-seeking among leading cadres will make them even more divorced from the masses. Therefore, to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party and carry on the fine work style of arduous struggle and close contact with the masses, we must overcome unhealthy tendencies such as privilege-seeking.

In short, privilege-seeking, to a Communist Party member, particularly to a Communist Party member occupying a leading position, is not a minor issue in daily life or an ordinary question of work style, but an important matter of principle. We must take a clear stand and allow no ambiguity on this question. Any argument in defense of privilege-seeking is untenable.

II

Why does the phenomenon of some cadres seeking privileges emerge in a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the Communist Party? And how do we prevent and overcome this phenomenon?

Marx and Engels had long foreseen that, after the destruction of the old state machinery and the establishment of the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, measures had to be taken to prevent civil servants from seeking high positions and amassing wealth and from transforming themselves from public servants of society into masters of society. Experience in practice during the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic has proved how brilliant and profound were these thoughts contained in the Marxist theory of the state. Engels said: "What was the characteristic attribute of the former state? Society had created its own organs to look after its common interests, originally through the simple division of labor. But these organs, at whose head was the state power, in the course of time and in pursuance of their own special interests, had transformed themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 334) This characteristic attribute of the former state was clearly manifested in the feudal political power and semicolonial and semifeudal political system in our history. In the feudal society of our country, the bureaucratic system with strict designations of rank formed a huge political superstructure in feudal society. Under this system, officials of different ranks had legally designated political and economic privileges. Even the color, material and style of clothing, number of rooms, area and decoration of their residences and the specifications of the sedan chairs they rode were strictly prescribed according to rank. "Overstepping the limits of one's rank" was not allowed. (In reality, officials of every rank had always employed all possible means to gain more privileges.) Under such a system, enjoyment of privileges according to rank designation among feudal bureaucrats was considered a matter of course. "Once a person became an official, all his family and relatives rose in position." "Wives were conferred honorary titles, sons were appointed to office and even ancestors were glorified." Those things were considered a matter of course. This phenomenon continued until the modern period. Although the revolution of 1911 led by Dr Sun Yat-sen toppled the feudal monarchy and established the republican system, it did not touch the foundation of feudal rule. Chiang Kai-shek inherited these norms in practice, although he changed the form. The organs of state power of our People's Republic were established on the basis of the total destruction of the reactionary state machinery. However, the pernicious influence of the old state and the filth of the old bureaucracy could not be totally cleaned out in one stroke. They are bound to be reflected in the state machinery of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the founding of the People's Republic we paid adequate attention to the assault of bourgeois thinking and behavior on the organs of state power and engaged in resolute struggle. We were able to achieve remarkable results. But we neglected the corruption of feudal thinking, and this explains the evident traces of feudalism in quite a number of our institutions. Under such circumstances, "even proletarian functionaries inevitably will be 'bureaucratized' to a certain extent." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 271) This is an important historical reason for the wind of privilege-seeking among cadres.

Looking at this question from another angle, we can see that our country had been one where small production was very widespread. Even now the influence of small production is serious. Many of the cadres of our party originally were small producers. Many of them had been proletarianized in the furnace of revolution, but many of them have not seriously remolded their world view and still have marks of the small producer in varying degrees. When small producers were in the position of the oppressed and the exploited, they advocated equality. However, once they themselves became the holders of power and their position changed, their previous small-proprietor mentality made their lust grow constantly. In such a situation, the concept of rank in feudal society and the privilege-seeking mentality began to affect their thinking. Some cadres do not know the difference between being a revolutionary and being an official, and they invert the positions of master and civil servant. They feel that their behavior must conform to certain norms so that they will look like leaders. In daily life they take diligence and frugality to be stinginess and hard work and simplicity to be shabbiness. They take pride in luxury and enjoy comfort.

The reason for the prevalence of privilege-seeking among cadres can also be found in our own institutions. Since the founding of new China we have built an unwieldy political superstructure. A large number of cadres have assumed leadership positions at all levels, and a whole network of cadre systems and other related systems has gradually been formed. Practice has shown that our system has many defects. Due to the actual existence in practice of the system of lifetime tenure for cadres, resulting in inability of party members and the masses to exercise their right of election, supervision and impeachment, objective conditions have been created for cadres to place themselves in a privileged position above the masses and for some people to seek privileges. The ranking system of cadres is essentially not something foreign. But in the process of actual execution there has been a great deal of feudalistic flavor. Actually, classification into ranks is already expressed in the wage system through implementation of the system of distribution according to work or the designation of pay according to the amount and quality of work. This wage system with specific rankings is a form of distribution according to work. Here the differences in rank concern only the pay received for labor. However, for a long time we have regarded the ranks of cadres as the most important basis for appointments and the most important gauge for the enjoyment of various political and economic privileges. Thus, ranks have actually become a form of political status. Furthermore, in some places, unauthorized appreciation of privileges for higher ranking cadres has been constantly effected. This has cemented the link between higher ranks and the enjoyment of privileges. Some people who have been seriously influenced by feudal thinking even look at their higher rankings as feudal positions of nobility and as a basis for asking for all kinds of privileges. They look at privilege-seeking as a matter of course.

III

We have to recognize the harm of privilege-seeking, appropriately analyze the root cause of this unhealthy tendency and clarify some mistaken points of view before we can consciously adopt correct policies and take measures to solve this problem well. Some views on the question of privilege-seeking among cadres are obviously wrong and need to be clarified.

One view holds that privilege-seeking among cadres is a product of the socialist system and therefore cannot be overcome. Those who hold this view are clear neither on the essential difference between the socialist system and the exploitative system nor on the real meaning of privileges. Historically, privileges came with the system of private ownership and the formation of social classes. The exploiting classes were also the privileged classes. Engels said: "A surplus of the product of labor over and above the costs of subsistence of the labor, and the formation and expansion of a social production and reserve fund out of this surplus--these were and these are the basis of all social, political and intellectual progress. Historically, up to now this fund has been the possession of a privileged class, on which, along with this possession, political supremacy and intellectual leadership also devolved." ("Anti-Duhring," p 191) The privilege of the exploiting class mainly pertains to the right to appropriate surplus value, political supremacy and intellectual leadership. Generally speaking, it pertains to rights of property and management. In all states ruled by the exploiting classes, whether state or slave society, the state under feudalism or the bourgeois republic which claims to be the most democratic, state organs all serve to maintain the privileges of the exploiting class. Government officials in these states are both agents of the exploiting class and a special stratum in this class; they are both the defenders of the privileges of the exploiting class and the beneficiaries of these privileges. As Lenin pointed out: "The bureaucracy represents a special category of persons who specialize in the work of administration and occupy a privileged position as compared with the people." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 290) Enjoyment of privileges among government officials is not only an inherent and common phenomenon in the feudal state but also an inherent and common phenomenon in the bourgeois state. The two differ only in the scope of privileges and the forms these privileges take. In the feudal state, privileges were blatantly designated according to rank. These privileges could be clearly observed at one glance. Although the bourgeois class abolished the feudal rank system, it did not abolish privileges. Instead, it seeks its own privileges under the guise of equality. It "combined all the feudal privileges and political monopoly through the ages into one big money privilege and big monopoly right" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 647) and substituted money privilege for feudal rank privileges and hereditary privileges. Although some government officials of the bourgeois class do not enjoy obvious privileges as the feudal bureaucrats did, if we look at the essence of the matter we see that they still constitute a special category of persons within the bourgeois class who occupy a privileged position before the people. They not only serve to maintain the privileges of the bourgeoisie (in this respect, their diligence and efficiency is usually much superior to that of the feudal bureaucrats), but are themselves beneficiaries of these privileges. Economically, aside from partaking in the surplus value of the bourgeois class, they can also appropriate, in the form of salaries, things that the bourgeoisie cannot acquire in the form of profits, interest and rent. Politically, although their power is supervised and restricted to a certain degree, this does not change their privileged position as masters of society. Some people think that government officials in capitalist countries do not enjoy privilages. This is because they only look at the surface and not at the substance.

In our country, due to the elimination of the system of exploitation, the social cause of the system under which some people appropriate the fruits of labor of others has been totally uprooted. Our government represents the interests of the people. Government organs and state personnel have been entrusted with the duty of serving the people. That is to say, we have eliminated the privileged class in the old society and all the privileges that class enjoyed. The wind of privilege-seeking among some of our cadres neither is an inherent phenomenon in the socialist system itself nor does it reflect the nature of our organs of political power. It is a mark left behind by the old society. If only we adopt correct policies and measures, privilege-seeking among cadres can be overcome. After all, those who are keen on seeking privileges constitute only a very small minority among our cadres. If we consider the organs of leadership of our party and government to be the same as bureaucratic organs in the old society and regard our cadres as a privileged class simply because there are some cadres who seek privileges, that would be tantamount to overshadowing the important by the trivial and taking the part to be the whole. If we proceed from this kind of viewpoint, the struggle against privilege-seeking will be led in an erroneous direction.

Another view holds that the discussions among the masses concerning privilege-seeking are directed against the veteran cadres. People who hold this view therefore reject these discussions. This is also improper. The broad masses of people have never equated privilege-seeking with veteran cadres. The moving deeds of Premier Zhou and other revolutionaries of the older generation in terms of strict self-discipline, hard work and simplicity and their refusal to seek privileges are universally acclaimed among our people. Many old comrades who are still alive are living examples of setting strict demands on oneself and refraining from seeking privileges. They have thus won the respect and trust of the broad masses of people. This is an obvious fact. However, it cannot be denied that within our contingent of cadres there is indeed a small number of people who have indulged in privilege-seeking to a detestable extent. Some of these cadres had earned the heartfelt sympathy of the masses when they were persecuted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and after these cadres had returned to their work positions, the masses had great expectations of them. But they did not devote the major part of their energies to building the four modernizations. Instead, they haggle incessantly over questions concerning their living quarters, cars and other material things and dedicate their time and energy to seeking special treatment for their families and relatives in terms of appointments, enrollment in institutions of higher learning, promotions and travel abroad. Such actions on their part have greatly disappointed the masses and have been the subject of widespread discussions. This is not surprising.

We must know that the reason the masses criticize and censure some comrades who seek privileges is that they want these comrades to share their weal and woe and build the four modernizations with them with one heart and one mind in order to build our country into a great socialist power as soon as possible. Although these criticisms are sometimes harsh or even strongly worded, they are essentially offered out of concern for our cadres and love of our party. This is diametrically different from the criminal activities of the "gang of four" in the past in attacking the veteran cadres under the pretext of opposing privilege-seeking. We must not confuse the two. As to the target of criticism, we must make concrete analyses. There is nothing wrong with criticizing someone and pointing out his shortcomings to help him improve when a campaign to rectify unhealthy tendencies is underway and if he has indeed sought privileges. Those concerned must change their attitudes and consciously accept the supervision of the masses.

IV

The campaign against privilege-seeking is a serious and arduous struggle. We must do long-term, painstaking work. In solving this problem we must be both firm and consistent. The policy of "legislation first; education first; strict observance of laws; strict prosecution of violations of the law; strict implementation of laws" set by the party Central Committee is a serious, firm and consistent policy. We must seriously implement it.

On the one hand we must improve our system. That is to say, we must seriously reform our cadre system from the angles of cleansing it of the pernicious influence of feudalism, building the ruling party and building the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune in order to completely abolish, in a specific, systematic way, the seeking after honor, status, power and comfort and make positions in party and state organs really become "'honorable' through profitless positions." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 238)

On the other hand, we must strengthen ideological education among cadres at all levels. Particular attention must be paid to eliminating the influence of feudal thinking and the small-producer mentality. The heightening of consciousness in rectifying the tendency of privilege-seeking is the most fundamental thing. As for people who violate rules and discipline and engage in privilege-seeking, they must be criticized and educated. The principle of strict prosecution of violations of laws and strict implementation of laws must be firmly observed, and punishments must be levied in serious cases involving violations of party discipline and state laws. We must have a correct understanding of and correctly implement the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient. It is only by learning from past mistakes that we can avoid future ones and only by curing the illness that we can save the patient. Learning from past mistakes includes levying the necessary punishments and sanctions. If we equate this policy with unprincipled leniency, it would be tantamount to vulgarizing the policy. In that manner we would not be able to strictly enforce the laws and discipline, would not be able to bring into full play the educational value of past errors and much less really cure the illness to save the patient. Objectively, such a method even has the effect of tolerating and conniving with unlawful acts.

CSO: 4004

A TALK BASED ON GIVING GREATER DECISION-MAKING POWER TO ENTERPRISES IN SICHUAN--A TENTATIVE DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS IN REFORMING THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] Not long ago we visited a trial point in Sichuan to investigate and acquaint ourselves with the situation of giving greater decisionmaking power to enterprises and to study its experience in reforming the economic system. We noticed that, although economic reform has just begun in Sichuan, a marked change has already taken place in its economic life. In the course of the reform, some new conditions and problems have also appeared. This year Sichuan will also gain new and encouraging breakthroughs in the study and solution of these new problems.

I. Reform Is Imperative

In the past, industrial production in Sichuan, as in the rest of the country, lacked vigor. In particular, on entering the period of readjustment, many of the enterprises were faced with even greater difficulties. However, since greater decisionmaking power was given to the enterprises, conditions have changed greatly.

Take the Chengdu measuring and cutting tool factory, for example. In the past, the manpower, finance, materials, production, supply and marketing of this factory were all arranged by higher authority. On the one hand, like the "emperor's daughter who need not worry about finding a mate," it was not troubled by such problems as overstocking or whether the goods were suitable, because everything was taken care of by material and supply departments, and this cultivated a serious attitude of dependence in the enterprise. On the other hand, "it made no difference whether work was good or bad," as all profits were handed in and losses were subsidized by the state. The quality of management in the enterprise had no bearing on the interests of the enterprise or individual workers, and this greatly inhibited the cadres' and masses' enthusiasm. For a long time such problems as extravagance and waste, lax discipline, showing up for work but not exerting oneself and low labor productivity could not be solved in the factory. In 1979 the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee decided to use the measuring and cutting tool factory as a test of "giving greater decisionmaking power." The methods used for this were: The enterprise has the right to submit or retain profits, the right to raise funds itself for expanded reproduction, the right to submit or retain more depreciation of fixed assets, the right of production outside the plan, the right of marketing part of its own products, and the right to determine rewards and punishments. In this way the factory has more leeway to carry out production activities independently, and the state of enterprise management has been transformed.

In 1979, because the national economy had started on the period of readjustment, the planned task handed by the upper level to the measuring and cutting tool factory was greatly reduced, and insufficient production tasks became an outstanding problem. The leading members of the factory suggested that in order to stimulate the enterprise they must tap marketing. They grasped production on the one hand and marketing on the other and persisted in determining production based on marketing. They sent people to cover a greater part of China, carried out investigations, and gathered information on market supply conditions and consumer demands regarding product variety, standards and prices. Based on this, they kept on improving product quality and standards and developed and produced new products. They also extensively sent out advertisements, mailed order forms and set up market outlets in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Chengdu to actively break into the market. They improved their service attitude and conscientiously went in for "retail business." They even welcomed the patronage of individual small customers and tried their best to satisfy them. As a result, besides fulfilling the state target last year, this factory also arranged production tasks amounting to more than 18 million yuan through regulation by market mechanism. The output of this factory in 1979 increased by 26.93 percent over that of 1978. Output value increased by 28.9 percent, and labor productivity among all workers increased by 19.5 percent. The factory also handed in the full quota of profit to the state, and that was an improvement over the shortfall of previous years. In short, all targets reached their best level since the founding of the factory.

For the sake of obtaining the best economic results in production, the measuring and cutting tool factory has energetically grasped reorganization and management within the enterprise. It has set up a comprehensive, independent economic accounting system with the workshop as the unit. The main contents are: The workshop has compensable use of the fixed assets and liquid capital of the factory and must therefore carry out a thorough inventory of its equipment and stock and set up a complete set of accounts. The workshop must sign contracts with the factory and other related workshops and laboratories. The workshop or laboratory concerned must assume economic responsibility for the quantity, variety, cost, capital and profit of any product not meeting the conditions of the contract. If it overfulfills the contract, it will be given a premium. Under the logical premise of fulfilling the planned task handed down by the factory, the workshop has the right to accept processing orders from outside units or produce new products to increase its income. The workshop may draw a certain portion of the overall profit as its production development fund. The workshop or laboratory may make its own decision regarding the specific method of distributing its award funds. Since the implementation of these methods, the economic results have been very remarkable. A new situation of "everybody doing a good job and managing money matters" has appeared in the factory. The factory has improved the upkeep of equipment, worked hard to economize in the use of liquid capital and devised means to lower costs, increase output and improve quality. Consequently, compared with 1978, the fixed assets of the factory increased by 31.19 percent in 1979, the utilization rate of liquid capital for every 100 yuan of output value fell by 7.4 percent, and the rate of equipment in good working order has risen by 2.7 percent.

The transformation in the measuring and cutting tool factory is a microcosm of the "greater decisionmaking power" trial points in Sichuan. This example will enable us to see clearly that Sichuan's method in "giving greater decisionmaking power" is to give the enterprises certain power to make their own decisions, so that they may take part in the production and circulation activities of society on their own initiative, and to allow them to link the quality of management with the material interests of the workers and greatly arouse the enthusiasm of the workers to show concern for the management of their own enterprise. In this way, the enterprise will be "stimulated." To what extent the power of the enterprises to make their own decisions will eventually be increased still requires further exploration in both theory and practice. The rights and benefits given the enterprises by existing trial points in Sichuan are still not enough. They still cannot enable the enterprises to become relatively independent organizations uniting the production workers to work in concert and shoulder the responsibility of commodity production for the whole of society, or to play their role in production and circulation with complete independence. Some comrades have proposed that enterprises should develop in the direction of assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses. Judging from the practice in Sichuan, this proposal makes sense, because this method will enable the rights, responsibilities and benefits to be highly unified, give play to the strongpoint of "independent management," avoid the shortcoming of "eating from the same big pot" and thus enable the enterprises and the workers to give play to their enthusiasm to the fullest possible extent. This will be of benefit to all existing departments and regions with their own system to radically reform their economic management system.

II. Production and Circulation

A frequent apparent shortcoming of the existing economic management system is the artificial severing of the organic relations between production and circulation. The state controls the circulation channels of the means of production and means of livelihood by way of material supply departments and commercial departments to control the production of the enterprises. There are two problems here which have not been properly solved. One is the setting up of an administrative division and system based on the channels of material supply and commerce that, in many ways, run counter to rational economic principles. For example, all the iron alloy needed by the Chengdu seamless steel pipe plant could, in fact, be supplied by the Emei iron alloy plant in the vicinity of Chengdu, but the department in charge ordered it from Shenyang instead. The Deyang firebrick factory about 100 li from Chengdu is in a position to supply the seamless steel pipe plant, but the unit designated by the department in charge to supply this plant is actually in Jiaozuo, Henan. The same thing happens in commerce. For example, Jianyang is situated near Chengdu, but since it is administratively under the Neijiang Prefecture it cannot directly supply goods to Chengdu. The goods can only be sent from the second-grade distribution center in Neijiang about 1,000 li from Chengdu. Moreover, the goods of Neijiang are also supplied by Chengdu. In this way, the circulation of goods must go from Chengdu to Neijiang and then be brought back from Neijiang to Jianyang. This irrational circulation of materials and commerce only increases the burden of the enterprises and the state. There is still another problem: There are also great discrepancies in the planned transfer and planned purchase and marketing of products. Take the Chengdu seamless steel pipe plant, for example. According to a notice from the material supply department, seamless steel pipe has become a product in excessive supply, and the plant must place fewer orders for goods and reduce production. However, there are actually many localities and units urgently in need of steel pipe which could not get an allocation. Because such problems in the sphere of circulation have not been properly solved, state control at times has become a restriction on the development of production.

The method of "greater decisionmaking power" trial points in Sichuan has given the enterprises some power so that they can break the above-mentioned restrictions to a certain extent. However, even if the enterprises are all responsible for their own profits and losses and can extensively develop cross-relations among themselves, they still cannot evolve another set of independent channels of material supply and product marketing for every enterprise or between the enterprises. We must still reform and make full use of the original channels of materials and commerce. The fundamental problem lies in reforming the systems of materials and commerce so that the artificial severing of the link between production and circulation will no longer remain. The comrades of Sichuan have made valuable efforts in exploring and reforming these two systems. Reforming the existing systems of materials and commerce, developing diverse channels of circulation and adopting a diversified economy so that all the products of the whole of society (including products of the means of production) can enter the market as commodities will be an important content of the reform of our whole economic system. Naturally, we must be cautious, as this concerns the overall situation. However, there is no doubt that, whether in breaking the restrictions of administrative systems or establishing and developing economic centers at different administrative levels in the sphere of production and circulation, the use of economic measures and levers by the state through economic organization and legislation to carry out planned adjustment, control and supervision of the economic activities of the whole country will be the direction of our future efforts.

III. Competition and Integration

Socialist competition is essentially different from capitalist competition, and its primary objective is to enable production to better satisfy demand. Its principal method should be renovation and reform, practicing economy and tapping potentials, and its result should be one of encouraging mutual growth and increasing production. In short, socialist competition is not "big fish swallowing little fish," but a contest to produce the maximum and best social products with the minimum labor and time. Under the socialist system, this kind of competition is an economic fact that objectively exists. What exists in actual economic life is not the question of whether or not there is competition, but whether or not our economic system and policy allow the conscious carrying out of competition between the enterprises and whether we are actually protecting the advanced or protecting the backward by competition. By means of "giving greater decisionmaking power," Sichuan has discovered some useful experiences in this direction. The main products of the Ningjiang machine tool plant are small precision machine tools used by the watchmaking, electronics and instrument trades. Because of the excellent quality and low price of the products, they are welcomed by the customers. However, for the sake of enabling several plants of the same trade in the country to have "a share" of the work, the department concerned restricted the production of the Ningjiang machine tool plant. This obviously is a method of protecting the backward. Since "giving greater decisionmaking power" last year, the department in charge has allowed the plant to accept unlimited orders. It has also stipulated that all the contracts of the plant will be included in the state plan and that the state will guarantee the supply of raw materials and also energetically support the plant in production and marketing. Therefore, the plant placed an advertisement in RENMIN RIBAO and as a result received orders for more than 1,000 sets of machine tools in 40 days. Following that, more orders were received. At present its order books for 1982 are almost full. In this way, four enterprises producing the same line of goods have had to change their production because of the competition. Actually, changing production is not a bad thing; since demand has already been satisfied, what is the use of keeping so many plants? What is wrong with using the equipment and materials of these extra plants to produce other products needed by society? At present the Ningjiang machine tool plant is actively breaking into the international market and preparing to take on the precision machine tool industry of the capitalist countries.

After production has developed to a certain extent by means of competition, the enterprises must develop toward coordination between specialized departments and therefore the formation of new productive forces. This condition will quite naturally give rise to the demand for integration. This is the only way in keeping with the history of production for the sake of socialized large-scale production. On the basis of "giving greater decisionmaking power," the tendency of integration between some trades and enterprises has already appeared in Sichuan. For example, on the basis of its own specialized reorganization, the Chongqing watch industry corporation has broken the demarcation lines between trades and affiliations, negotiated and signed various economic contracts with enterprises under collective ownership belonging to a dozen prefectures and counties as well as communes and production brigades, and also developed various forms of joint management. It appears that, on the present basis of giving the enterprises greater power to make their own decisions, breaking the demarcation lines between administrative divisions, administrative departments and affiliations and developing diversified integration based on economic divisions and economic methods with coordination between specialized departments as the point of departure are completely necessary. What merits emphasis is this: there must be certain conditions for the development from competition to integration. If the conditions are not ripe, we must not obstinately bring about integration. On this question we must particularly respect the wishes of the enterprises themselves. The enterprises are best qualified to determine whether or not they want integration and what kind of integration they want. Integration must be carried out under the principle of free choice and mutual benefit and cannot be enforced by administrative organs. We must advocate "free love" and oppose "parental order." Any integrated production organization should be a voluntary economic integration from the workers and not purely an administrative organization dependent on orders from above. In this kind of economic integration we should also practice the principle of equality and mutual benefit and exchange of equal value; otherwise, there will still be the danger of "eating from the same big pot."

IV. Regulation by Market Mechanism and by Planning Mechanism

The economic practice of 30 years has told us that, at the level of the development of productive forces at the present stage, it is very difficult to make a success of adjusting production and circulation by relying on the state plan alone, and we should bring the role of regulation by market mechanism fully into play. The comrades in Sichuan said: In the past we thought that regulation by market mechanism was very difficult. Actually, so long as the policy is relaxed, it is not very difficult to make a success of it right away. The difficult part is how to properly combine regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism and actively give play to the role of the latter under the guidance of the former on a long-term basis.

In the process of carrying out regulation by market mechanism, some problems have appeared in Sichuan because of the inability of guidance by the plans to catch up. If these problems are not solved, we will not be able to achieve the desired results in carrying out regulation by market mechanism. Let us put the stress here on the discussion of problems of blind production and duplicated construction. By means of regulation by market mechanism, the trial point enterprises of Sichuan have developed production and increased their private capital. Last year the private capital of 100 trial point enterprises totaled 150 million yuan, or more than the state investment in the light industry of the whole province. Apart from using this money to settle outstanding debts in livelihood and production accumulated over the years, the enterprises have also used some in expanded reproduction. At present most of the enterprises are still putting the stress on the former, but in the future they invariably will shift to the latter. This naturally is "glad tidings" to the enterprises. However, in the handling of their investment the enterprises are under a great limitation, which is that they can easily get out of line with "taking the whole country into account." We have come across such conditions in Sichuan. On the one hand, the leading member of an enterprise enthusiastically discussed plans for his own enterprise, the things he wanted to do and the amount of products he wanted to produce. When asked whether he had any certainty regarding raw materials, power and the marketing of products, he declared that there was no problem. However, on the other hand, the comrades of the economic leadership organs involved expressed concern over these problems. They held that if these enterprises became unduly inflated, it would not be in the interests of rational economic distribution in the province. The comrades concerned in the province said that if reform is fully carried out the enterprises will have at least several hundred million yuan of private capital. If the enterprises go all out for expanded reproduction, this will deal a very great blow to the comprehensive balance of the economy in materials, equipment and construction force and result in waste. Actually, this also conflicts with the readjustment policy of shortening the capital construction front of the whole country. Obviously this problem can only be solved by means of guidance by plan. Therefore, strengthening guidance by plan in regulation by market mechanism is very important in developing such regulation.

We have had experience in regulation by planning mechanism, and now we also have experience in regulation by market mechanism. This has enabled us to deeply appreciate the extreme correctness of the policy of combining these two regulations put forward by the party Central Committee. However, this is still a new and unknown field before us. How we can properly combine the two regulations, or how we can use such economic levers as prices, taxes and credits to guide the direction of development for the enterprises, has yet to be conscientiously explored in theory and practice by the economic work cadres as well as the leadership cadres.

As we have mentioned before, on the basis of extensive market research the Ningjiang machine tool plant has signed contracts with its customers, and its order books are full up to 1982. It has also received energetic support from the provincial and central departments concerned, and they stipulated that all its supply contracts will be included in the state plan. Does this method represent a direction in the reform of the planning system? In other words, first, the formulation of plans must be based on the market and must proceed from the needs of society, bring the initiative of the enterprise fully into play and be carried out from bottom to top. The state collects the plans of the enterprises and adds them to the important projects under its direct control before making a comprehensive balance. Only plans formulated in this manner can be established on a solid and reliable basis and play a practical guiding role in the enterprise. Secondly, plans of a directive nature should be greatly reduced. Economic leadership organs are further away from the frontline of production, and it is difficult even for plans formulated after careful consideration to avoid being divorced from reality or becoming blind commands. Transmitting more plans of a reference nature to the lower level will provide the enterprises with greater leeway to effectively overcome the defects mentioned above. However, plans of a reference nature can give rise to another problem, and that is, if the enterprise lacks an overall concept and becomes divorced from guidance by plan, this will also be harmful to the national economy as a whole. However, so long as we amplify economic legislation to strengthen supervision and master the use of such economic means as prices, taxes and credits to exercise control, problems in this direction can be solved. Naturally, the state must also transmit plans of an instructive nature regarding the construction of some major projects or problems that affect the overall relations of proportion and must conscientiously do a good job of investigation and study so that they will conform to objective laws. In this way our plans will be lively without being confused and unified without being rigid.

V. Independence and Unity

The main problem which commonly exists under the economic system currently in effect is that the independence of the enterprise has not been acknowledged. Therefore, a particular point of emphasis in the reform of the present system is to solve problems in this direction.

The independence of an enterprise stems from the fact that any enterprise is an integrated organization of productive laborers in joint labor. As an integrated labor organization, the enterprise must conscientiously implement the principle of distribution according to work and establish the legitimate interests of the workers. Not only must it closely associate the income of the workers with the quality of management in the enterprise in rules, regulations and policy, but it must also acknowledge the differences within the enterprise and give more remuneration to workers who overfulfill their labor quotas. In energetically popularizing fixed quotas with the workshop as the unit within the plant, the Ningjiang machine tool plant gives no bonus to any workshop that cannot fulfill its quota but gives more to those that can overfulfill theirs. Laboratories operate on the workpoint system, and those with more workpoints are given a higher bonus. The workshops or laboratories also carry out distribution based on individual contributions and operate on the quota or workpoint system. People with a small bonus get only 2 or 3 yuan a month, but people with a large bonus can get 30 or 40 yuan a month. There are also people who get no bonus because of inability to fulfill quotas or because of serious violations of labor discipline. This method, which plays the role of encouraging the advanced and spurring on the backward, is worthy of promotion.

As an integrated labor organization, the enterprise must also establish the democratic right of the workers to manage the enterprise. This kind of right is expressed not only in political life but also in economic life. In the past, workers of many enterprises in Sichuan had no actual power to manage the enterprise. Now this has changed greatly. Many trial point enterprises are holding periodic workers conferences and setting up standing organs, and workers are playing an increasingly important role in enterprise management. This has not only materially aroused the workers' concern regarding the quality of enterprise management but also heightened their sense of responsibility as masters of their own affairs; moreover, this kind of concern is also transformed into long-term labor enthusiasm. Giving the enterprise greater power to make its own decisions eventually will also mean giving greater power to the workers of the enterprise and bring about democratic management of the enterprise.

As an integrated labor organization, the enterprise must also establish the rights of the laborers to receive education and take part in cultural activities. We must provide all kinds of material conditions so that the workers can be released from work to study scientific and cultural knowledge in their spare time, receive technical training, improve their technical level and engage in recreational and sports activities beneficial to their physical and mental well-being.

In short, our enterprises must conscientiously safeguard the various rights of the socialist workers so that they will all show concern for the future of the enterprise and the destiny of the country and become actual masters of the socialist enterprise.

Judging from the independence of the enterprise as a whole, the enterprise can only play an active role in socialist production and circulation in the capacity of a relatively independant commodity producer with corresponding power to make its own decisions in manpower, finance, materials, production, supply and marketing. The state must acknowledge the independent economic interests of the enterprise and the differences that exist in income as a consequence of the quality of management of each enterprise. Mutual ties between the enterprises must be established on the principle of exchange at equal value and equality and mutual benefit. Competition cannot mean benefiting oneself at the expense of others, and integration also should not be "one side swallowing up the other." Regardless of their size, all enterprises should respect the rights and interests of the other party. Only in this way can all the basic-level economic organizations of the whole country have vitality. Trial points for reforming the system in Sichuan and many parts of the country have conducted numerous explorations and obtained outstanding results in bringing the initiative of the workers and enterprises into play. However, there is still a great deal of work to be done in this direction, and we must continue to work hard and exert ourselves.

The question of unity also should not be neglected. It is rooted in economic life itself and completely conforms to the nature of socialist ownership and the demand of large-scale socialized production. At present the power of the enterprise to make its own decisions has been gradually enlarged, but there still are many problems concerning the unity of the state with regard to guidance and the whole system of economic life which remain to be solved. These are bound to give rise to contradictions. Compared with the past, these contradictions have new characters and peculiarities. We not only must hold fast to the principles and policy of the socialist economy at the present stage but also must pay attention to the study of new conditions and the solution of new problems.

We should understand that the production and exchange activity of an individual or an enterprise is not an isolated action but a kind of social activity. For the sake of enabling the economic activity of the whole society to become a natural and organic relation able to function in a planned, proportionate and coordinated manner, we must have a unified center of command as well as various essential functional organs (including an arbitration organ) to unify planning and arrangements and carry out adjustments. At the same time, society must also set up enterprises for education, health, recreation and sports, scientific research, collective welfare and all kinds of social services and must organize internal and external social safeguards. This requires making necessary deductions from total social production to be used collectively by society in a unified manner. Enterprises must not go against this kind of unity. On the contrary, they must shoulder and perform their responsibilities in these directions, for this is the fundamental prerequisite for safeguarding the independence of the enterprise.

We should also see that the unity of socialist society at the present stage is collectively embodied by the activities of the state. Giving the enterprise greater power to make its own decisions has caused the enterprise's management to break away from the administration and supervision of the government. However, this does not mean that the economic leadership organs of the state will have nothing to do. On the contrary, this has set a higher demand on the function of the state-organized economy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the state has to master the method of using economics based on economic laws to guide the development of the enterprise. In this sense, unity is also a very important subject, for it requires us to keep on exploring in theory and practice so that state guidance over economic life will become more scientific and perfect. This is one aspect. The other is that an enterprise assuming responsibility for its own profits and losses does not mean that the enterprise can dispense with state guidance. All enterprises must shoulder many of the duties and tasks of the state and share the portion of social deductions used collectively by the state. They must also consciously obey the pertinent policies and decrees of the state and listen to the correct instructions of the economic departments. Among the many "greater decisionmaking power" trial points in Sichuan, many economic leadership organs are changing their work style, carrying out work in accordance with the policy of "unified planning, coordination, service and supervision" put forward by the provincial CCP committee and intervening less in the administration of the enterprises. Many enterprises have also done a good job of correctly handling the relations between the individual, the enterprise and the state. For example, on the question of bonuses, the Ningjiang machine tool plant, although firmly insisting on rewarding labor above the quota, has also kept the size of bonuses to a certain level. It has also set a limit on the size of bonuses for every workshop and laboratory, and it has used money from previous profits retained by the enterprise to pay for the bonuses of the current year and is not going in for "distributing and eating everything." This method of obeying the policies of the state and paying attention to others expresses the identity of independence and unity, namely, the former is subordinated to the latter.

The experience of "greater decisionmaking power" trial points in Sichuan has enabled us to clearly see that a very important reason why our economy was organized more rigidly in the past was that we did not consciously treat social products as commodities and did not consciously develop socialist commodity production.

From the angle of exchange between the two kinds of ownership, Stalin in his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" correctly pointed out that commodity production still existed in socialist society, and this played a very useful role in clarifying the ideological confusion of people at that time and in directing socialist economic work. This work by Stalin has a historical position that cannot be played down among the theses on socialist economic problems. However, at the same time he also made a mistake: namely, he held that the relations of commodities no longer existed in ownership by the whole people. He held that socialist commodities only included means of consumption. As means of production could only be transferred between enterprises under ownership by the whole people, they were therefore not commodities but only "products" possessing the shell of commodities. Even means of consumption could be distributed in a unified manner under planned purchase and exclusive marketing by the state and had no need of regulation by market mechanism. This theory was taken from the highly centralized economic practice of Soviet society at that time.

For a long time we indiscriminately copied the model of the Soviet economic system of Stalin's time and set up a highly centralized and insular type of economic management which became a system of its own: Capital construction is invested in from above, production plans are arranged from above, materials are allocated from above, products are transferred and marketed from above, profits are handed over from above, losses are subsidized from above and wages are paid according to instructions from above. This kind of system artificially severs the natural contacts between the enterprises and causes them to be completely isolated from the market and the customers. They cannot find out whether or not their products meet the needs of society, and even if they accidentally do find out they still cannot make any flexible response. We have not only set up this kind of system in enterprises under ownership by the whole people but also tried to make all the enterprises under collective ownership come over to this kind of system. We have not only restricted means of production from entering the market but also imposed many unnecessary restrictions on the production and circulation of means of consumption. Consequently, this kind of situation has developed: On the one hand, the enterprise loses its relatively independent position of commodity producer and therefore lacks vitality. On the other hand, as the economic leadership departments at various levels cannot be all-embracing and completely thorough in their work, they are far from able to help in most of the multitude of economic activities. In this way, how can economic development avoid becoming ossified? Therefore, to stimulate the economy, a fundamental problem is to emancipate the minds, completely disregard the fetters of old theory and develop socialist commodity economy in a conscious, comprehensive and planned manner. The "greater decisionmaking power" trial points in Sichuan are making efforts in this direction. The result of such efforts has definitely stimulated the economy and confirmed that the set of theories of the past is wrong and must be reformed.

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TURN OUR COUNTRY'S PRODUCTION FROM A HEAVY STRUCTURE INTO A LIGHT STRUCTURE

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[Article by Liao Jili [1675 1323 4539] and Gao Yisheng [7559 5030 3932]]

[Text] Judged in the light of the characteristics of our country's economy and technology, should we use a heavy production structure or a light production structure to develop our industry and agriculture? This problem is worth careful study, as it involves the balance between social production and social demand, as well as a suitable distribution of the social labor force (including means of production and labor force) between different production sectors. A correct understanding and proper handling of the problem are indeed vital. Here are a few initial views on some of the issues which I should like to offer to all for discussion and comments.

I

What is a light production structure and a heavy production structure? What kind of production structure did we develop in the past 30 years? What lessons could be drawn from it? A light production structure means that, in terms of the gross output value of our industry and agriculture, the proportion accounted for by agriculture and light industry as a group amounts to more than 60 percent, as compared with heavy industry, which accounts for less than 40 percent. A heavy production structure means that, in terms of the gross output value of our industry and agriculture, the proportion accounted for by heavy industry amounts to more than 40 percent, as compared with agriculture and light industry, which account for less than 60 percent. It must be pointed out that, since heavy industry turns out certain products for agriculture and light industry, just as the latter turn out certain products for the former, and since it is difficult to differentiate them precisely, we could not but follow the existing statistical gauge to assess the figures we used.

For 30 years, with policy priority resting squarely on developing heavy industry, the development of our agriculture and light industry has been oriented toward a heavy production structure. The production structure of agriculture and light industry as compared with that of heavy industry has changed from a ratio of 92.1:7.9 in 1949 to 57.7:42.3 in 1979. This reveals a 34.4-percent drop in the ratio of agriculture and light industry as compared with a 34.4-percent increase in the ratio for heavy industry, an annual average increase of a little over 1.2 percent. So a heavy production structure has taken shape in our industrial and agricultural production.

We have long believed that to steadily increase industrial and agricultural production and step by step improve the livelihood of the people we must give priority to the development of heavy industry, especially the steel industry, and hike the ratio of heavy industry in the gross output value of industry and agriculture. Invariably we have placed heavy industry in the topmost position since the inception of the First Five-Year Plan and have increased as much as possible capital accumulation and capital construction investments for heavy industry. During the First Five-Year Plan period, when our heavy industry was extremely weak, it was of course necessary to speed up its development and augment its ratio in the gross industrial and agricultural output value, even though we felt at a later period that heavy industry was unduly emphasized. Between 1958 and 1960 heavy industry continued to develop and increase in ratio, so much so that agriculture and light industry actually slipped. When this began to seriously disrupt the proportions in the national economy, heavy industry itself was forced to pull back to its original level. After 5 years of readjustment, 1961-1965, the national economy began to pick up gradually. But economic readjustment did not lead to ideological changes. So there was another attempt in 1966 to upgrade heavy industry. However, due to the Great Cultural Revolution, which disrupted planned economy, both production and construction became so sluggish that there was no room for further development of heavy industry. The new upsurge of heavy industry after 1970, compounded by the disruptive activities of the "gang of four," practically drove the proportions of the national economy into complete disarray. After the downfall of the "gang of four," due to our failure to realize the seriousness of the disruption and imbalance in our economy, agitation for heavy industry surfaced once more. This has brought on new problems and hardships.

Practice attests that, with conditions as they are in our country, undue emphasis on developing heavy industry and pushing for a heavy production structure is not as rational and profitable as people imagine. This may be illustrated by a comparative analysis of the ups and downs in the development of our national economy. That is to say, whenever the ratio of agriculture and light industry in the gross industrial and agricultural output value is comparatively large or increases instead of falling back, the national income grows faster, the people's livelihood improves, the rate of capital accumulation slows down, industrial and agricultural production speeds up and the general economic effectiveness becomes much higher. On the other hand, whenever the ratio of heavy industry in the gross industrial and agricultural output value rises too fast or too high, the growth of the national income slows down, the people's livelihood shows no improvement, if it doesn't worsen, the rate of capital accumulation increases sharply, industrial and agricultural production become sluggish and economic effectiveness deteriorates.

During the First Five-Year Plan period the average ratio for agriculture and light industry was 77.5 percent as compared with 22.5 percent for heavy industry. At that time the ratio for agriculture and light industry was in a more favorable position, even though that for heavy industry climbed rapidly. The pace of development thus was comparatively rapid, the people's livelihood showed marked improvement and economic effectiveness was quite rewarding. Our national income increased at an annual average of 8.9 percent, and state revenues showed an annual average increase of 11 percent. Industrial and agricultural production climbed 10.9 percent per annum, and newly acquired fixed assets accounted for an average of 83.7 percent of the total capital construction investment, even though the average capital accumulation per annum was only 24.2 percent.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period, especially the first 3 years, the ratio for heavy industry rose as rapidly as that of agriculture and light industry had slipped, with a resulting serious loss of balance in the proportions of the national economy. At that time the ratio for heavy industry jumped to 43.1 percent (53.3 percent in 1960) from the 22.5 percent recorded during the First Five-Year Plan period. The ratio for agriculture and light industry dropped to 56.9 percent from the 77.5 percent achieved during the First Five-Year Plan period. Thus, national income dropped at an annual average rate of 3.1 percent, state revenues rose only 0.2 percent per annum and the people's livelihood went from bad to worse. As the rate of capital accumulation rose to a height of 30.8 percent, industrial and agricultural production increased only 0.6 percent per annum (agricultural output dropped at an annual average rate of 4.3 percent, and light industry output rose no more than 1.1 percent per annum). The national economy then faced tremendous difficulties. Facts show that a heavy production structure has brought on low speed, poor efficiency, inefficiency and even disaster, rather than high speed and high efficiency as people believed.

The industrial and agricultural production structure was thoroughly readjusted in 1962-1965 according to a program of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards." The ratio for agriculture and light industry was readjusted to 63.5 percent per annum, as compared with the 56.9 percent recorded during the Second Five-Year Plan period, and that for heavy industry was scaled down from the 43.1 percent attained during the Second Five-Year Plan period to 36.5 percent. As the heavy production structure switched to a light production structure, the revival and development of the national economy during these years turned out to be much faster and better than anticipated. National income rose at an annual average rate of 14.5 percent, state revenues increased 15.7 percent per annum and the people's livelihood also showed marked improvement. With the average rate of capital accumulation dropping to 22.7 percent, industrial and agricultural output rose by 15.7 percent per annum, and industrial and agricultural labor productivity increased by 23.1 percent and 6.7 percent, respectively, a remarkable record for the national economy.

The average ratio for both agriculture and light industry during the Third Five-Year Plan period rose to 62 percent (27.2 percent for agriculture and 34.8 percent for light industry), while that for heavy industry was 38 percent. As the ratio for heavy industry climbed back during this period, the national income showed an increase of 8.4 percent per annum, state revenues increased by 7 percent per annum and the average rate of capital accumulation was 26.3 percent. The livelihood of the people, however, did not register any improvement, industrial and agricultural output rose only 9.6 percent per annum and economic effectiveness was not as good as that achieved during the period of readjustment (of course, the period of readjustment was a period of revival).

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan period the average ratio for both agriculture and light industry was 60.2 percent (29.9 percent for agriculture and 30.3 percent for light industry), and that for heavy industry was 39.8 percent. As compared with the Third Five-Year Plan period, the ratio for agriculture and light industry slipped while that for heavy industry went up. This, coupled with disruptions and destructions by the "gang of four," seriously jeopardized the proportions of the national economy. Our national income rose only 7.8 percent per annum, state revenues increased no more than 4.2 percent and the people's livelihood suffered serious setbacks. As the rate of capital accumulation rose by 33 percent, industrial and agricultural output increased only 7.8 percent. The growth of the entire national economy became slower and economic efficiency worse still.

The downfall of the "gang of four" did not lead to instant readjustment of the national economy. Instead, the development of heavy industry accelerated to a ratio of 42.6 percent in 1978, bringing about more problems and hardships. Following its third plenum, the party Central Committee announced a program to readjust, restructure, consolidate and improve the national economy. Noticeable achievements were recorded in 1979 as readjustment of the production structure got under way.

II

Why did the fact that heavy industry in our country developed too fast at too high a ratio lead to a low rate of production and consumption, a high rate of capital accumulation and poor efficiency in our national economy? Why did the heavy production structure in our country cause so many problems for the national economy? The reasons are both numerous and complicated. The most important reasons are indiscriminate pursuit of speed, undue emphasis on heavy industry and unwarranted craving for a heavy production structure without due consideration of the real conditions in our country.

In a country such as ours, with a huge population, not enough arable land, backward science and technology and a low standard of living, it is difficult to launch a heavy production structure in a short time. When priority is unduly placed on developing heavy industry, it gives rise to a demand for more capital construction and a higher rate of capital accumulation. This is incompatible with the production level of our agriculture and light industry, our level of capital accumulation and the standard of living of our people. The ups and downs of our national economy in the past 30 years demonstrate that our country is not in a position, for the present at least, to bear the brunt of a heavy production structure. When this is done beyond the capabilities of our national economy, overdue liabilities are bound to bear more and more heavily on our people's livelihood, on production and construction, and difficulties of all kinds confronting the state are likely to multiply. The result of all these factors naturally leads to sluggishness, shrunken consumption, a high rate of accumulation and inefficiency, as is borne out by the following facts.

First, indiscriminate speed in increasing heavy industrial production at an excessive ratio is likely to slow down the development of agriculture and light industry. Since our agricultural production still depends mainly on manual labor, its productivity is very low. The contradiction between the ever-increasing need for commercial grain and industrial raw materials from agriculture on the one hand and the production of farm crops in general on the other is still unresolved and becoming more and more acute. The fixed agricultural assets of the agricultural collective economy in 1978 accounted for about 58 percent of the total agricultural output that year. One farm laborer was able to support only about 3.5 persons at a low living standard. Thus, agriculture was far from being able to meet the demands of industrial development. Take grain, for example. Compared with what had been attained in 1953, grain production by 1978 had increased only 2.4 percent per annum. Our population increase for the same period was 2 percent, almost the same rate. So there was hardly anything left to improve the livelihood of the people. Moreover, even this increase in grain production was by no means dependable. While the annual increase in grain production exceeded in 14 out of a total of 26 years the rate of population increase, it trailed behind the population increase in the other 12 years (grain production was cut back in 5 of these 12 years), thus practically breaking even. Our light industry, which depends on agriculture for raw materials (equal to 70 percent of the total light industry's output value), still fluctuates with the ups and downs of agriculture and is unable to meet the needs of large-scale construction.

Second, when heavy industry develops too fast at an excessive ratio it is bound to draw on funds reserved for developing agriculture and light industry. Between 1950 and 1975 capital accumulated by our heavy industry was about 50 percent (including tax and profit) of that accumulated by agriculture and light industry. However, investments in heavy industry between 1952 and 1976 amounted to more than 74 percent of the total investment in agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. That is to say, one-third of the investments in heavy industry came from agriculture and light industry. As the demand for funds by heavy industry, which requires heavy investment and more time for turnovers and achieving results, kept increasing, while funds for agriculture and light industry, which require less investment and less time for turnovers and achieving results, became more and more uncertain, the sources of capital accumulation slipped rapidly. As a result, the state faces a paucity of devices to accumulate capital.

Third, when heavy industry develops too fast at an excessive ratio it is bound to cause shortages in energy and raw materials. Heavy industries such as metallurgy, chemical industry, machine making and building materials are heavy consumers of energy and raw materials. The amount of energy consumed by heavy industry since 1952 has been rising steadily, while that by light industry has been dropping. The amount consumed by heavy industry has gone up from 35.6 percent in 1952 to 57.3 percent, while that by light industry has slipped from 64.4 percent in 1952 to 42.7 percent. For every 100 million yuan worth of products, heavy industry consumes four times more energy and two times more electric power than light industry. In spite of the rapid development of energy production in our country in the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, averaging an annual increase of 10 percent, which is even higher than the 8.2-percent increase in the average gross output value of light industry for the same period, the rapidly growing and wasteful consumption of energy by heavy industries has left our energy production trailing behind demand, an acute problem confronting the development of our national economy. This shows that a heavy production structure such as this would be too taxing even if we had plentiful sources of fuel and energy.

Fourth, when heavy industry develops too fast at an excessive ratio both production and construction have to expand accordingly. This is too much for our science and technology to match. With an annual steel production of 30 million tons, some countries could produce enough technical equipment both to satisfy domestic consumption and to export complete sets to other countries. But our country still depends on imports for large sophisticated equipment. This is a very big gap.

In summary, the existence and development of all things depend on certain conditions which man may create or change according to objective laws. But these conditions may not be created or changed at will in violation of these objective laws. This applies to giving priority to developing heavy industry and erecting a heavy production structure. If it is done too fast and excessively, haste will lead to both waste and unrewarding consequences.

III

Why does a speedy and high-ratio development of agriculture and light industry in our country lead to high speed and high efficiency in our national economy? One of the reasons is that the development of agriculture and light industry brings out our best qualities, agrees with the economic and technical capabilities of our country and leads to better cost efficiency.

We are an expansive and populous country with an abundant labor force and natural resources and the capability and advantages to develop agriculture and light industry. It has been proved more than once that intensive development of agriculture and light industry, which absorb a larger labor force, require less investment and involve a lower level of technology, would be conducive to better use of our favorable conditions and advantages. It would improve the people's livelihood sooner, increase capital accumulation more rapidly, foster a higher speed of development of our national economy in proper proportions and keep it more healthy, bouncing and efficient. There are many advantages once this is done. The following are some of the most noteworthy.

First, it provides vast employment opportunities and thus better use of our labor resources in developing social production. Agricultural products in our country are used mostly by the peasants as their own means of subsistence, and very little is sold as marketable commodities. The fact that only a small percentage of agricultural products circulates as marketable commodities has kept our light industry largely underdeveloped. That is why commodity production has been backward in our country, and it should be developed. Our population is close to 1 billion. To provide more job opportunities for a huge labor force awaiting employment, we must develop agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline productions and fishery, as well as joint ventures in industry, agriculture, commerce and transportation suitable for rural areas. All cities and towns should concentrate on developing the handicraft industry, light industry, the electronics industry and services. Thus, by adopting a production structure based on intensive use of labor instead of one that depends on intensive use of technology, we will be able to employ a huge labor force. This is conducive not only to productive development and a higher standard of living for the people but also to political stability and solidarity.

Second, it favors accumulation of capital. Statistics show that light industry as a whole contributes more to capital accumulation than heavy industry. In

1978, for example, contributions to capital accumulation per 100 yuan of investment by light industry were three times those by heavy industry, and light industry took 50 percent less time than heavy industry to recover the investment. Moreover, light industry turned every yuan in raw materials provided by agriculture into approximately 4 yuan in profit. Thus, well-developed agriculture and light industry may provide capital for heavy industry. Once this becomes possible, the capital accumulation rate does not have to be too high to secure the speedy development of heavy industry.

Third, it saves a tremendous amount of energy. A heavy production structure always entails a horrendous amount of energy consumption, which is aggravated by a higher level of technology. Of the energy now consumed by light industry, 6 million tons of standard fuel could be saved if the output value of light industry were raised by 1 percent. If the output value of agriculture and light industry were raised by 2 percent within the coming decade, by 1990 there would be a saving of 60 million tons of standard fuel as compared with current consumption. This means a saving of 10 billion yuan in capital construction investment.

Fourth, it helps improve the people's livelihood. Well-developed agriculture and light industry may help resolve, step by step, such urgent problems as food, clothing and other necessities and maintain balanced relations between the various sectors of the national economy. Past experience attests that, if our agricultural production increases about 4 percent per annum and our light industry increases its production by 8 percent or more per annum, the people's level of consumption can increase by 4-5 percent, and the wages of all staff and workers can be increased once every 5 years. By giving priority to developing heavy industry, as has been done for a long time, we unduly expanded the scope of capital construction and spread our forces so thin on a far-fling battlefront as to adversely affect the livelihood of the people.

In a word, we can bring out our superior qualities and achieve the best economic results if we intensify the development of our agriculture and light industry on the strength of the real conditions of our country. On the other hand, how are we going to achieve high-speed production, a high level of consumption, a low rate of capital accumulation and high efficiency if we overlook our strong points, fail to bring out our superior qualities and slow the development of agriculture and light industry, if heavy industry does very little to serve agriculture and light industry and if the people's livelihood does not improve while the capital accumulation rate remains high and inefficiency persists?

For a long time there has been a prevailing concept that the pace of development of agriculture and light industry depends on the pace of development of heavy industry. Consequently, the speedy development of agriculture and light industry requires the speedy development of heavy industry. This idea of resting the hope for speedy development of agriculture and light industry on heavy industry is obviously one-sided. Instead of depending completely on heavy industry, the development of agriculture and light industry now and for quite a long time to come depends mainly on party policy and a higher level of science and technology. The experience of the last 30 years demonstrates that the speedy development of heavy industry has not contributed much to the pace of development of agriculture and light industry. On the contrary, when heavy industry developed too fast, the development of agriculture and light industry slowed down.

IV

Such being the case, is the objective law of giving priority to the development of heavy industry in our country still valid? What kind of production structure do we need after all? The foremost justification for giving priority to the development of heavy industry is derived from a law that priority ought to go to production of the means of production. Lenin said: "The significance and usefulness of the law of a speedy increase of the means of production rest on the fact that substitution of manual labor by mechanical labor (meaning the advent of technology in the machine age) requires urgent development of 'the means of production which produce such real means of production' as coal and steel." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 88) As our country is now at the historical stage of using mechanical labor to replace manual labor, we must observe the law of assigning priority to production of the means of production, a law which is still applicable. However, everything depends on the time, place and actual conditions. We must keep in mind the actual conditions in our country as a starting point for a balanced exploration of this objective law. First, the application of this law of assigning priority to the production of more means of production and the extent to which priority may be given to heavy industry rest first of all on our country's scientific and technological capabilities as well as our objective needs. As our country has a low level of scientific and technological capabilities and is just starting to substitute mechanical labor for manual labor, it will take a long time for us to achieve any noticeable results. Although all sectors of our national economy, especially agriculture, have an ever-increasing need for modern technical equipment, this need at present, due to certain factors, is limited, because the equipment we need is not absolutely indispensable. We must not be too demanding all at once or exaggerate certain needs just to give priority indiscriminately to the development of heavy industry. Second, any effort to increase production of the means of production should be matched by an appropriate increase in production of the means of consumption. The development of heavy industry must be accompanied by a comparable development of agriculture and light industry. Even though additional means of production are needed to expand reproduction, additional means of consumption are equally essential. It is an error to overemphasize one to the detriment of the other. Third, to intensify the development of heavy industry, generally speaking, means to keep increasing the ratio of heavy industry and to cut back that of agriculture and light industry. These comparative ratios should be responsive and flexible enough to allow state plans to readjust them within certain limits. Fourth, the existing situation is such that, due to indiscriminate development of heavy industry at such a fast pace and in such excessive ratios, the proportions of the national economy have become so distorted that progress is impossible unless readjustments are made. The way to achieve real readjustments is to cut back where there are excesses and substitute a light production structure for a heavy production structure which does not agree with our existing national capabilities. This means that we must proceed from the actual conditions in meeting the requirement of this objective law and yet not deny priority to heavy industry.

As changes in the production structure are usually brought about by various sectors of the economy growing at different rates, a readjustment of the heavy production structure requires a comparable readjustment in the rate of growth of the different sectors. So the following options are worth considering: First, increase the ratio of the growth of agriculture to about 28 percent from its 1978 ratio of 25.6 percent. Second, increase the ratio of the growth of light industry to more than 33 percent from its 1978 ratio of 31.8 percent. Third, cut back the growth of heavy industry to below 40 percent from its 1978 ratio of 42.6 percent. Fourth, readjust the internal structure of heavy industry by increasing the ratio of growth of those sectors of heavy industry which serve agriculture and light industry. This may keep the ratio between heavy industry on the one hand and agriculture and light industry on the other at 4:6 and bring about a switch from a heavy production structure to a light production structure which better suits a country like ours, where 80 percent of a huge population consists of peasants, and our production and construction level as well as the people's standard of living. Moreover, this may provide a solution to the contradiction between an inadequate supply of consumer goods and idling of facilities for producing more means of production, a contradiction which is affecting the development of our national economy.

Of course, we still need to develop heavy industry and will need a heavy production structure in the future. However, judging from both favorable and unfavorable experiences at home and abroad, the kind of heavy industry we need to develop should meet these criteria: First, it must be compatible with the level of our agriculture and light industry. Second, it must be adapted to the production requirements of agriculture and light industry. Third, it must fit the capital accumulation of our country. Fourth, it must be in keeping with our energy production and save energy. Fifth, it must fit our scientific and technological level. Sixth, it must improve, step by step, the people's living standard and ease employment pressure. This kind of heavy production structure would be compatible with the real conditions of our country, be conducive to the unfolding of our superior qualities and serve the realization of our country's four modernizations.

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A THEORIST OR A POLITICAL SWINDLER--ANALYZING KANG SHENG

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[Text] History often pokes fun at man, even under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and history is sometimes reversed. Comrades who had been open and aboveboard and loyal to the people and the party were framed and treated unjustly; parasites and evil schemers who had sneaked into the revolutionary ranks were crowned with such laurels as "revolutionary" and "theoretician." Kang Sheng was one among the latter. During the 10 catastrophic years, he collaborated with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to persecute the upright and loyal, committing heinous crimes. As the counterrevolutionary theories used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were of Kang Sheng's "invention," Kang Sheng was lauded as a "Marxist theoretician," and at one time it seemed that this was a final verdict on Kang Sheng as the lid was nailed to his coffin. However, history is written by the people. It is the people and only the people who are the fairest judges. Any reversal of cardinal issues of right and wrong will in the end be reversed by the people. Now it is time we tore the mask of a "Marxist theoretician" off Kang Sheng, laid bare his vicious and sordid intrigues, restored his true features as a political swindler and learned a lesson from it.

Conspirator Who Deliberately Molded Modern Blind Faith

In his comments on the Second International "theorist" and Italian Serrati, Lenin pointed out: "Speaking of Serrati, I can only compare him to a rotten egg. When it is broken, it cracks and emits a stinking odor." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 601) This assessment is completely applicable to Kang Sheng. Kang Sheng's theories can also be likened to a bad egg giving out a stench that makes people think of speculators.

Marxism is the proletariat and laboring people's theoretical weapon for liberation. However, Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and their ilk dealt with it as if it were a rare commodity that could bring them fat profits. Did Lin Biao not openly declare that studying Chairman Mao's works was "a big moneymaking business"? To attain their aim they then went on to stage a deification farce in China in the middle of the 20th century. Kang Sheng was indeed a leading actor in this farcical performance. As early as 1958 he put forth this thesis: "Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism." That is to say, in his eyes Mao Zedong Thought was the highest stage of the development of Marxist-Leninist truth. Obviously, it was Kang Sheng who invented the "theory of the pinnacle," because Lin Biao did not assert this until 2 years later. In 1959 Kang Sheng again proclaimed that Mao Zedong Thought was "the highest criterion" and "the last criterion" of Marxism. This amounted to saying that Mao Zedong Thought was not only the pinnacle of Marxism but also the criterion for testing Marxist truth. In 1960 Kang Sheng said that to study Marxism it was imperative to first study the chairman's works ahead of other Marxist-Leninist works. He called this method "letting preconceived ideas keep a strong hold." Later Lin Biao summed it up as the method of finding a "shortcut." Kang Sheng also hatched the fallacious thesis about the "three milestones," clamoring that Mao Zedong Thought is the "third milestone" in the history of Marxist development. They kicked up a din about it, turning a deaf ear to Comrade Mao Zedong's criticism of such theses.

Kang Sheng distorted and reversed the relationship between a leader and his political party as well as between a leader and the masses by putting the leader above the party and advocating unconditional loyalty of the people to the leader rather than loyalty of the leader to the people. When Comrade Tan Zhenlin stood up at a Political Bureau meeting in February 1967 to expose the conspiracy of Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing to liquidate the party's leadership, Kang Sheng cursed between his teeth: "At this Political Bureau meeting Tan Zhenlin driveled about party leadership being ignored while the mass line is being given too much attention in the Great Cultural Revolution. This is metaphysics and very childish.... Chairman Mao is the leader of our party, and he is personally leading us in the Great Cultural Revolution. How can we say that there is no party leadership?" Kang Sheng's words completely distorted the concept of party leadership. The leadership of the party means the leadership of party organizations at all levels and not in the least the leadership of a single leader. This is commonsense about Marxism-Leninism. It is none other than Kang Sheng who went in for "metaphysics" on a big scale and uttered many ridiculous things.

Kang Sheng also showed keen interest in the practice of feudal emperors and kings of installing crown princes. He glibly advertised Lin Biao as "the most loyal" and "the most staunch" successor who had "constantly held aloft the banner." In designating Lin Biao as the "successor," the party constitution adopted by the Ninth CCP Congress directly contravened the Marxist political party's principles of organization. However, Kang Sheng shamelessly praised this specific provision, saying: "This is an event of vital importance concerning the future and destiny of our country as well as an event of vital importance concerning the future and destiny of world revolution." Such fulsome praise had been rare even in history. It seemed to mean that, with Lin Biao as the successor, China and the world were promised a bright future, and if Lin Biao was not designated as the successor, the world would slip into a dark abyss.

In collusion with Lin Biao, Kang Sheng made an all-out effort to deify the leader, not out of ignorance but with ulterior motives. They aimed at taking credit, winning favor, seeking awards and usurping party and state leadership. Both Kang Sheng and Lin Biao spent a lot of time studying feudal hierarchical politics and concluded that slavish flatterers would be doted on while upright men bold enough to remonstrate against wrongdoings would suffer. Hence, Lin Biao regarded "vigorously expressing support" for the leader and "most obediently following instructions" as the "general principle" guiding his actions. He wanted to "do what Engels did to Marx, Stalin to Lenin and Chiang Kai-shek to Sun Yat-sen." In "aping the leader at every step," Lin Biao was aware that if he could "remain in favor" he "could then usurp the leadership of the country." Kang Sheng shared the same criminal ambition. In deifying the leader and vying with others for the lead in "holding high" and "following closely," Kang Sheng had an eye to reaching a high position. In advocating the theory of "the pinnacle," Kang Sheng meant to reach the "pinnacle" himself. Therefore, it will not be hard for people to understand the reason why Kang Sheng and his ilk paid no attention to Comrade Mao Zedong's criticisms of the fallacies of "the pinnacle," "propaganda with a great fanfare" and "the three milestones," constantly changed their tactics and drastically escalated the deification movement. Nevertheless, historical laws are independent of the subjective will of Kang Sheng and his ilk, who have now fallen from the pinnacle into the most sordid spot in history.

The Most Despicable Adulteration of Marxism-Leninism

In exposing the ruses of the Second International revisionists, Lenin pointed out: "To discredit a new political (not necessarily merely political) ideology and wreak havoc on it, the most effective way is to vulgarize it to the point where it is made to appear ridiculous under the pretext of safeguarding it." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 217) Kang Sheng did precisely that. He flaunted the banner of "safeguarding" Marxism-Leninism to distort and tamper with Marxism-Leninism. In this respect, Kang Sheng resorted to even more abominable means than conspirators of earlier times had done.

The criticism of the "theory of productive forces" was Kang Sheng's "masterpiece," of which he was very proud. He used this to persecute revolutionary cadres and sabotage our socialist economic construction. During the 10 catastrophic years, he took pains to repeatedly rave about the "theory of productive forces," attacked it for being the theoretical basis of revisionism, and cited it as a yardstick for judging capitalist roaders. This "theory" was in fact Kang Sheng's own invention, but he covered up the truth and alleged that it came from Lenin. In this way, he appeared to be "safeguarding" Lenin's thinking and "holding high" Lenin's banner. Kang Sheng said: "What is the 'theory of productive forces'? According to this theory, before the development of productive forces reaches a specific level, it is impossible to realize socialism; some experience in capitalism is necessary before socialism can be brought about.... After gaining some experience under capitalism, people can then embark on the road to socialism. Lenin once waged a struggle against the Social Democrats, Trotskiy and Bukharin over this theory." Kang Sheng even went a step further to sum up the "two-road struggle" within the party in this way: "It is a struggle over two choices for the proletariat after its seizure of political power--whether to greatly develop productive forces before embarking upon socialist construction, that is, to follow the capitalist road, or to immediately go ahead with socialist revolution and construction, that is, to embark on the socialist road." As a matter of fact, Kang Sheng's views had nothing to do with Lenin's thinking. First, Lenin always held that socialism could not be realized unless productive forces were developed to a certain extent. This has been an indisputable truth.

However, Kang Sheng completely denied that the successful realization of socialism is conditional on productive forces developing to a certain extent. His ideas about the "revolution" were divorced from objective material conditions and hence were ideas of a kind of sham revolution he himself had concocted. Second, the debates between Lenin and the opportunists were focused upon whether socialist revolution could begin in a single country. At that time the opportunists opposed socialist revolution and the seizure of political power on the pretext that Russia was too backward economically. In our party there had never been any such debate. Who among all those slandered by Kang Sheng for being capitalist roaders was opposed to the seizure of political power or the establishment of the PRC? Third, Lenin held that after the founding of the state it was imperative to immediately shift the focus of the party's work to economic construction. Lenin said that this was the universal law governing socialist revolution. He observed: "In any socialist revolution, after the proletariat has fulfilled the task of seizing political power, along with fulfillment of the task of depriving exploiters of their means of exploitation and suppressing their opposition, the proletariat must give first priority to the fundamental task of creating a social economic system that is better than that in capitalist society. This fundamental task also means enhancing labor productivity." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 509) On the contrary, Kang Sheng was opposed to "giving first priority" to enhancing labor productivity. Kang Sheng maintained that anyone who devoted himself to socialist economic construction was an advocate of the "theory of productive forces" and a "capitalist roader." If this were true, would Lenin not have become a "capitalist roader" upholding the "theory of productive forces"?

Classic writers of Marxism pointed out on many occasions that distribution according to work is the principle of distribution for socialism. However, Kang Sheng alleged that this was the principle of distribution for capitalism. Kang Sheng fabricated this fallacy but refused to confess the truth. Instead, he tried to use quotations from Marx and Lenin as his camouflage. Kang Sheng said: "Why can socialist plants engender capitalism? According to Lenin, socialist plants came from the capitalist society instead of dropping from the skies. In our plants, there still are bourgeois rights and the vestiges of bourgeois thinking. Concretely speaking, while their production is socialist by nature, their products are distributed according to the principle of exchange of equal values and the principle of distribution according to work.... Therefore in our plants production is socialist by nature, but the system of distribution embodies bourgeoic rights. Lenin pointed out in chapter five of 'The State and Revolution' that this means a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie."

Did Marx and Lenin say anything like "the production is socialist by nature but the system of distribution is capitalist"? No, never. Very much to the contrary, Marx and Lenin both maintained that the nature of distribution is determined by that of production. They held that distribution according to work is the socialist principle of distribution based on socialist public ownership of the means of production. It prevents the bourgeoisie from extracting surplus value. In this way, "exploitation of man by man has become impossible, because it is no longer possible for anyone to make means of production such as plants, machines and land his own property." "The socialist principle of 'he who does not work, neither shall he eat' has been realized, as has the socialist principle of 'giving the laborer a number of products equal to the amount of work he has done.'" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, pp 251-252) However, as compared with the principle of distribution according to need, which will be applied during the advanced stage of communist society, the principle of distribution according to work still has its "defects" and "unequal" factors. It was precisely in this sense that Marx spoke of this principle as embodying bourgeois rights. He pointed out that it represented the "vestiges" or "traces" the old capitalist society would inevitably leave behind in the new socialist society. However, Kang Sheng played up the significance of such "vestiges" or "traces" and alleged that these were the decisive factors that determined the nature of things, blurring the fundamental distinctions between the socialist system and the capitalist system. We would like to ask: Which brand of capitalism in the world can boast of having implemented the principle of distribution according to work? If the principle of distribution according to work is confused with the principle of extracting surplus value, could there be any superiority of socialism? And what good is there for people to work for socialism?

Peddling His Rubbish Under the Signboard of "Holding High"

Beginning in 1958, Kang Sheng made increasingly vigorous efforts to publicize Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism. During the 10 catastrophic years, "development" simply became Kang Sheng's pet word. He talked like a record, ceaselessly and mechanically repeating this word. Upon closer examination, however, people discovered that something was wrong with Kang Sheng's words. Kang Sheng in fact was not publicizing the contributions made by Comrade Mao Zedong to the "development" of Marxism-Leninism but peddling his own wares by flaunting Comrade Mao Zedong's banner.

On the criteria for determining class status, Kang Sheng said on several occasions: "Classes are determined not only by the economic base but by political and ideological criteria as well. This is a great contribution made by Chairman Mao to Marxism-Leninism." He also said: "In the past, class status was determined according to definitions given by Lenin and by economic criteria. We overlooked the importance of Chairman Mao's idea that classes should also be determined by political and ideological criteria, which is a great contribution Chairman Mao made to the development of Marxism-Leninism." In fact, Comrade Mao Zedong did not make any contribution to such "development," nor did he say anything about "classes also being determined by political and ideological criteria." Both in the democratic revolution stage and in the socialist revolution stage, our party has insisted on putting into practice the materialist viewpoint of differentiating classes according to their economic status. The various regulations adopted by the party concerning the work of class designation have been eloquent proof of this. Therefore, the theory of determining class status by political and ideological criteria was completely Kang Sheng's own invention and out-and-out idealist stuff. In fabricating such a theory, Kang Sheng had his political motives: First, to provide a theoretical basis for their fallacious theory that "throughout the historical period of socialist society there are classes, class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration." According to Kang Sheng's theory, classes are differentiated by political and ideological criteria. Therefore, in the stage of socialist revolution the exploiting classes are not passing away; instead, exploiting class elements will grow in number. Also according to Kang Sheng's theory, so long as exploiting class thinking exists, exploiting classes as a whole will exist forever. From this, Kang Sheng deduced that "throughout the historical period of socialist society there are classes, class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration." His second motive was to concoct a theory about the existence of certain "classes" and create targets of attack. He believed that if their assertion that classes could be differentiated by political and ideological criteria was accepted as correct, they could then create "class enemies" as targets of attack on accordance with such "political and ideological" criteria. The theories about the so-called "bourgeois elements within the party" and the "bourgeois intellectuals" and so on were all modeled on this subjective concept.

During the 10 years of political turmoil, Kang Sheng spoke more than once about how Chairman Mao developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution and set forth the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once, when explaining the political report given at the ninth party congress, Kang Sheng said that in calling for "uninterrupted revolution" Marx and Lenin "mainly referred to the importance of continuing the revolution during the transitional stage from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution." He alleged that "by stressing the importance of continuing revolution in the period from socialism to communism Chairman Mao developed Marx' theory about uninterrupted revolution." This is purely deceptive talk. Anyone who has read the works of Marx and Lenin understands that in Marx' book "Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850" there are some famous sayings, such as: "This socialism means declaring our intention to carry out uninterrupted revolution, namely, the class dictatorship by the proletariat. This dictatorship constitutes the inevitable transitional stage leading to the abolition of all class distinctions, the abolition of all relations of production arising from such distinctions, the abolition of all social relations suited to such relations of production and the transformation of all notions arising from such social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 479-480) Are the abolition or transformation of the four "alls" mentioned above by Marx not the very historical mission to be fulfilled during the socialist stage? How can we say that Marx' and Lenin's thoughts on uninterrupted revolution merely dealt with the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution? Moreover, Kang Sheng's theory about uninterrupted revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has nothing to do with the Marxist theory of uninterrupted revolution. The Marxist theory of uninterrupted revolution is aimed at the thorough emancipation of the proletariat, while the theory dished up by Kang Sheng and his ilk about uninterrupted revolution means "uninterruptedly" waging struggles against the proletariat and "uninterruptedly" engaging in conspiracies to seize power, that is, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. The attempt made by Kang Sheng and his ilk to pass their own ideas off as a "major step forward in developing" Marxism can only be regarded as a malicious mocking challenge to Marxism.

Base and Apparent Sophistry

One of the important features of opportunists is their attempts to replace dialectics with sophism. Kang Sheng was an old hand at this game. What he means by dialectics was synonymous with sophism, but his sophism was even more sordid than that of his predecessors.

Lenin said: "The central point at issue is complete and extensive flexibility in the application of concepts that are capable of realizing the identity of opposites. This flexibility, if manipulated by subjective thinking, becomes eclecticism and sophism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 112) Kang Sheng made the flexibility of concepts serve his own subjective needs and substituted this flexibility for the equalitative qualification of concepts.

Socialism and capitalism are two essentially different concepts with certain overlapping factors between them; however, they are fundamentally different by nature and should not be lumped together. Kang Sheng portrayed socialism as capitalism on the grounds that there were certain "vestiges" and "traces" of capitalism in socialist society. After the fundamental fulfillment of the task of the socialist transformation of our industry and commerce, in our society there still were "vestiges" of class and class struggle. Kang Sheng, however, infinitely played up such vestiges and talked such nonsense as "Throughout the historical period of socialist society there always are classes and class struggle" in his effort to provide the theoretical basis for their conspiracies to usurp party and state power. Despite its shortcomings and problems of one kind or another, our party remains a great, glorious and correct party. Kang Sheng, however, by employing the methods of attacking a thing for a particular fault without considering the whole and of stubbornly adopting a one-sided view of things, fundamentally negated the proletarian character of our party, maligned it as being a "revisionist party" and even threatened to "rebuild" it. He labeled the great majority of our party cadres "capitalist roaders" and intended to bring about a "complete takeover" of political power "by the masses from top to bottom."

Sophists exaggerate the relativity of things, negate the qualitative qualification of things and blur the distinctions of things. In their eyes, there are no issues of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, or good and bad with regard to anything. To them, "this" can mean "that" and "that" "this." Crowning people with dunce caps, forcing them to carry placards with humiliating words written on them and parading them through the streets were indeed acts of violence that flouted the party and state laws. During the 10 catastrophic years, when Kang Sheng once was asked at the Central Party School whether according Comrade Lin Feng such treatment meant resorting to violence against him, Kang Sheng replied: "This is neither verbal struggle nor violence." His reply produced an immediate and "magical" effect throughout the country, and the practice of crowning people with dunce caps, forcing them to carry placards with humiliating words written on them and parading them through the streets as a means of struggle soon spread to every corner of the country, with those presiding over such violent incidents citing Kang Sheng's words as an "authoritative" explanation.

Lenin said: Sophistry means "grasping superficial similarities among things while deviating from the internal relations leading to changes in them." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 99) This was precisely what Kang Sheng did. He grasped certain "superficial similarities" among things and lumped together things that did not have anything to do with each other. This was his usual way of reasoning. He once "criticized" the book "How To Be a Good Communist" by saying: "When talking about being 'loyal' and 'frank,' the book says that 'there is nothing we should hide from others.' If we followed these words, would it not mean telling Jiang Jieshi all our party's secrets?" It is very clear and indubitable that in the passage cited by Kang Sheng the book was advising comrades in our party organizations to be loyal and frank to the party. Nevertheless, Kang Sheng deliberately ignored this premise and arbitrarily mentioned our party organizations in the same breath with Jiang Jieshi, On the question of the "16-character" principle (or the principle of "studying theory, integrating theory with practice, raising political consciousness and enhancing party spirit") that was implemented by the Central Party School in the teaching of Marxist theory, Kang Sheng at first supported this principle but later attacked it for being "supraclass." He asked: "Is the study of theory aimed at studying Marxist theory or revisionist theory? Does the integration of theory with practice mean the integration of theory with revolutionary practice or with counterrevolutionary practice? By raising political consciousness, do you mean the raising of Marxist-Leninist political consciousness or revisionist political consciousness?..." Is it not clear enough that Kang Sheng was capable of inventing any excuse for any act of incrimination he contemplated? Only those with an axe to grind could offer such clumsy and base "criticisms."

Undisguised Subjective Idealism

The theories advertised by Kang Sheng were not backed up by anything that existed in the subjective world but were the product of his subjective desire. In judging whether one was good or bad, Kang Sheng did not think it necessary to conduct any investigation, and he did not base any such judgment on actual facts but formed his judgments on his likes and dislikes. He often acted recklessly and arbitrarily and slapped political labels on people right and left. He would suddenly declare someone "a bad element" and even say: "I can tell from your appearance that you are a traitor," "I knew you were a traitor at first glance by drawing on my experiences over the past 40 years." Once Kang Sheng openly declared a comrade a "bad element" even before he got to know the comrade's name. Later the comrade was persecuted and died under this unjust charge. To incriminate Comrade Peng Zhen, Kang Sheng insisted on the concocted charge that Comrade Peng Zhen had intended to stage a coup. At a mass meeting held on 27 July 1966, Kang Sheng said: "In February 1966 the gang of counterrevolutionaries in Beijing headed by Peng Zhen made preparations for a coup! ... They planned to deploy a battalion of troops each in Beijing University and the People's University. This is absolutely true!" "To plan a coup"--what a frightfully serious matter! In declaring at the mass meeting that this, which actually had not happened at all, was an "absolutely true fact," Kang Sheng told a monstrous lie in broad daylight. He really found a wonderful use for the formula "perception means existence!"

One important manifestation of subjective idealism is voluntarism. Voluntarists infinitely exaggerate the role of will, maintaining that will is omnipotent. They claim that everything in the objective world is the product of subjective will. Kang Sheng once said: "What is a scientific experiment? To use a common expression, it means permitting people to be bold and mischievous under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought." What an epoch-making "masterpiece"! Was it not a shameless slander against Mao Zedong Thought to speak of "being bold and mischievous" "under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought"? In calling "bold and mischievous" actions a "scientific experiment," Kang Sheng laid bare his sordid soul. During the 10 catastrophic years, he committed all kinds of outrages and attempted to usurp party and state power, because he was being driven by his swelling personal will. In 1958 Kang Sheng said in a report: "Many young specialists in iron smelting have emerged from Luanchuan County in Henan Province. The youngest of them is only 8 years old. By blowing into a bamboo pole with its joints bored through like a blower, he is able to produce three to five catty of iron each time." He went on: "In Henan there is also a normal school now offering a superb crash course. It runs through a curriculum that would normally take 3 years to complete in 1 month's time, and in some cases the time can even be shortened to 10 days. All its graduates pass the exams with satisfactory results." Maybe these were the kind of "scientific experiments" that Kang Sheng said young people who were "bold and mischievous" could do! Concoctions, however, can never become reality. This reminds us of the formula put forth by Hu Shi, which said: "Boldly advance hypotheses and carefully verify them." But Kang Sheng was even more clumsy in peddling such shoddy wares than Hu Shi had been!

On their march forward people must be educated not only by positive examples but also by negative ones. Sometimes education by negative example is more important and thorough. Teachers by negative example like Kang Sheng and other political or theoretical swindlers of that kind are not easy to come by. We must make earnest efforts to study the characteristics of swindlers like Kang Sheng, probe the pattern of their activities and the conditions that spawn such swindlers and draw all the useful lessons from such studies, so that the harmful effects of such swindlers can be minimized and their reappearance can be prevented.

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THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

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[Article by Zang Boping [5258 0130 1627]]

[Text] In a discussion of the problems of adult education in the course of a recent Central Secretariat discussion of education work it was pointed out that the educational system should consider the educational problems of workers and peasants. Unless the education of the workers and peasants is intensified and unless there is culture, the modernization of industry and agriculture will be difficult to realize. When the workers and peasants have been educated and their cultural and scientific levels improved, it becomes possible to increase the labor productivity rate. This clearly demonstrates the position of adult education and the important role of the development of adult education.

Our party has a long tradition of paying serious attention to adult education. During the revolutionary war era, attention was paid to the development of cadre education, and all sorts of schools and training classes were established to train cadres in politics, economics, military affairs and technology. Among the worker, peasant and soldier masses in the revolutionary base areas, literacy and cultural campaigns were launched. Following the founding of new China, the Central Committee of the party and the State Council issued many decisions and directives pertaining to the task of adult education. In the 17 years preceding the Great Cultural Revolution, outstanding achievements were made in adult education work. For example, illiteracy was virtually eliminated from among workers and staff members, and the phenomenon of the peasantry as a sea of illiteracy was changed. All sorts of middle and primary schools for adults flourished, and higher education for adults also saw definite development. All in all, more than 4.4 million people were graduated from spare-time primary schools. Spare-time middle schools graduated more than 1.66 million people, and spare-time universities graduated more than 200,000 people. Many old cadres and grassroots cadres who had no opportunity to study during the revolutionary war era were able, through study, to grasp certain cultural knowledge and to play an active role in the development of production and the building of political authority. The party also adopted some special measures, such as the establishment of cultural cadre schools, political cadre schools and speeded-up middle schools for workers and peasants. It transferred cadres to institutions of higher education and sent them abroad for advanced studies, training a large number of experts in various fields. Most of them have become the backbone of today's work in building the four modernizations. During the period of the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," adult education was struck a devastating blow, and for a long time it remained in a state of stagnation or semi-stagnation. Rural village illiteracy rose greatly once again, and the cultural level of workers and staff members was unable to increase as it should, thus causing severe damage. Once the "gang of four" was smashed, along with the general uprooting of chaos and a return to normalcy on the educational front came a gradual revival of adult education and some preliminary development. At the present time, educational organizations for workers and peasants at all echelons are gradually reviving. In some cities and industrial systems a teaching system is in the process of formation for worker study of culture, technology and management, and the number of people participating in study is constantly increasing. Quite a few vocational departments are operating cadre schools and short training classes in order to improve the professional levels of cadres responsible for management. According to 1979 statistics, students enrolled in institutions of higher learning for adult education nationwide numbered more than 1.72 million. Of these, 280,000 were broadcast television university students, and the number of students enrolled in correspondence courses run by institutions of higher learning, and as nighttime university students, already exceeds the number for the highest year prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. More than 6.1 million people are students in middle schools. Last year and this spring, 22 million farmers participated in illiteracy eradication and spare-time study. These accomplishments should be fully acknowledged.

Nevertheless, in our entire educational system, adult education has always been a weak link, and now, especially, it is a long way from being able to meet the requirements for the construction of the four modernizations. Socialist modernized construction endeavors in our country are now gradually proceeding along the track of sound development. We must further acknowledge the major significance of the development of adult education in a new historic period and vigorously intensify this task, so that it will be able to play a full role in the building of a modernized socialist power.

First of all, the intensification of adult education is an urgent need for the high-speed development of the national economy.

The central problem in the realization of the socialist four modernizations is constant and large-scale increases in the rate of labor productivity, so that society's productive forces can develop by leaps and bounds. Lenin said, "It is communism that uses a labor productivity rate created by the technologically advanced and voluntarily united workers that is higher than that of capitalism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 16) He particularly emphasized that "it is the rate of labor productivity that, in the final analysis, is the most important and principal thing assuring the victory of the socialist system." (Ibid.) Following the founding of new China, our country's rate of labor productivity showed a fairly great increase, and the speed of development of production was also quite rapid for a time. During the last 10 years, however, owing to the interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the gap between ourselves and the capitalist nations has widened. This is a prominent problem, which we must solve.

Whether the rate of labor productivity is high or low depends on numerous factors. Marxists appreciate that people are the most dynamic factor among the production forces. Of all the numerous factors influencing the rate of labor productivity, it is the quality of the labor force that plays the decisive role. This is just as Marx said. The technical level of the existing population is, from beginning to end, the prerequisite for all production, and it is thus also the principal repository of wealth. In modernized production a sufficient quantity of experts and workers possessed of a fair amount of scientific and cultural knowledge is necessary if science and technology is to be developed, scientific management instituted, the accomplishments of science and technology broadly applied to production units, effective use made of natural resources, the dependence of agricultural production on natural conditions reduced, and the disadvantageous effects of natural conditions overcome in order to take better advantage of the economic benefits of the means of production, etc. For these reasons, the world's economically advanced nations regard education as a major element in economic growth, pay extreme attention to education and term the education process a development of intellectual resources. The rapid post-World War II revival and development of the economies of some countries was inseparable from the development of educational endeavors.

One of the major reasons for our country's current low rate of labor productivity is that the cultural and technical level of the workers is unable to meet the needs of the development of production. According to surveys conducted in various regions, workers and staff members on the industrial front with a high degree of cultural training amount to only 3 to 5 percent. Those with a junior middle school cultural level total 70 to 80 percent, and about half the workers are not equipped with even the cultural foundation that workers at an elementary level should possess. Five percent of them are illiterate. In some industrially advanced countries such as the United States, 17.1 percent of all employees were technicians in 1970. The proportion of semiskilled and unskilled workers was very small, amounting to only 4.7 percent, while in our country the technical level of a majority of the workers is below grade 13, and the proportion of technicians in the work force stands at only 4 percent or so. In light industries it is even less than 1 percent. The low cultural and technical level of the peasantry is even more seriously glaring. Thirty percent of all able-bodied youths in rural villages are illiterate, and 40 percent have a primary school cultural level. Among the hundreds of millions of those engaged in agriculture, agricultural technicians account for something less than 200,000. The overwhelming majority of peasant technicians below the commune level do not understand modern agricultural science and technology, and most farm machinery operators have not achieved minimum cultural and technical requirements. The level of management of our industrial and agricultural production is also very low. According to surveys conducted by some provinces among industrial and transportation enterprises, only 22 percent of county agencies and of CCP committee secretaries and managers of industrial plants had professional knowledge. Less than 5 percent of party and government leadership cadres at all echelons responsible for agriculture had any specialized knowledge. It is just such a series of circumstances that prevent fullest use of existing technical equipment in industry and make it difficult to take in hand the introduction of advanced technology. Agricultural production still relies, to a substantial extent, on traditional experience and skills, and there are great difficulties in spreading modern agricultural techniques. Production accidents resulting from a lack of understanding of technology are numerous, and some even result in extremely serious consequences. Production efficiency is low, and a great amount of overstaffing exists.

Therefore, elevating the professional knowledge and management level of the broad masses of cadres and increasing the scientific and cultural levels of the broad masses of workers and peasants is truly a task that will brook no delay. Only by building the ranks of our workers and peasants into a work force possessed of both proletarian political conscientiousness and a decent scientific and cultural level that is able to master modern production techniques can we rouse ourselves to catch up with and, after a number of years of effort, surpass advanced world levels in the rate of labor productivity.

Second, the intensification of adult education suits the needs of rapid development of science and technology.

The development of modern science and technology is exceedingly rapid, bringing about a constant renewal of science and technology. According to some statistical data, new discoveries and new inventions in science and technology during the past 10 years have been greater than the total for the past 2,000 years. Furthermore, the development of modern science and technology has one distinct characteristic, namely, that for some science and technology the period of time between invention and actual application is much shorter than in the past. Electronic computers did not appear until the 1940's, yet they are in their fifth generation today. The basic configuration of current technical equipment changes about once every 7 or 8 years, and some of it is outdated in from 5 to 6 years. Such a constant rapid replacement of production technology means that some of the knowledge people have mastered becomes old and useless after a period of time. This raises a problem, namely, that every worker must constantly increase his cultural and technical level in order to be able to meet the needs of the development of production and work. Currently our country possesses a fair number of scientists and technicians, who had very few scientific and technical contacts during the 1970's, so their mastery of scientific and technical knowledge remains at the level of the 1950's or 1960's, and there is an urgent need for an augmentation and renewal of their scientific and technical knowledge. Vigorous development of adult education is an effective means to solve this problem.

More than 80 years ago Lenin pointed out, "No matter whether it is because teaching and education are divorced from productive labor or because productive labor is not taught and educated at the same time, the high degree of modern technical levels and the current state of scientific knowledge required cannot be attained." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 413) This exposition by Lenin contains an important idea, namely, that the development of all educational endeavors should suit the needs of the development of the national economy. Not only should the quality of education and the efficiency of education in ordinary schools be suited to the rapid development of the modern economy and technology, but in the organization of labor for production as well there must be a constant improvement in the scientific and cultural levels of the workers. Today this exposition radiates the light of truth even more fully. One outstanding trend in the development of education in most countries of the modern world has been an advocacy of "lifelong education," with a constant expansion of the scope of adult education. Numerous countries have a complete system and methods for the training of workers and peasants and some countries have even promulgated pertinent laws. In 1978, three-fourths of the 2,900 institutions of higher education in the United States operated adult education programs. In capitalist countries the objective of the capitalist class in developing adult education is to compete and to obtain greater profits or to seek employment more successfully. We want to build a modernized socialist power in which we should give greater play to the superiority of socialism and in which adult education work is intensified in a conscious and planned way to do better than the capitalist countries.

Third, the intensification of adult education is a major avenue for training specialists who are both Red and expert.

In a speech at the meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "The development of modern economic, cultural and political construction will require gradual changes in the organization of our cadre corps, a reduction in the number of general administrative cadres and a large increase in the number of specialized cadres in various trades and industries, as, for example, engineering technical cadres, agricultural and livestock technical cadres, economic management cadres, scientists, teachers, medical doctors, judges, lawyers, artists, etc." This is an important organizational guarantee in the realization of the construction of the four modernizations. One prominent current problem in our country's building of the four modernizations is the irrational composition of the cadres, with too few cadres possessing specialized knowledge and specialized skills. Most cadres in some specialized fields have received no systematic education in the specialty concerned. Henceforth we should use every means to train and improve existing cadres and help them, in accordance with the academic attainments required, to acquire mastery of specialized knowledge. Additionally, we should also select cadres from among intellectuals who have undergone various kinds of specialized education and, after a period of hard work, establish a huge cadre corps with specialized knowledge and capabilities that adheres to the socialist road in order to meet the needs of modernized construction.

To hasten the training of intellectuals possessed of specialized skills we must strive to do a good job of operating all kinds of full-time schools of higher learning, gradually expand their scope and pay attention to improving their quality. It is also necessary to institute general education and vocational technical training concurrently. Various forms of spare-time higher and secondary education (including release from production for on-the-job training) should be developed. The two educational systems and the two work systems advocated by Comrade Liu Shaoqi were correct and workable. We should make every effort to give people engaged in spare-time self-study whatever guidance they need, insofar as it is possible to do so, as well as to provide them opportunities to be examined in order to obtain certification of their schooling. Experience has demonstrated that this is one path for the training of specialists that will achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results, and a large group of cadres possessing specialized knowledge and abilities may emerge from this. The television university that is broadcast nationwide, the correspondence courses and night university courses operated by institutions of higher learning, the spare-time universities, the schools of higher learning for workers and staff members, and the teacher refresher institutes now have a student enrollment that already exceeds the number of students in ordinary institutions of higher learning, and they are continuing to grow. Future prospects are extremely vast.

Some comrades harbor doubts about the quality of these kinds of institutions of higher learning. This results from their lack of full understanding of the situation. Some years ago, during the time of the rampage of the "four pests," the "21 July" University and the "7 May" University, which were just slapped together, really had problems with their quality, which was not high. Every jurisdiction and every unit is now in the process of restructuring such institutions of higher education for workers and peasants in accordance with pertinent documents from the State Council. Still, it must be realized that a fairly large number of institutions of higher learning, when looked at in terms of their pre-Great Cultural Revolution graduates (these schools have not yet graduated any students in the several years that have passed since the smashing of the "gang of four"), have really trained a large number of qualified specialists. Most of the engineering graduates of spare-time universities are engaged in technical work, and a fair number of them have already become mainstay cadres. An overwhelming majority of students who graduated from correspondence courses given by institutes and colleges of finance and economics have become mainstay cadres in economic management in various units. Events have shown that the conscientious operation of various kinds of spare-time higher education courses have played a very great role in the training of specialists and in the promotion of reforms in the composition of the cadre corps. Formerly this category of schools enrolled students principally from among on-the-job employees, but henceforth, in order to meet the needs of four modernization construction and of study by intellectual youth, conditions must be actively created to expand the group from which enrollments are sought and to enroll for college those intellectual youth who have graduated from senior middle schools. More specialists must be trained, for in this way we will actively contribute to making our cadre corps younger and more specialized.

Of course, in the course of actual work it is also necessary to solve the relationship between the generalized and the improved. Currently, when the cultural level of the worker and peasant ranks is very low, vigorous efforts must first be made generally, with improvement being built on this foundation. We intend to develop adult higher education, but we intend even more to pay attention to the development of adult secondary education. To grasp this link both is necessary for current production and work and lays a solid foundation for the development of adult higher education.

Fourth, the intensification of adult education is a necessary measure for building a highly socialist cultural civilization.

Our building of socialist modernization is not limited solely to the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology; while we are building a highly material civilization it is also necessary to build a highly socialist cultural civilization, and while we are improving and perfecting the socialist economic system it is also necessary to improve and perfect the socialist political system. The development by leaps and bounds of society's production forces inevitably must require changes in many aspects in which the production relationships and the superstructure are not compatible with the development of production forces, as well as changes in all incompatible management methods, ways of acting and ways of thinking. Unless the scientific and cultural level of all the people is greatly improved, they will be unable to adapt to these changes and, on the contrary, may impede these changes. When, for example, industrial plants institute worker participation in management or rural villages institute democratic operation of communes, workers and peasants should be able to understand and master the pertinent policies and rules and regulations in order to handle matters. We want to strengthen socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system, and if the people do not have certain political knowledge or legal knowledge, this will be difficult to carry out smoothly. In the past we were the one country in the world in which feudalism endured the longest, and the narrow outlook of feudal ideology and small-scale production seriously endangers our socialist endeavors. In order that people liberate themselves from their fetters it is necessary to spread widely Marxist theories and knowledge of the natural sciences. We want to develop a lofty, abundant and varied cultural life, for which possession by the people of certain cultural attainments is a necessary foundation. All of this is pertinent to the development of educational endeavors, and the burden that adult education bears for improving the scientific and cultural level of more than half the population has particularly great pertinence.

Our ultimate goal in the development of socialist modernized construction is the realization of the great ideals of communism. The realization of communism requires a gradual reduction in, leading to the elimination of, the innate differences between mental labor and physical labor. How can this be accomplished? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" noisily crowed that "the greater the knowledge the more reaction" and "better workers without culture" in vain attempts to lower the scientific and cultural level of the people in order to "reduce" their so-called differences. Facts long ago demonstrated that this is an ultraleftist reactionary line which destroys culture and which we must resolutely oppose. We should unswervingly carry out the Marxist line of maximum increase in the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese race, so that all the people become people who both understand politics and have culture and in whom mental labor and physical labor are combined. Just as Stalin said, "Only when the cultural and technical level of the working class has been raised to that of engineering technicians can the antagonism between mental labor and physical labor be eradicated." "And only in this way can the high rate of labor productivity and abundant consumer goods needed to begin the transition from socialism to communism be assured." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 377) Seen in these terms, our intensification of adult education creates in concrete ways the conditions for the realization of communism even while we are building a socialist modernized power. This is an endeavor of far-reaching significance, and it is also a glorious duty that history has conferred upon us.

To summarize the above, the development of adult education endeavors can produce both immediate and far-reaching effects on our social economy, politics and culture, and it is a matter of importance that ramifies into all aspects of socialist modernized construction. We must smash the traditional view that general education is superior to adult education, cast aside the narrow viewpoint that education and output stand in opposition to each other, and vigorously intensify adult education work. The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee recommended that, in order to smoothly institute socialist modernized construction, no opportunities should be missed to decide on educational plans and educational systems commensurate with requirements for the development of the national economy. This was a major policy decision which was derived from a summarization of both foreign and domestic experiences. We intend to diligently carry out this request of the Fifth Plenary Session and make adult education a major, integral part of the educational system and adhere to plans for educational endeavors so as to truly solve some of the major problems in the development of adult education. Various measures will be adopted to hasten completion of the historic task of eliminating illiteracy. Vigorous efforts will be made in rural villages to develop spare-time primary education and to achieve, prior to 1985, a universal junior middle school education for cadres employed in industrial and mining enterprises and above the commune level in rural villages. Active efforts will be made to give a specialized technical or senior middle school cultural education to those employees who already possess a junior middle school cultural level. Efforts will be made to do a good job of higher education for adults, with vigorous development of the broadcast television university, correspondence courses and nighttime university courses provided by institutions of higher learning, and spare-time universities, and a restructuring of employee universities in industrial plants and mines. To promote the development of adult education endeavors, policies will be formulated to help arouse enthusiasm for running schools and for studying, with some vigorous measures taken. For example, as a duty requirement, employee education will be one standard for evaluating the performance of enterprises, for which concrete requirements and a system will be provided. Every rural village commune will have to have a plan for the development of adult education. The running of correspondence courses and nighttime universities will be an important task of full-time higher education institutions, and these will be in line with plans for higher education endeavors and within the scope of institutions of higher learning. The educational system and the labor system will be combined with the cadre system. For workers and cadres, requirements for a certain degree of culture should be set on the basis of their technical level and duties, and there should be an increase in the selection and employment of workers and cadres on the basis of certain requirements for formal schooling. Some units and enterprises are already experimenting with this method, and pertinent units can proceed from a summarization of their experiences to the formulation of fairly complete policies and systems. As for how people are employed and the remuneration they receive, intense effort must be made to formulate practical methods and to implement the policy proposal contained in the "Government Work Report" delivered by Comrade Hua Guofeng at the Fifth National People's Congress providing for a level equivalent to that of college graduates, following testing and certification, for those who have carried out spare-time self-study, with entitlement to the same employment and the same pay, etc. Adult education has numerous ramifications, and it is an extremely arduous task requiring the serious attention of the entire party and the concern and support of all if it is to have any possibility of being done well. Our educational units should pay attention to coordinating with other units concerned in the vigorous development of this endeavor, which has such great importance, in order to promote the smooth development of socialist modernized construction.

9432
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THE NOTION 'THERE IS NO PURE GOLD' AND OTHERS

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[Article by Liang Change [2733 7022 1894]]

[Text] Is there any pure gold? The answer is no. The notion that "there is no pure gold" has been firmly established. The highest gold purity is 99.9999 percent. So-called pure silver, pure copper and so forth are not 100-percent pure either. As for other products which are chemically purified, their purity is also subject to certain limits. This is also the case with "highly pure" and "ultrapure" material such as monocrystalline silicon and others, because they contain some foreign matter. People have proved through practice that there is no 100-percent pure matter in the world.

This reminds me of the perfect man. Is there any supremely wise, all-round and perfect man in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere? The answer is negative, because "there is no such thing as a perfect man," as the saying goes. There is not a single person in the world who is completely immune from errors and shortcomings. Wen Tianxiang was a famous national hero in our country. However, before the invasion of the Yuan troops he was a pampered son of a wealthy family who "indulged himself freely with songs and women" and "led a life of luxury and dissipation." Commenting on the great poet Tao Yuanming, Lu Xun said: "He was a man of 'vigorous will' and a 'carefree and contented mind.' If you ask me to appraise him, I dare say that he was not a perfect man. Belittling or exaggerating his character is at variance with reality." ("The Second Collection of Essays Written in a Garret in the Quasi-Concession")

What Lu Xun said has enlightened us on the selection of talented people. At present, selecting qualified personnel is harder than ascending to heaven. It does not mean that there are no qualified personnel. The problem is that those responsible for selection frequently mistake defects for virtues. As a result, mediocre and incompetent people are very often selected. Men are bound to have shortcomings. What is the main criterion for judging candidates? In the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" there is a story describing how Lu Su recommended Pang Tong to Sun Quan. Pang Tong, known as a "worthy fledgling phoenix," formerly was as famous as Zhuge Liang. After the death of Zhou Yu, Lu Su recommended Pang Tong to Sun Quan. Sun Quan flatly refused the recommendation, because Pang Tong was ugly, in addition to which Sun Quan did not think too highly of Zhou Yu. He wrongly thought that Pang Tong was a "pedant." Lu Su repeatedly made the recommendation, saying that the suggestion to use "interlocking ropes" in the battle of "burning the Chibi cliff" was contributed by him, but to no avail. Although Pang Tong was later accepted by Liu Bei, he was initially assigned to work as a county magistrate of Lai Yang County for a considerable period of time because of his ugliness. Such an assignment was unworthy of his talents. Pang Tong eventually was promoted to be a deputy strategist after Liu Bei discovered his talents and was convinced by the letters of recommendation written by Lu Su and Zhuge Liang. This was a strange thing, indeed. The selection of talented people is different from that of sons-in-law. What was the use of taking ugliness into consideration? Although our selection of qualified personnel is not decided by candidates' looks (except in a few particular posts), do we not often base our assessment of people on superficial impressions and personal taste? Even a slovenly appearance and queer disposition may become an obstacle to the selection of talented personnel. Wang Chong said: "A big bowl of thick soup may sometimes taste insipid, and the most valuable treasure may have some flaws; coarse handicraft may have its good points, whereas exquisite craftsmanship may have some defects." ("On Balance--The Chapter on Self-Discipline") The practice of "being unable to see the forest for the trees" should be avoided. In the meantime, we should also avoid having our appreciation of a beautiful jade overshadowed by a single defect. If we allow virtues to be negated because of defects, real talent will be stifled. Chen Jingrun was not good at looking after himself or even at mixing socially with other people. However, he has an outstanding ability in the realm of abstract thought and has succeeded in picking the pearl on the crown of mathematics and scaling new heights. If we had not selected him because of his weak points, would that not have been tantamount to committing a crime? Bo Le said: When selecting a qualified person we should "concentrate on his virtues and forget his defects; we should attach importance to his internal spirit rather than to his outward appearance." We should bear these remarks in mind.

We, the selectors of talented personnel, should have a correct understanding of people's ability. We use cars to travel by land and ships to travel by sea. A cook uses a sharp knife instead of a wooden club to slice beef. When fishing we use a fishhook instead of a crane.... Different utensils have their own different functions. When utilizing a talented person we should give full play to his strong points. The utilization of utensils is the same as that of talented persons. Emperor Tai Zhong of the Tang dynasty was a man of insight. He had a good understanding of the delicate relations between the utilization of qualified personnel and utensils. He instructed his minister Feng Deyi to recommend capable and virtuous people. However, Feng Deyi was slow to react, saying, "It is not because I have not done my best but because talented personnel are hard to find now!" Emperor Tai Zhong said angrily: When our ancestors ruled their country, did they borrow talented personnel from other dynasties? He not only believed that talented personnel were readily available but also explicitly pointed out: "A gentleman uses qualified persons just as he deals with utensils. He is able to use them properly in accordance with their ability." What Emperor Tai Zhong said was completely correct. There is no such thing in this world as all-purpose apparatuses or all-round people. When selecting qualified personnel, some people only pay attention to geniuses and all-rounders. As a result, they often utter a sigh of grief, complaining that talented personnel are hard to find. In fact, it is their own fault, because nobody asks them to select perfect men. The socialist cause needs various kinds of talented people, just as a machine needs various kinds of components and spare parts to perform its various functions.

A high-quality machine should be equipped with excellent components and spare parts. Otherwise, it will not be able to work properly. This is not the case with talented persons. In other words, we should not impose the same standards and pattern on them. Some people may be generally more capable, while others may only be good at certain specialized tasks. If we judge the leadership ability of scientific and technical personnel by the standards of party committee secretaries or judge the vocational capability of a party committee secretary by the standards of scientific and technical personnel, it will be difficult for us to discover "qualified" personnel. Because people's time, energy and scope of practice are limited, they frequently have their "good qualities and weak points." To demand that all people be all-rounders is not in accordance with the ideas of materialist dialectics. The so-called "knowing one's subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities" means that when assigning a person to work we should take into account his good qualities and weak points. In other words, we should give full play to his good qualities and avoid his weak points. Some people have failed in this respect. They often gossip about people behind their backs, talking about their shortcomings in order to negate their good qualities and eventually negating the people altogether. How are they going to discover talented personnel like this?

During the reign of Emperor Wu Di of the Han dynasty more than 2,000 years ago, a person called Dong Fangshuo quoted in his "A Difficult Reply to My Guest" a famous saying: "When the water is extremely clean, no fish will be able to live there; if you always pick holes in people, nobody will be your disciple." In so doing he explained the theory that "we should only attach importance to people's integrity and forgive their minor defects and avoid being overcritical of them." From a different angle, he expressed the truth that "there is no such thing as pure gold or a perfect man." This shows that there is no absolutely pure thing in the world. If the water is too clean, containing no foreign substances or plankton, fish will not be able to live there. If we make excessive demands on people and always quibble about their mistakes and shortcomings, we will become divorced from the masses and become loners. This is also the case with the selection of talented personnel. If we persist in only seizing upon people's shortcomings and mistakes and one-sidedly seeking so-called "all-round" and "perfect" people, our efforts to select qualified personnel will never be successful.

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THREE MISCELLANEOUS PIECES ON MUSIC

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 80 pp 40-42

[Article by Li Ling [2621 0407]]

[Text] Some days ago the China Music Workers Association held a forum on songwriting and invited some performers to participate. Opinions were freely expressed and views preliminarily discussed.

On the issue of songwriting, people always observe, analyze, synthesize and judge from their own angles of contact and always more or less find their own views correct. Nevertheless, how things are must be determined by practice. Here I wish to discuss my superficial impressions after attending the forum.

I. Three Years of Bumper Harvest

Musical creation has undergone a long, tortuous course. During the cultural tyranny promoted by Jiang Qing's gang, the ideology of songwriting was disrupted, creative patterns and methods were destroyed and the songwriters were made the objects of dictatorship. For the few who were still creating, "you can't write what you wish to write; what she orders you to write, you must obey." They were "assigned work" like hired help.

After the collapse of the "gang of four," the songwriters rejoiced. Like other forms of art, songwriting prospered. Many paeans extolling the new victory and the musical scores of the Tiananmen poems expressed the aspirations of the people after the smashing of the "gang of four." Songs such as "Farewell to the Premier on the 10-Li-Long Street" embodied the people's fond memory of Comrade Zhou Enlai and aroused the sympathy of the masses throughout the country. Meanwhile, the forbidden area of depicting love was opened, and lyrics which were relatively popular with the masses were created. Satirical songs were expanded into the people's life. Humoresques such as "One, Three, Five, Seven, Eight" were relatively natural and unique. New attempts in vocal music were made, such as "Yin Lingzhi" by Wang Ming [3769 6802] in musical arias; "Offering the Red Heart in the 10,000-Li Long March" by Li Huanzhi [2621 3562 0037], "Spring Is Here" by Tian Feng [3944 0023] and "Sorrowful Recollections" by Situ Han [0674/1778 3352] in choral music; "Hainiang" by Zhang Rui [1728 3843] and "The Magnificent Wedding" by Lu Yuan [0712 6678] in musical drama.... In form and style they were rather creative and novel.

Many comrades among the songwriters made achievements. Shih Guangnan [2457 0342 0589] was relatively prolific. In the past 2 or 3 years he has written "A Song in Salute of Wine," "Deep Love in a White Feather," "Please Permit," "Premier Zhou, Where Are You?," "Offering the Most Beautiful Paean to the Party" and "Danggui Song," a total of several dozen songs. From content to style these new works have their special characteristics, and the sentiments are relatively noble, popular with the masses yet not trying to curry favor. His "Tulufan's Grapes Are Ripe" has good depth and makes people ponder. Like Shih Guangnan, Wang Ming in his creative work tries hard to free himself from the stereotypes, and his songs are radiant in tone and style. His new work, "Yin Lingzhi," has its source in folk music "Wanwan Qiang," yet with a unique style it departs from the so-called folk chorus.

There are disputes over Lu Yuan, who has continuously created new songs. Some people feel that "Our Tomorrow Will Be Sweeter Than Honey" lacks solemnity because of the excessive use of "luowai" [colloquial exclamation used in ending a sentence]. I feel that, as a song in a film, it expresses the feelings of a group of young people in the concrete plot. Like the film song "Langgelang" it has its special background. Prolific yet not indiscriminate, Lu Yuan is a songwriter who has the courage to adhere to his own creative judgment. Like an ox he plows on untiringly regardless of the difficulties and toils incessantly on the soil of musical art. From his "Kelamayi's Song," "The Bright Moon of 15 August," "The Future of the Motherland Will Be More Beautiful," "Team Leader Tang's Haircut" and "Where Does the Old Vendor Come From?" to the selected songs in his recent "Our Life Is Full of Sunshine" and "The Magnificent Wedding," they are charming, novel and lively. Though plain and simple, "Kelamayi's Song" and "Recalling 2 Years Ago" express a deep sentiment. As songs which are popular with the masses in general, they may not be as majestic as some people would like them to be, but they serve as a solid meal to satisfy the hunger of the broad masses.

Lu Yuan is full of confidence in the new life. Frankly and enthusiastically, he extols all beautiful new things. Though once deceived and duped by the careerists, he has never lost courage but always fights stubbornly. Brushing off the dust on himself, he searches in all directions. He sincerely learns the folk art of the various minorities, assimilates the people's artistic nutrients and seeks the way to bring new life to national music. Like a bee he diligently looks for pollen everywhere, from the frontier, the central plains, the north and the south, flying back and forth untiringly and absorbing the honey drop by drop. Always concerned about the preferences of the broad masses, he toils silently. Perhaps he is not as elegant as the lark singing in the sky, but his songs are like those of the cuckoo which urge the people to cultivate the land promptly.

One should say that the musical creations of the past 3 years constitute a bumper harvest, and there is nothing bad which one can see.

II. On the 15 Songs

There are different views on the 15 "popular broadcast songs" jointly selected by the SONGS editorial department and the radio broadcasting station. Some comrades like the method of selection by the broad masses. Others prefer the method of combining the opinions of the masses, the experts, and the leaders, rather than just accepting the vote of the masses. Still others have a negative attitude toward some of the 15 songs on the grounds of "undesirable tendency," etc.

In holding such relatively extensive mass activities it naturally is best to follow the "three-in-one combination" method. In the selection this time, some songs which are relatively high in ideological content, aspiration and artistry, such as "Thoughts Coming to My Mind" and "Tulufan's Grapes Are Ripe," failed to be included, which is regrettable. If the opinions of some experts and leaders had been obtained, the defects in this aspect might have been avoided.

Nevertheless, the 15 songs are basically good. Take "Velvet Flower," which some consider the most questionable, for instance: The words are: "There is a beautiful flower in the world. It is the bloom of youth, of hard bones and bursting forth, and dyed red with fresh blood. There is a heroic flower in the world. It is the splendor of youth. It carries the beloved to the high mountains and reflects the pink clouds from heaven to earth. Velvet flower! Velvet flower! Fragrance all along the road and covering the cliffs!" This is a very lyrical and poetic song. Its tone is not outstanding and intense, but it starts something new and sings about feelings deep in the heart. Fervor has its role, but the quiet revelation of "Velvet Flower" provides food for thought. I do not find in it any element of "yellow song." Permitting only one way in songwriting is incompatible with life, with its "myriad expressions of one kind of feeling." The broad masses understand the 15 songs, which reflect fairly well their desires and feelings and are relatively novel in style.

Naturally, the 15 songs have a few shortcomings and certain weaknesses in style. Such weaknesses require the careful consideration of the songwriters and the singers, and they must be remedied in future creations. As for the problem of style, I find it relatively more complex, and excessive rigidity is not desirable. The style of such folk songs as "Losing the Ring" and "Keeping Watch Over the Seedlings" is not particularly high. However, if they are popular with the masses, we should give our opinions on how to improve future creations or performances rather than negate them.

Next, the 15 songs have their special epochal background. Due to the influence of the cultural tyranny long exercised by Jiang Qing's gang, the masses lacked the capacity for musical discrimination, while we were very short of lyrical songs and creative experience. Thus, some people became interested in "popular songs." Many songwriters answered the appeal of the forum on songwriting in early 1979 and composed many new songs. Relatively strong in lyricism and superior in tone, these songs were popular with the masses, satisfying their need for lyrics and actually rendering a service by replacing and counteracting the effect of certain undesirable popular songs. Observed from this angle, the selection of the 15 songs has important significance.

III. Cultivating Seedlings and Hundred Schools of Thought Contending

In the past 3 years the songwriters, in creative themes, content, form and style, have made many explorations. An encouraging new atmosphere has emerged in symphonies, folk music, choral music, solo singing, solo performance, musical drama and dance drama. How to conduct meticulous and intensive studies and analyses and how to introduce and improve them is the function and obligation of musical criticism.

The function of musical criticism consists of two aspects. One is to criticize the undesirable tendencies, pointing out the inadequacies and performing the work of trimming the branches and catching the bugs. The other, which is more important, is to contact the reality of creation and performance with a sharp sense of touch, meticulously and carefully discover the new sprouts with the spirit and enthusiasm of prospectors and cultivate and foster them, and help the readers intensify their comprehension and appreciation of the relatively good works. In the past we stressed the first aspect and were too simplistic. During the Great Cultural Revolution the Jiang Qing gang was even more peremptory and arbitrary, insanely chopping things down. In the past 2 or 3 years there has been some improvement in critical work, but the remnant poison has not been purged.

Good and creative things are not absent in our creation and performance. However, the masses temporarily may not be familiar with some creations, and even the writers and performers at times are unaware of them. Thus, our theoretical workers must expand their vision to search for, discover, cultivate and foster them.

In the course of exploring and creating, writers and performers may encounter difficulties or even failure, and things which fall short of the ideal may appear. It is a situation which no creator can avoid. The critics and the writers and performers must share the bitter and the sweet, rejoicing together and worrying together. Destroying a new sprout is easy, but fostering its growth requires great effort. The work is similar to the painstaking effort of a children's nurse in bringing up a child. Our music critics must possess such quality.

Enlivening musical criticism requires the conscientious implementation of the "double hundred" policy, which is a good means to bring prosperity to musical creation and the performing arts. Both criticism and countercriticism must be permitted. Currently the "double hundred" policy is not completely followed in music. At times there is a laissez-faire attitude and a fear to criticize; at other times there is running around in circles and summary action. In the 1930's critical work in our literary and art ranks was very lively. Lu Xun [7627 6598] criticized the comrades in the revolutionary ranks as well as all kinds of people, while many people also criticized him, and the arguments were very lively. Precisely because of the normal launching of criticism, many issues became ever more clarified, and the theoretical workers learned and improved.

As experience has proved, failing to implement the "double hundred" policy, conducting one-sided and arbitrary criticism and forbidding equal expression of views will create evil consequences. In 1952, "Feihu Mountain," which reflected the friendship between the peoples of China and Korea, was criticized for its "revisionist technique"; in 1954, "Returning From an Ocean Trip" was criticized for its problems in higher principles and direction, and He Luting's [6320 4845 3060] suggestion to strengthen technical studies was criticized for its "simple technical viewpoint"; in 1956, "The Nine-Nine Bright Sunny Day" was negated for damaging the army's morale by singing about love, and subsequently the academic views of Wang Lisan [3076 4539 0005] and Qian Renkang [6929 0088 1660] were condemned; in 1964, Debussy and "revisionism in music" were criticized. Though the criticisms appeared to be very lively and just, everyone knows what the consequences were.

Emancipation of the mind must be continued. Though some of the remnant poison has been purged, the ghost of Jiang Qing's gang still emerges at times. Meanwhile, we also must not turn a blind eye to the existing defects and undesirable tendencies. We must deploy as much as possible the struggle between the two fronts, cultivating the good and criticizing the undesirable trends, and overlooking not even the symptoms.

6080
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NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRALIZATION AND MONOPOLY IN POSTWAR CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

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[Article by Teng Weizao [3326 4850 3416] and Xiong Xingmei [3574 1840 5019]]

[Text]

I

In his article entitled "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin pointed out that, with the development to a certain stage of the concentration of production and the concentration of capital in consequence of capitalism's free competition, capitalism will spontaneously move toward monopoly, and it is monopoly that is the most solid foundation for imperialism. Lenin's most profound scientific dissection of monopoly capitalism has always been our theoretical guide in understanding the true nature of the imperialist economy. Since 1916, when Lenin wrote that article, until the present time, and particularly during the period since the conclusion of World War II, the centralization of production and of capital in the principal capitalist countries has developed further; the rule of monopoly capitalism has been further strengthened, and a series of new phenomena and new characteristics meriting attention have also appeared at the same time. These require our application of the basic theories of Lenin about imperialism and analysis and study in a search for truth through facts.

First, the process of centralization of production and capital has developed in an extremely unbalanced way. On the one hand, the actual strength of monopoly capitalism has steadily increased, and the ruling position of large monopoly companies in the major industrial sectors and in the entire economy has increasingly strengthened. On the other hand, nonmonopolized elements in the economy continue to exist, and medium and small enterprises also are developing in many sectors.

Following World War II, the development of the centralization of production and the centralization of capital was clearly manifested in the constant expansion of the scope of monopoly companies and the constant increase in the sums involved. Property of large monopoly enterprises in the United States was usually figured in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The first large company with assets of $1 billion in the American manufacturing industry appeared in the early part of this century, but by 1960 the number had increased to 29 such companies. By 1977 they had increased to 194. Along with the further strengthening of the power of monopoly companies has come an unprecedented degree of control over every sector of the economy. In the case of the automobile industry, for example, General Motors Corporation and three other large companies accounted for 97 percent of the total output of American automobiles in 1977. Toyota and three other large automobile companies had an output that was 68 percent of the total Japanese automobile output. In Italy the Fiat Motorcar Company's output of automobiles amounted to 84 percent of the national total.

It must be realized that in the process of centralization of production and centralization of capital the development of each sector of the economy is extraordinarily unbalanced. Following the war, as a result of changes in objective conditions in the development of production forces and the effects of other socioeconomic factors, simultaneous with the constant tendency toward largeness of enterprises was a definite development of medium and small enterprises in the principal capitalist nations, from which came a coexistence of large, medium and small enterprises, mutually linked together, mutually reinforcing and making the most of their own individual characteristics to form a situation of an interdependent economic network. In the United States, for example, enterprises with less than 100 employees increased steadily during the 30 years after the end of the war. Their proportion of the total number of enterprises remained fixed at around 89 percent. In sewing, shoe manufacturing, textiles, foods, lumber processing, printing and other light industries, as well as in retail sales, service industries and construction industries, the proportion of such enterprises was larger. In Japan, 90 percent of enterprises are nonmonopolistic economic elements in which medium and small enterprises account for more than 70 percent of the employees and 50 percent of industrial goods. From this it can be seen that one cannot simply understand the present process of centralization of production as being one in which monopoly enterprises of ever-increasing size control ever-larger amounts of products in every economic field. Nor can one deny that within the modern capitalist economy conditions exist for the existence and development of certain medium and small enterprises. In particular, numerous industrial sectors increasingly develop toward the specialization of production, with each enterprise being responsible only for the production or technological processing of certain parts, and large enterprises and medium and small enterprises form a coordinated network in which the latter are brought into the system for further production. This is better suited to the organization of production than simply expanding the size of the enterprise, and it both saves investment and reduces costs.

Second, as a result of monopoly capital's combining and merging and the diversification of operations, the centralization of capital has taken on a new form--conglomerate companies, which have attained widespread development.

In the process of its development, capitalism has gone through a total of three high-water periods in the centralization of capital. During the first high-water mark in the centralization of capital at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, monopoly enterprises adopted horizontal mergers for the most part, i.e., the merger of numerous enterprises from within a single sector. Vertical mergers were the principal merging method during the high-water mark of the centralization of capital during the 1920's. Lenin termed them "combines," meaning that enterprises belonging to different industrial units were combined into a large enterprise, principally with a processing or manufacturing unit combining with units with which it had been affiliated for raw materials, transportation or sales. Following World War II, and particularly during the period from the mid-1950's to the late 1960's, monopoly capitalism set off the third high-water mark in mergers. This high-water mark not only far surpassed the scope of the previous two times but also was distinct in its form, namely, in that the proportions of horizontal mergers and vertical mergers strikingly declined, while conglomeration, by which is meant the merger of enterprises from different economic sectors with no organic relationship in professional functions, increased dramatically. Following this high-water mark in mergers, America's 200 largest companies each owned various kinds of enterprises from an average of 11 separate sectors. Numerous large monopoly companies instituted a diversification of operations to become conglomerate companies with multiple operations in industry, commerce, finance and service industries.

The widespread diversification of operations by large monopoly companies was an inevitable tendency in the development of centralization of production and the centralization of capital. When the accumulation and centralization of capital reached a very high degree in certain sectors until it formed oligopoly, leading to increasing difficulties in transforming excess value into capital, monopoly capital then wanted to surge into other sectors in order to assure high profits. Numerous monopoly companies thereupon penetrated other sectors (particularly developing industrial sectors or service industries) to establish new enterprises. With increasing frequency they used credit methods such as bank loans or bond issues to await their chance to swallow up existing enterprises in every sector. This state of affairs was particularly common throughout the United States during the 1960's. For example, Occidental Petroleum Company was only a small enterprise with a business volume of only $3,000 in 1954, but following several large mergers it has now become a conglomerate company owning petroleum, chemical and other manufacturing industries, financial industries and service industries. In 1979 its business volume amounted to $9.6 billion, and this year it jumped to 21st place in FORTUNE magazine's list of the 500 largest industrial companies.

Modern conglomerates differ from the traditional diversified business concerns. Though the various enterprises of the concerns were divided into numerous industrial units, there was also one main unit or a cluster of nuclear enterprises with a definite production or functional interrelationship. Conglomerates frequently have no principal unit or nuclear enterprise community; they are usually formed from the merger of diverse enterprises unrelated in their production or function to bring about a rapid increase in strength. During the late 1960's and early 1970's quite a few conglomerates had to undergo reorganization because of heavy debts incurred when business was not good or in order to engage in speculative activities, and conglomerates were at a low ebb for a time; nevertheless, despite intense competition, changes in technology with each passing day, and frequent crises throughout the Western world during the past several years, conglomerates have found it easy to raise and use capital, have the capability of making fairly full use of resources and the products of science and technology, do a rather good job of organizing cooperation and, particularly important, have the capability of using the operating characteristics of many units to spread risks and to strengthen competitive capabilities, so conglomerate companies today are still the most important channels for the accumulation and centralization of capital.

Third, the combination of bank monopoly capital and industrial and commercial monopoly capital deepens daily, and numerous new forms of combinations appear. The phenomenon of mutual infiltration of capital from monopoly financial groups formed by financial capital is fairly common.

As the strength of monopoly organizations in major capitalist countries steadily increased, an increasingly close linkage developed between bank monopoly capital and commercial monopoly capital, and a handful of financial oligarchs who controlled huge sums of financial capital controlled the economic life and political life of the country.

Following the war and after the high tide of bank mergers during the late 1950's and 1960, commercial banks, which are the nucleus of the huge American banking system, formed a gigantic monopoly banking organization. Using industrial and commercial monopoly enterprises' dependence on bank credit capital, and by seizing control over the stock power of large companies, they used the tactics of participation in formulations to bring under control, one after another, groups of monopoly enterprises. The main method for controlling stock was to use the huge amounts of trust funds and pension funds entrusted to the credit departments of commercial banks to buy up a certain amount of the company's stock, send in a trustee and take over control of that company. In 1967, data derived from a congressional investigation revealed that 49 of the largest banks in 10 large cities had 54 percent of the total amount of credit funds and they controlled more than 5 percent of the stock in 5,270 American companies (including 147 companies listed among the 500 largest companies in 1967). Because of the dispersal of the stock power of large companies, it was necessary to control only 5 percent or even less of the total amount of a company's stock to be able to control that company. More than 8,000 people in these 49 banks and more than 6,500 companies served as concurrent directors. Additionally, ever since the 1960's, American commercial banks had established numerous "single bank stockholding companies" and used them to buy shares in industrial and commercial companies. Monopoly banking organization could also circumvent legal restrictions on banks by using numerous pretexts, such as providing "automatic investment services" and "securities management services" to buy common stock on behalf of demand depositors, which means they had the stock giving them authority to elect directors, with the bank's actions in controlling industrial and commercial monopoly capital thus being legalized.

After the war, as banking capital and industrial capital linkage became increasingly close and varied, the power of the transbanking industry monopoly financial groups, which form the nucleus of the banks, also began to expand at an unprecedented rate. Each financial group both had its own individual sphere of control and continually developed toward diversity in its operation, using mutual infiltration to seize control within numerous enterprises. In 1974, of the 100 largest American industrial and mining companies, 35 were under the joint control of more than two financial bodies, which formed an intricate and mutually infiltrating control net.

Fourth, activities of monopoly capitalists have become increasingly internationalized with the rapid development of supranational enterprises.

After the war, while monopoly capital in every one of the Western capitalist countries was constantly increasing its power at home, it was also developing constantly in the direction of internationalization. In this process of development, transnational companies played an extremely important role.

Transnational companies are the products of the high-speed development of monopoly capitalism. They are the main instrument whereby the major capitalist countries export capital and carry out foreign expansion. Most of them are set up by monopoly capital in one country using the parent company's country as a base. Only a minority are run jointly by monopoly capital from two or more countries. In order to engage in international production and marketing, these large monopoly enterprises set up branch organizations in numerous countries or regions or control sibling companies in the country or region to form an international monopoly organization. Beginning in the late 1950's, transnational companies from all the major capitalist countries, and particularly from the United States, achieved unprecedentedly rapid development.

The area of distribution of transnational companies constantly expands. Aside from expanding their operations into countries of the developing Third World, the supranational companies of the principal capitalist countries have demonstrated an increasing tendency toward mutual infiltration. For example, the proportion of private American investment in the total amount of direct private investment abroad in 1950 was 47 percent; by 1976 it had climbed to 74 percent. Each of the 177 largest transnational companies in the principal capitalist countries established its own sibling company networks in more than 20 countries.

The gigantic transnational companies have a so-called "global strategy," i.e., they take account of the overall welfare of the large company in making overall arrangements for the management of production of sibling companies and their branches in each place, the allocation and transfer of funds, and research and development. For example, on the basis of foreign raw materials, the labor force and the market situation, they will institute a specialized division of labor for each sibling company to organize a production line that transcends national boundaries, decide production sites and markets, raise capital where interest rates are low and pay taxes where tax rates are low. In this way, as compared with nonsupranational enterprises, they are able to utilize advantageous operating conditions to maintain competitive dominance.

As a result of the aforesaid characteristics of their operations, transnational companies have been able, to an ever-increasing extent during the past several years, to control the output, the trade and the finances of the capitalist world. During the early 1970's more than 7,000 supranational companies already controlled one-fifth of the gross national product of the capitalist world. The output value of their "international production" through direct investment abroad was $330 billion, somewhat more than the total amount of exports from capitalist countries for the same period. Currently an overwhelming majority of the 10 largest companies controlling the 10 major industrial sectors of the capitalist world are supranational companies. Automobiles, petroleum, electronics, rubber tires, electronic computers--almost all these industries are monopolized by transnational companies. A large part of international trade is also controlled by supranational companies. The vast amounts of capital and the tremendous loan capacity possessed by the supranational companies is affecting the stability of international financial markets.

II

In the postwar process of centralization of production and the development of monopoly in the major capitalist countries, the emergence of the above-mentioned new phenomena and new characteristics had deep economic and social causes.

First of all, looked at in terms of the functioning of the inherent laws of monopoly capitalism, monopoly does not eliminate competition, but rather coexists with competition. After the war, among large monopoly companies and between monopoly enterprises and nonmonopoly enterprises, competition was extremely fierce. In addition to "the big fish eating the little fish," whereby large monopoly companies regularly swallowed up small companies, sometimes there were cases in which "the little fish ate the big fish," with small enterprises getting the upper hand over large enterprises. Thus, in one way, the fierce competition promoted the development of centralization of production and centralization of capital internal to each sector, a strengthening of the power of monopoly organizations and an increase in the degree of monopoly. In another way, the larger the size of monopoly enterprises, the greater the possibility of production capacity exceeding payment capacity requirements, thereby increasingly exacerbating problems in the market. Once the centralization of capital reached a certain point and profitable investment markets became increasingly narrow, monopoly companies frequently used annexation to transfer capital to other sectors, with the result that monopoly capital went in for widespread diversification, with large numbers of conglomerates appearing.

Under conditions in which monopoly and competition coexist, when the relatively narrow domestic markets approach saturation, the monopoly organizations must then contemplate the use of their own monopolistic competitive advantage and transfer capital abroad to seek a way out. The large accumulation and excessive centralization of monopoly capital in the postwar Western countries promoted the rapid development of the supranational companies. In some countries that were industrially advanced but where the territory was quite small, monopoly enterprises, limited by the capacity of the domestic market, vigorously infiltrated abroad. The amount of capital directly invested abroad by Switzerland approached that of West Germany to occupy the foremost position among the capitalist countries.

Secondly, the rapid postwar development of science and technology helped increase production efficiency and lower production costs. With their abundant capital resources, most of the large monopoly enterprises could put to use the products of the new science and technology in production or management, and this provided them with advantageous conditions for swallowing up medium and small enterprises.

Scientific and technical advances caused some new industrial sectors such as chemicals, electronic computers and atomic energy to keep springing up. In pursuit of high profits, monopoly capital, particularly monopoly capital in old industries that wanted to maintain their strength and avoid risks, hurriedly turned to the newly rising industries. In recent years a large American steel company has invested heavily in the chemical industry and in real estate, and a large petroleum company is trying to move into the electronic industry. America's largest department store company, Sears, Roebuck and Company, put to use electronic computer technology and is now expanding into financial enterprises and infiltrating the banking field. The sphere of monopoly capitalist rule has become larger and its operations more widely diversified.

The development of new industries in the major capitalist countries also promoted direct overseas investment and the rapid development of supranational enterprises. Supranational companies frequently start with the use of new articles and new technology to elbow aside domestic competitors, after which investment abroad occupies the constantly expanding overseas market. Additionally, the modern communications, transportation and telecommunications equipment developed after the war made possible the worldwide internal integration of supranational companies to form a centralized organizational system and a flexible management system.

Further, the development of state monopoly capitalism in each of the principal capitalist countries played a major role in buttressing the power of monopoly capitalism domestically and in promoting its expansion abroad.*

After the war, state monopoly capitalism used all sorts of methods to create extremely favorable conditions for the development of private monopoly organizations. One example was state institution of directly capitalized industrial and mining enterprises which were "state owned" or "joint publicly and privately owned," when in fact most were leased without compensation to private monopoly organizations for operation. The state used budgeted funds for investment in road construction, railroads, harbors and such capital facilities. This not only provided certain needed material conditions for the development of monopolistic private enterprises, but at the same time also enlarged the market for the goods of monopolistic private enterprises. The state continually expanded procurement, particularly procurement of military equipment, thereby guaranteeing for private monopoly enterprises stable markets and high profits. Additionally, the state provided financial aid to monopoly organizations in the form of research funds, transferring possession of the results of the research to monopolistic enterprises, and accelerated depreciation of equipment, in a series of measures to promote the development of new industries. These measures did, in fact, also open new investment markets for monopoly enterprises in the older industries and enhanced their strength.

The state's increased intervention in the economy played a prominent role in giving impetus to the rapid development of the supranational companies. For example, not only did the aforementioned various support measures apply equally to the supranational companies, but the state also granted reduction or exemption of taxes on the overseas profits of supranational companies. The state gave support in the form of credits to meet the needs for capital of the supranational companies, and it made material guarantees to the supranational companies about the safety of their overseas investments. Additionally, the home government signed various agreements with the governments of countries in which the supranational companies were located, and all kinds of international organizations were established to create favorable conditions for the expansion of supranational companies, etc.

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*National monopoly capitalism is the most important characteristic in the development of postwar monopoly capitalism. Inasmuch as this "forum" already has a special article on this topic, the present article will discourse only slightly on it as an element in the strengthening of private monopolies.

III

Lenin said, "Even though monopolies have already taken shape and control several hundred millions in capital, they positively cannot refrain from penetrating every aspect of social life without regard for political systems or any other 'minute details.'" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 779) A look at the postwar major capitalist nations shows that the centralization of production and the new development of monopoly, whether in Western Europe, North America or some other area, naturally produced a tremendous effect on every aspect of modern capitalist socioeconomics.

Because of the continuous growth for several decades of the power of monopoly capitalism, the extent of monopoly constantly increased, and, consequently, its control over the national economies was constantly strengthened. During the 1970's the 200 largest manufacturing companies controlled about three-fifths of the total capital of America's manufacturing industries, and 10 of the largest financial institutions owned 30 percent of the capital of all of America's companies. A Rockefeller financial institution controlled almost 100 large American monopoly companies, including commercial banks, investment companies, insurance companies and huge companies involved in petroleum, munitions, electronics, chemicals, metallurgy, automobiles, machine building, foodstuffs, textiles, pharmaceuticals, broadcasting and publishing, as well as the operation of railroads, aviation, commerce, real estate and public utilities. In addition, it also established all sorts of fund organizations, operated art centers, established scientific research organizations, published periodicals and books and set up schools and hospitals. One huge supranational company, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, owns more than 200 companies with a scope of operations that extends into all trades and industries and employs 400,000 people. An economist described its farflung business operations as follows: "An ordinary citizen could buy a house to live in from the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, live in its 'planned cooperative,' arrange for insurance on the property in its insurance department, travel around in a car it had rented out and put up in its hotels, buy bread and pastries from another one of its units, buy cigarettes and coffee from its food and beverage department and get a loan from its finance company. And if it were not in violation of the antitrust laws, he could watch television on the television network it owns." (John (Bulaier): "Economic Centralization: Organizations, Actions and Joint Policies," p 9, 1972) This is a classic picture of how monopoly capital went from certain monopoly industrial sectors during the postwar era to penetrate every corner of economic life and institute complete control.

The strengthening of monopoly control and the intensification of competition made the development of the capitalist economy even more unbalanced and unstable. Thousands and thousands of companies, large and small, were caught up in the foaming waves of reorganization and merger, some of them entering the ranks of the large monopoly companies in a single bound, while others were finally swallowed up or went out of business. In the 25 years between 1955 and 1979, 932 companies appeared on the list of the 500 largest companies in America that FORTUNE magazine publishes once each year. Among the 500 that appeared on the first list in 1955, only slightly more than one-half (262 companies) were still on the list in 1979. The unbalanced development of every sector of the American economy was particularly notable. Development of basic industries and of industries with low earnings, such as textiles and railroads, became increasingly sluggish, but the pace of growth of new industries such as military industries, electronics, chemicals, and space navigation was quite rapid. Thus it was that the equipment of the basic industrial sector became obsolete and investment dried up, while there was frequently idle production capacity or a surfeit of investment in the new sector.

The development of state monopoly capital and the intimate linkage of monopoly capital and national governments, plus the expansion in disbursements of public funds and bank credits in the so-called federal regulation of the economy, played a definite role for a period of time in giving impetus to social production and in ameliorating and staving off economic crisis. However, with the passage of time the dosage of currency that every country poured into the economy through public finance and financial channels became increasingly large, while its impetus and stimulation of the economy gradually weakened. As a result, during the 1970's there was a general slowing of economic growth among all the Western countries, and prices kept going up in what was known as "stagflation." But the policies of retrenchment that these countries adopted to achieve the goal of curbing inflation not only were unable to solve the problem, but rather further promoted the development of "stagflation."

The centralization of capital and the development of monopolies also exposed the rottenness of capitalism and demonstrated the increasing separation between the ownership of functioning capital and its management. The development in recent years of monopoly companies on such a scale meant that the stockholders of a conglomerate frequently numbered 100,000. Inasmuch as power over all major issues in the operation of companies reposed in the hands of an extremely small number of directors and managers, stockholder meetings and even board meetings were a sham. This state of affairs provided a loophole for finance capital's stock control activities and for deception on the part of the companies' managers, opening wide a very convenient door for actions to dupe and control the masses of stockholders.

The postwar further development of the centralization of production and capital in the principal capitalist countries and the further strengthening of control by monopoly capital in no way changed the basic nature of capitalist production relationships, that is to say, the antagonism between capital and hired labor. All the new circumstances and new characteristics that had appeared also meant only the strengthening of an extremely small number of monopoly capitalists or financial oligarchs in their exploitation and looting of the workers in their own countries and abroad. The contradictions between monopoly capital and the proletariat and broad masses of working people, the contradictions between individual monopoly capital blocs, and the contradictions between developed capitalist nations and developing nations inevitably will become even sharper as basic contradictions between the social orientation of production and private capitalism, which are inherent in the capitalist system, intensify.

9432
CSO: 4004

METHOD OF LEADERSHIP MUST BE PRACTICAL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 80 inside back cover

[Article by Mei Dongkui [2734 0392 7608]]

[Text] The leadership method of generalization and uniformity in agricultural production today remains fairly widespread and serious.

The leadership method of generalization is prominently manifested in formalism, in disregard of the practical effect. The directives of the superior level are copied and transmitted verbatim, from principle to principle. Those at the lower level are pressed to plant at planting time, to manage after planting and to harvest upon maturity. The importance of proper planting, managing and harvesting is discussed in a general way by means of telephonic meetings, broadcast meetings, on-site meetings, urgent notices and telegrams. The speeches, documents and telegrams are all stereotyped and can be used next year as well as this year. Instead of starting from the practical conditions, formalism is followed and the old framework jealously guarded. The computation of compensation linked with output, for instance, is recognized for the group but not for the individual, and there is no concrete analysis. As regards the bonus for excess output, 30 percent is permitted, but not 50 or 60 percent, without regard to the amount of the fixed quota. Any mention of contract work or contract output is considered a policy violation, without regard to the practical content. Any readjustment of the scale of a production team, regardless of the reason, is considered as disrupting the system of three-level ownership and the team as the foundation and is denied. The new conditions and new problems in agricultural production are not investigated, studied and solved. In some areas many people gather together to inspect, assess and compare. Riding around in automobiles, they cover several hundred kilometers a day, "flower viewing in a car," in name only, without solving any practical problem.

The method of uniformity is manifested in following one mold and one requirement, regardless of the time, place or conditions, acting by means of administrative orders. In disregard of the great differences in objective conditions, some counties and communes made uniform provisions for the planting areas for various crops, the time for seeding, the standard of fertilizing and the method of seedling care. Some counties, communes and production brigades even take unified actions, arbitrarily disrupting the normal production arrangements, such as issuing orders to plant trees on certain days and to repair roads on certain other days. Those at the lower level have no self-governing power at all and cannot control their own fate.

Deeply rooted in some areas, the leadership method of generalization and uniformity in agricultural production has become a force of habit. It violates the policy of developing agricultural production by starting from reality and adjusting to the locale and restricts the productive enthusiasm and creative spirit of the broad basic-level cadres and peasant masses, thereby blocking our effort to reinforce the leadership and make it compatible with objective reality.

The reasons for the leadership method of generalization and uniformity are many-sided, including incorrect ideological lines and one-sidedness in understanding, lack of business knowledge in operation and management and an irresponsible work attitude. The main problem today is the bureaucratic work attitude and work style. Failing to make intensive practical investigations and studies or to study the new experiences created by the masses, some of our leading comrades in agricultural production satisfy themselves with copying and forwarding verbatim, sitting in the office to issue orders, following formalism and acting according to set patterns.

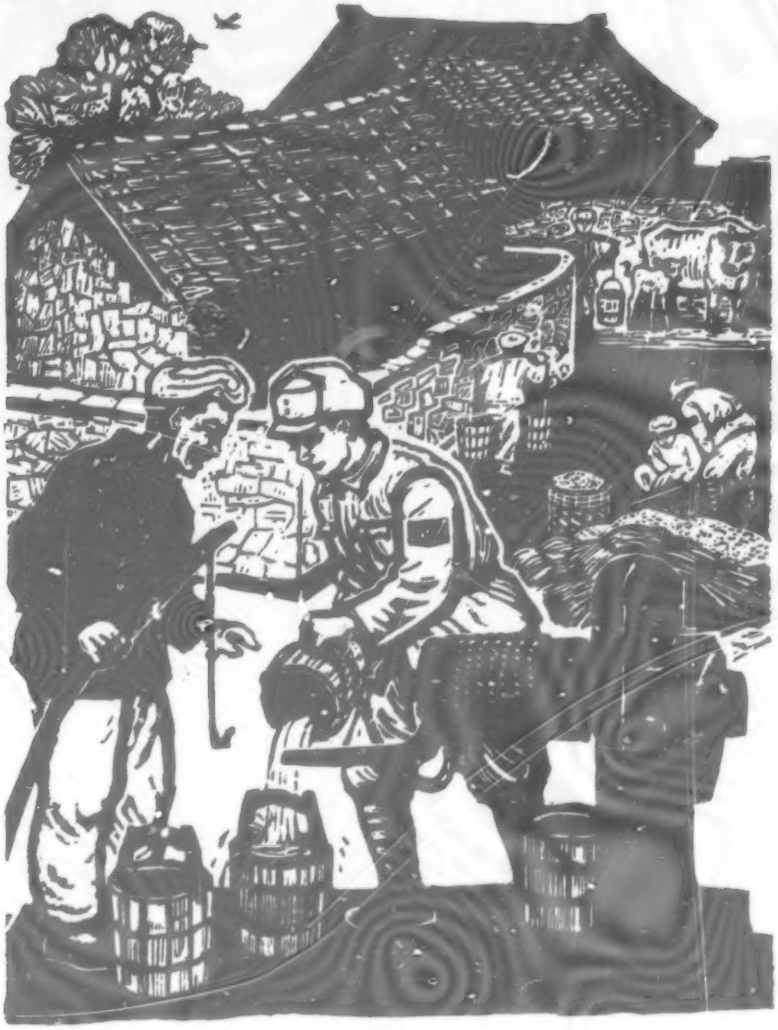
The effective way to solve the problem of generalization and uniformity in leadership is to penetrate reality, investigate and study, carefully summarize the advanced experiences of the masses, uncover the new models, study the special characteristics and good points of one's particular area, promptly clarify the new conditions and unearth and solve the new problems. Only thus will agricultural production have a leadership compatible with reality. According to recent newspaper reports, many leading cadres have penetrated the frontline of agricultural production to investigate and study and to unearth and promptly solve the important problems involving policies. This is an excellent trend and should be vigorously encouraged.

6080
CSO: 4004

THEY TAKE WATER FROM THE SAME WELL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Gu Yuan [0657 0337]]



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5 December 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 17, 1 September 1980

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5 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 17, 1 September 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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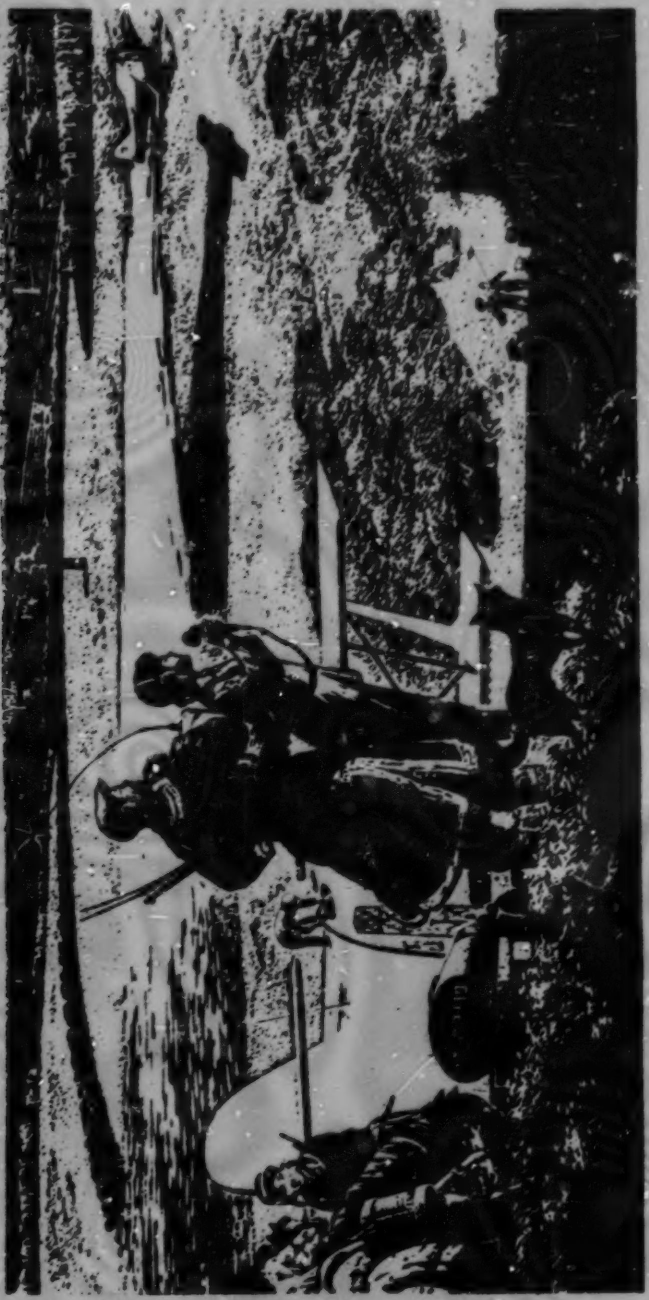
THE PARTY BRINGS GOLDEN WINGS TO THE PEOPLE OF EWENKI NATIONALITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Chang Yuchang [1603 3768 2490]]



CSO: 4004

THE LEADERSHIP SYSTEM MUST BE REFORMED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 pp 2-4

[Commentator's article]

[Text] After the shift in the work focus of the party, to give full play to socialist democracy and step up the tempo of the four modernizations, the reform of the leadership system of the party and state has become an extremely pressing problem. The decision of the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee to set up a Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee was the first step taken in this direction. The Third Session of the Fifth NPC now being held will carry out a reshuffle of the leading functionaries of the state, and this will also be another important step. Reform in this direction must still continue. Through reform, a perfect leadership system will be established and strengthened, and this is an important event in the political life of our party and state.

The leadership system of our party and state has been established and developed in practice over scores of years of revolutionary struggle. There are successful experiences as well as profound lessons. Our country is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and is organized on the principle of democratic centralism. On the whole, the political system of our country is suited to the socialist economic base. However, the concrete leadership system has some very unsuitable conditions. Following the development of revolution and construction, some conditions which were suitable in the past have become unsuitable in the new situation. In the past we did not pay enough attention to this, and problems which must be solved remained unsolved for a long time. This caused serious results. Facts have proved that there are many defects in the existing leadership system. The most outstanding of these are bureaucratism, excessive concentration of power, patriarchy, the system of lifelong leadership positions for cadres and all manners and forms of privileges. The masses of cadres and people are very anxious and worried about this. If these conditions are not changed, it will be impossible for modernization to be effectively carried forward.

The leadership system is a very important problem. Whether or not there is a good leadership system has a direct bearing on the success and failure of the four modernizations. Whether or not leadership organs can provide correct leadership based on the line, policies and principles of the party, work for the good of the people and contribute to the four modernizations is of course inseparable from the theoretical training, ideology, moral character and work style of the leading members. At the same time, it is also determined by the kind of leadership system practiced. By comparison, the problem of system is even more important and has a more fundamental and overall nature. A good system will enable the leading members to give full play to their wisdom and ability and can keep bad people from running amuck. If the system is bad, even good leaders cannot avoid making mistakes, and this will give bad people the opportunity they seek. To be sure, the reason for the serious harm caused by the 10 years of upheaval is very complicated. However, we can categorically say that it was closely related to defects in our leadership system. We must never forget this lesson. We do not subscribe to the view that the system is omnipotent, but we also definitely cannot underestimate the importance of the system. If we do not carry out reform of the existing leadership system, it will be very difficult to avoid repeating the same historical tragedy and to thoroughly implement the line, policies and principles of the party. Then there will be no hope for our four modernizations.

To reform the leadership system of the party and state means that we must guarantee democratization in the system. The four modernizations cannot succeed without political democratization. In the past, although much has been said about inner-party democracy, people's democracy, collective leadership and democratic centralism, because we did not set up a strict and perfect system or genuinely practice collective leadership and democratic centralism, there was no practical safeguard for the democratic rights of the party members and masses. This explains why political democratization must have a democratic system. In the existing leadership system, the phenomenon of an excessive concentration of power is quite universal. Under the slogan of unified leadership and centralized leadership, power is inappropriately vested in the party committee and particularly in the first secretary. If the first secretary does not give his approval, nothing can be done. The excessive concentration of power can easily develop into patriarchy. Patriarchy in leadership work seriously interferes with the realization of political democratization. We must resolutely reform this type of irrational leadership system. We must separate the party from the government, abolish the phenomenon of the party replacing the government and set up a relatively independent system of government work. We must put into practice the system of combining collective leadership with a division of labor and individual responsibility and strictly implement the stipulation that the vote of the first secretary carries the same weight as the votes of other people. We must establish and strengthen the system of inner-party democracy and people's democracy and guarantee the rights of the party members and masses to elect, criticize, supervise and recall leadership cadres. Only then can there be democratization in political life, economic management and social life.

The reform of the leadership system of the party and state has an important bearing on improving relations between the cadres and the masses and maintaining close ties between the party and the masses. The defects in the existing system of our party and state have caused many cadres to become seriously divorced from the masses. In particular, the bureaucratic work style and the phenomenon of cadres having special privileges that universally exist have diminished the prestige of the party and led to dissatisfaction among the masses. To treat this stubborn disease of bureaucratism and of cadres having special privileges, we must not only have a confrontation of ideas but also the guarantee of a system. Experience has proved that ideological education without the control of a system will prove ineffective. We must set up strict administrative laws, a system of responsibility and the necessary reward and punishment system, draw up rules regarding the power and function as well as working conditions of cadres at various levels and perfect a system of impartial inspection and supervision by specialized departments and mass supervision. Only thus can we effectively overcome bureaucratism and restore and enhance the prestige of the party, so that the masses will enthusiastically support the line, policies and principles of the party and work wholeheartedly for the four modernizations.

The basic aim of reforming the leadership system is to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and speed up the development of socialist modernization. Our socialist system is infinitely superior to the capitalist system, but this superiority has not been fully brought into play. What is the reason for this? To a certain extent this has a great deal to do with some of our work systems and with our leadership system in particular. For example, the system of lifelong leadership position for cadres actually exists, and this has caused senility to appear from top to bottom in leading bodies at various levels. People in the prime of life and with real ability and learning are unable to get in. This has seriously hindered the rejuvenation and specialization of the leading bodies. In addition, there are too many cadres holding concurrent posts, and this has diverted the energy of some leading cadres and given rise to bureaucratism. This not only affects work efficiency but also is detrimental to the promotion and training of middle-aged and young cadres. The problems existing in the leadership system are not only detrimental to giving full play to the functions and power of government organs, but are also detrimental to strengthening party leadership and often give rise to the phenomenon of a great deal of affairs with nobody to look after them. All these are hindering the development of the productive forces. The superiority of the socialist system cannot spontaneously and naturally develop by itself; it must be brought about through our efforts. If the defects in the leadership system are not reformed, it will be difficult to give play to the superiority of the socialist system. Reform is the only way. Through reform we must get rid of what is harmful and promote what is beneficial and make the leadership system scientific, so that it will cater to the needs of modernization. This means that politically it must contribute to encouraging the airing of views and promoting political democratization. Organizationally it must contribute to opening avenues for people of talent and promoting the rejuvenation and specialization of leading bodies. Economically it must contribute to developing the productive forces in society and promoting socialist modernization. The reform of the existing leadership system is definitely not an easy task, and it will invariably encounter all kinds of resistance. This resistance includes not only the influence of bourgeois ideology but also the traditional forces of habit, and what is more, the very deep-rooted influence of feudal ideas. Since embarking on the period of socialist revolution and construction, we have paid attention to criticism of bourgeois ideology but have not placed the elimination of the vestiges of feudal influence on our agenda. The defects in our existing leadership system are to a greater or lesser extent colored by feudalism. Some defects such as patriarchy are essentially signs of feudalism. If we do not wage a struggle against feudalist ideas, it will be impossible to reform the leadership system. The process of reforming the leadership system must be one of hitting out at, criticizing and eliminating the influence of feudalist ideas. Therefore, we must continue to emancipate our minds and resolutely carry this work through to the end with great courage and determination.

The reform of the leadership system of the party and state is of great significance to the history of the development of our party and state. Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with regard to the party and state and the lessons of experience at home and abroad and in the leadership system of the party and state, we will discover a road that suits conditions in China. There are many things that must be reformed at present; as to how to carry them out, there still are many problems for us to explore in practice. However, reform we must, and this is certain. We must adopt a positive attitude and take steady steps in this work. Comrades of the whole party and senior cadres holding leadership positions must try their utmost to regard making a success of the leadership system of the party and state their own responsibility.

CSO: 4004

POWER MUST NOT BE OVERCONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF INDIVIDUALS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 pp 5-8

[Contributing commentator's article]

[Text] The "Great Cultural Revolution" has taught our party and people numerous lessons. One of the most profound was the serious results brought about by the overconcentration of party power in the hands of individuals.

The concentration of power in the hands of individuals runs counter to the principle of democratic centralism. This question is not difficult to explain theoretically. However, in actual political life many people have wittingly or unwittingly overconcentrated power in the hands of individuals and practiced patriarchal rule in the name of safeguarding the system of democratic centralism. Our party was plunged into such a situation for a considerable length of time.

The overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals in our party during that period of time had the following manifestations:

1. The power of making the final decision in the party was given to individuals. During the time of the revolutionary war, due to emergency and extraordinary conditions, it was sometimes necessary to give the power of final decision to individuals. However, the giving and using of individual power to make a final decision in the party and under the system of collective leadership in the party--particularly during the period of peaceful construction after the founding of the PRC--is obviously improper.

2. Individuals presumptuously overrode the decisions of the party and the collective. How to look at these decisions of the party and the collective is a question involving the relationship between the individual and the organization. Within the party, everyone, including the first secretary himself, is entitled to only one vote. If an individual has an opinion which differs from the decision of the party and the collective, he can have his reservations or voice his opinion in the organization. Even if corrections need to be made, they must be done through organizational channels. The individual should not presumptuously override the decision of the party and the collective. However, decisions of the collective and resolutions of the party have been invalidated in the past only because the No 1 man had a different view or said something else.

3. One individual held too many concurrent positions. In many localities, leading positions and important responsibilities were concentrated in the hands of one person. Under the slogan of unified leadership, power was indiscriminately concentrated in the hands of a few secretaries of the party committee, particularly the first secretary. Thus, the following abnormal situation was created within the party with the acquiescence of the members: Individuals equated themselves with the party or were even above the party; people could only praise but not criticize the leaders of the party, and individual opinions were allowed to be imposed on the organization in the name of the organization, and others were asked to obey them. When differences of opinion or debates occurred, comradely discussion was not allowed; instead, people could only agree or side with one party. This resulted in the legitimatizing of the system of "only one person has the say" in the party, as well as in patriarchal rule.

Any individual's power in the party is delegated by the party and must be used for the party's interests. For any individual, this power is limited, not limitless. When power is overconcentrated in the hands of an individual, under certain conditions it can even result in an inevitable "alienation" of power. Then the party's power becomes individual power, or power that should be exercised for the interests of the party becomes power that opposes the party's will and interests or is even used to control the party. Those who hold great power can get rid of the restrictions of organizations, can be above the party and can demand that the organization obey them and not the other way around. They want others to obey them and do not follow the principle that the minority should obey the majority. This lays the groundwork for antidemocratic individual dictatorship.

When power is overconcentrated in the hands of the individual for a long time and the phenomenon of "alienation" results, the following problems will certainly appear: First, democratic life inside the party will be undermined. Those holding great power can disregard restrictions and use power to enforce their own proposals and suggestions. Other people cannot or dare not voice dissenting opinions. Those holding great power usually can only hear praise. They cannot readily see their own weak points, shortcomings and errors, and therefore they rarely conduct self-criticism. In political life, if people cannot say what they want to say and conduct criticism and self-criticism, then democracy is only nominal. Second, the system of lifetime tenure for cadres in positions of leadership which exists in practice is consolidated and developed. When individuals monopolize great power, they are bound to keep power in their hands perpetually. Historically, people who have practiced the system of lifetime tenure in the international communist movement were able to do so not only because they had made tremendous contributions and enjoyed great respect and trust inside and outside the party, but also because they also held great power.

With their great power they were in the position to struggle for the protection of their personal power, authority and position. They could even disregard the prevailing institutions, party constitution and state constitution. Third, factionalism is encouraged, while the unity of the party is undermined. In our party there is indeed a group of persons who like to lavish praise on some people and attack others. These people do not live by truth. In interpersonal relations they do not care for comradely relationships and have no principles, but are only interested in building relationships of political patronage. Those holding too much power can easily be overwhelmed by their own power. Those who submit to their power prosper, while those who resist perish. They build up their cliques and factions and want a group of people to lavish praise on them, "blow their horns" and "carry their sedan chairs." On the other hand, there are some people who are willing to disregard principles and be appendages of others in consideration of their own selfish interests. When power in the party is overconcentrated in the hands of individuals, these opportunists and careerists are given ample opportunities. Once they are able to grasp a "strong backer" they lavish unprincipled praise on him, use him to gain selfish benefits and achieve their ambitions, making honest and upright people who dare to uphold principles suffer discrimination and ostracism. Fourth, the deification of individual persons is bound to happen. The contributions of the party and the people are all credited to the individual. The image of the leader is more illustrious than that of the party. The people's servants who ought to live among the people and serve the masses become bosses and masters who control the people. They even unwittingly transform them into "gods." Once the leader is deified, the lively and vigorous political atmosphere, the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership are necessarily buried. Then, idolatry, fanaticism and irrational acts become widespread.

In the history of our party there have been many tragedies resulting from the overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals and the practice of "only one person has the say." During the infancy of the party there was the patriarchal rule of Chen Duxiu. He concentrated all powers in his own hands, regarded the party as a clan under his personal rule and thought that only he, the "patriarch," had the right to speak while denying this right to others. Whenever he did not like someone, he reprimanded him and gave that person a scathing scolding. During the latter part of the second revolutionary civil war, the Wang Ming opportunist line was on the rise. "Ruthless struggle and merciless blows" was practiced in the party. Dissenting opinions were all suppressed, the atmosphere of democracy was stifled and democratic life was strangled. Zhang Guotao also practiced patriarchal rule. After the Zunyi Conference, particularly after the Yanan rectification campaign, until the eighth party congress there was no overconcentration of power. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, intraparty democratic life was fairly normal. However, with the great victory of the revolution and construction, the prestige of the party's leader was greatly enhanced. On the other hand, the socialist democratic system has had imperfections for a long time. Thus, the phenomenon of overconcentration of power gradually developed. This phenomenon became more and more marked during the time of the campaign "against premature advance" and after the antirightist campaign. Throughout that period we repeatedly stressed socialist democracy and the system of democratic centralism. However, as we can see, theory and practice are two different things. On this question we have suffered a great deal and paid a high price. But there are still some people who act like Confucius and "feel anxious if there is no emperor for 3 days." Is this not strange? From this we can see that this problem is indeed difficult to solve.

The existence of the phenomenon of overconcentration of power in the party, aside from being traced to individual personalities, also has deep-rooted social, historical and ideological causes.

Our society went through a long period of feudalism and emerged directly from the womb of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Therefore, feudal ideology is still rampant and has penetrated every corner of society. Some ideas have even become part of the people's habits. Ideas like the concept of social status, differences in rank and patriarchal behavior, and residue, fragments and tinges of feudalism are common in social life. The influence of feudalism is deep rooted. As Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article "The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains": "The evil feudal practice of arbitrary dictation is very deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even of the ordinary party member." At the same time, the mentality and behavior of small producers, particularly peasant small producers, surround us like a vast ocean. The characteristic feature of the small producer mentality is: They cannot control their own fate and always want to entrust their fate to the hands of a certain "savior." This presents a vast social foundation for the overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals in our society. At present some people have shifted from a belief in idols to the repudiation of all authority, which results in the rise of anarchism. Outwardly, anarchism does away with authority, but in reality it is the worship of another type of authority. It is the perverted manifestation of worshiping authority. If believers in anarchism do not change their petty bourgeois ideological nature, then under certain conditions, if a new idol which they acknowledge appears, they will still be supporters of an overconcentration of power. We can certainly say that, if the pernicious influence of feudal ideology is not eliminated and the small producer mentality is not completely reformed, the possibility of an "alienation" of power will always exist in our society.

Second, there are factors to be found in people's conceptualization. The party is composed of its leadership, that is, the Central Committee, various party organizations and the mass of party members. The line, principles and policies of the party are formulated by a group of leaders and cadres in the central leadership after pooling the wisdom of the masses. All work in the party is implemented and accomplished by the masses of party members and the masses through the organizational efforts of the leaders of the party. People know about the party through these concrete activities and work procedures and through the activities of party members, cadres and leaders. Therefore, they naturally associate the victory of the revolution and the achievements in party work with the leaders of the party. They easily credit the contributions to individuals. Quite a few people, including some leaders holding very high positions, do not understand this question. They often value themselves too highly and underestimate the strength of the party and the collective. This one-sidedness and superficiality of their understanding is an important factor contributing to the overconcentration of power in the party in the hands of a few persons and the improper use of power by certain people.

Third, the overconcentration of power in the hands of the individual in the party is related to the tradition of a high degree of centralization of power in communist parties during the period of the Communist International. During the period of the Communist International, due to the revolutionary situation at that time and the actual requirements of the struggle, there was a need for the concentration of power in the hands of certain individuals in various communist parties. However, after the situation changed, particularly after the communist parties became ruling parties, corresponding changes did not occur in the system of leadership where there was an overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals. In the theoretical realm, this tradition of a concentration of power in the hands of individuals changes into undue emphasis on centralism in the principle of democratic centralism. In the history of our party, we can see that we have had struggles which overemphasized opposition to decentralism and independence, but we never had any period in which decentralization and self-determination were overemphasized, nor any struggle against an overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals. This history of an overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals gives people the erroneous idea that an overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals in communist parties is a matter of course. If we do not consciously try to limit this system of overconcentrating power in the party, which has resulted from historical factors, and instead turn an exigency measure into a normal course, or even institutionalize this system, then the results will certainly be serious and dreadful to contemplate.

Our goal in our political life is to achieve a political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness--a political situation of unity and vitality--to insure the smooth advance of the building of socialist modernization. Therefore, we must continue to perfect and improve the system of democratic centralism and socialist democracy. All factors and actions which are harmful to the formation of a situation of vitality and obstruct the implementation of the system of democratic centralism, including factors and actions that will reinforce a concentration of power in the hands of the individual, should arouse our full attention and push us to take concrete action to gradually correct and overcome them in a planned manner.

Naturally, when we oppose the system of a concentration of power in the hands of the individual, we do not negate the necessity of centralization, the strength of authority and the role of the individual. Marxists believe that, as the party organizes the broad masses of people to fulfill the historic mission of the proletariat, the authority of the individual is also indispensable. Engels said: "Whoever mentions combined action speaks of organization. Now, is it possible to have organization without authority?" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 551) It is an erroneous theory to regard all personal authority to be absolutely evil. The important thing is that this personal authority does not mean that only one person has authority, or concentrating all the powers of the party in the hands of one person. In the process of leading the Chinese people to conduct struggle, our party has cultivated a group of leaders who are closely integrated with the masses, are well supported by the masses and enjoy high prestige. These leaders have intellectual, organizational and professional ability and rich revolutionary experience. They became leaders because they enjoy public confidence. They are not self-appointed, nor are they artificially groomed by certain forces. They emerged naturally in the course of struggle and are selected by the broad masses of people. If the revolution did not have a group of leaders trusted and respected by the masses, it would not have been possible to gain the victory that we are enjoying today. Therefore the party of the proletariat still needs its own outstanding leaders who enjoy high prestige. But such a leader is not only one individual, nor does it mean personal dictatorship, but it is a collective leadership.

We must also point out that in opposing the overconcentration of power in the hands of the individual in the party and emphasizing collective leadership we do not totally negate the division of labor and system of responsibility in the party. Lenin said: "At all times and under all conditions, there must be explicit stipulations on the specific responsibility of each person in certain matters under collective leadership." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 398) Lenin stressed that a comrade who is known for being firm and courageous, is good at dealing with practical questions and enjoys the utmost public confidence should be appointed to a position in which he handles practical affairs. Each party member and leading cadre should exercise his legitimate power within the limits of his duties to do his work well. Failing to exercise one's legitimate power for fear of criticism from other people, not saying what ought to be said and not doing what ought to be done amount to negligence in performing one's duty. That is not permissible in the party.

However, the party's need for its own outstanding leaders who enjoy high prestige and the fact that leaders are urged to exercise their legitimate power within the limits of their duties, and the overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals are two different hings. The former is an indispensable part of implementing the system of democratic centralism, while the latter is antidemocratic centralism and undermines democratic centralism. The cause of the proletariat is the cause of millions upon millions of people. The leader of this cause is the vanguard of the proletariat and the party and not individuals. In the context of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, no matter how talented, capable and experienced an individual is, his abilities will still be insufficient. It is impossible for him to be able to do everything well. Furthermore, every person has his own limitations, his inherent weak points and shortcomings. That is why human beings are human beings and not God. To insist on the overconcentration of power in the hands of individuals and giving the power of final decision in the party to individuals is tantamount to negating the most basic principle of Marxist historical materialism.

CSO: 4004

EFFECTIVELY SAFEGUARD THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 pp 9-11, 4

[Article by Lu Cheng [0712 3397] and Zhu Gu [2612 0942]]

[Text] After the experience acquired from experimental elections in selected counties, direct county-level elections and the building of local political power [di fang jian zheng 0966 2455 1696 2398] is continuing by stages and in groups throughout the country. This is of tremendous significance, because it systematizes China's socialist democracy, guarantees it by law and safeguards the democratic rights of the people as masters of the state.

Socialist democracy, or people's democracy, means that the people of the whole country enjoy the supreme right to manage the state's affairs. In addition, it means that the people share the ownership and control of the means of production in various forms. To effectively safeguard the people's right to take part in managing the state's affairs is the fundamental issue in advancing socialist democracy. An important point of the Marxist theory of the state is to have all the people taking part in managing the state and preparing the conditions under which this can occur. Lenin said: "To us, the important thing is to universally draw all the laborers into the management of the state. This is a very arduous task. Socialism cannot be achieved by the minority or a party. Only when people in their millions learn to do this themselves can socialism be achieved." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 123) The people running their own affairs covers many aspects, including political life, economic life and social life. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the workers' right to take part in managing the state enterprises, culture and education is the greatest and most fundamental right of people under the socialist system. Regarding the democratic rights of the people as masters of the state, the only question is whether these rights are fully exercised; there is no such thing as overexercising them; the so-called overdevelopment of democracy merely means that some people indulge in anarchism and bourgeois liberalization. This is not a product of advancing socialist democracy but a deviation from its course--a deviation that hampers and disrupts socialist democracy. By criticizing and correcting these tendencies, we do not restrict or weaken socialist democracy; rather, we advance it.

The people take part in the management of the state's affairs through the representatives they elect to represent their interest and wishes. The highest organs of state and local power, the people's congresses, are composed of representatives elected by the people, and they in turn elect the members making up the people's governments, people's courts and people's procuratorates at various levels through people's congresses. They represent the people in drawing up or amending the constitution, statutes, decrees and local laws, examining and approving national economic plans, budgets and final accounts of the state and their own administrative districts, and hearing and examining the work reports of standing committees, people's governments, people's courts and people's procuratorates of people's congresses of their own level, supervising the work of state organs, recalling cadres guilty of incompetence and dereliction of duty and carrying out readjustments according to the requirements of work. Whether or not the people and their representatives can actually exercise these rights is an indicator of whether or not socialist democracy is really being advanced. In summing up the experience of and drawing lessons from the Paris Commune, Engels pointed out: "To safeguard against the transformation of the state and state organs from servants of society into masters of society, the Paris Commune took two correct measures." One was to "give all executive, judicial and national educational posts to those elected through general elections, with the electors being able to dismiss and replace the elected at any time." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 385) Here it is pointed out that state organs must be the servants of society and that working staffs are elected by the people and may be dismissed and replaced at any time. This insures that servants of society do not become masters of society. Although it is impossible for our country to hold universal direct elections at present, the principle that government workers are elected and supervised and may be recalled by the people should be adhered to resolutely. Extending the scope of the people's direct election of their people's congress deputies to the county level and implementing the electoral law for the national and local people's congresses and the organic law of the local people's congresses and local governments (hereafter referred to as the two laws) are important measures in further expanding and advancing socialist democracy in the new historical period.

In the first place, electors can play an even greater role in managing the state through their representatives. This is of vital importance in consolidating the system of the socialist state. The socialist state is one in which the people are masters of their own affairs, and the people's congress system is the basic political system of our country. All authority belongs to the people. To expand and advance socialist democracy continuously, it is absolutely necessary to establish a system whereby decisions will, in reality, be made according to the will of the majority. The two laws formally legalize this system. Implementing the two laws conscientiously will guarantee that major decisions of the state and localities are made according to the will of the majority.

Second, the system in which the representatives are the people's public servants and are held directly responsible to the electors will be further guaranteed. Representatives of people's congresses and functionaries of state organs at various levels are all service personnel of the people and public servants of society. Their work and actions must represent the interests of the people and reflect the wishes, views and demands of the people. When they are directly elected by the people, the representatives will feel that their authority is given by the people and that they are responsible to the people for their actions and must do their work according to the opinions of the majority of voters. This further harmonizes their responsibility to the people and their responsibility to the higher leading organizations and prevents the phenomenon of people's deputies not representing the people. At the same time, this will help the voters' supervision over their representatives and the staff of the state organizations. On the one hand, the representatives must promptly solicit and accurately reflect the views of the voters and promptly reflect their work to them. On the other hand, the voters have the right to recall and dismiss representatives who are guilty of incompetence and dereliction of duty or who have violated law and discipline. This will act as a restraint on people's representatives and functionaries of state organs. The representatives and the state organizations' staff will then work only for the interests of the people, be the people's public servants and lead the people to struggle to speed up socialist modernization; they will be unable to seek prerogatives and private interests for themselves and become overlords who ride roughshod over the people.

Third, people's enthusiasm can be mobilized, and the development of socialist modernization can be raised. Socialist modernization is the cause of hundreds of millions of people, and it can only be realized when their enthusiasm has been given full play. To implement the two laws and insure the people's right to administer the state, it is imperative to arouse the sense of responsibility and socialist enthusiasm of the people, who are the masters of their country. The experience of experimental direct elections of the preceding stage has indicated that, if properly carried out, they will greatly arouse the sense of proprietorship of the masses and their awareness of taking part in the management of state affairs; they will develop the political situation of stability and unity; and they will promote the development of production and construction.

Fourth, the building of our political power can be enhanced. When the two laws are implemented and direct elections are extended to a county, the repeated deliberations of the masses, who are relatively familiar with the government organizations and their staff, will enable the candidates to share the opinions of the majority and will enable the masses to choose representatives who can really represent their opinions. This will also be helpful in strengthening county government organs and will lay a solid and reliable foundation for direct provincial—or even national—elections.

In the implementation of the two laws there will be numerous new situations and problems that must be dealt with earnestly. We must emancipate our minds, give full scope to democracy and uphold the mass line to make democratic elections a success. Therefore, we must first strengthen party leadership and guarantee the implementation of the two laws. Second, we must extensively and conscientiously publicize the two laws, so that they will be known to every household and their basic contents will be understood by everyone. Third, we must strengthen education in democracy and the legal system, for our party members and cadres and the leadership cadres in particular, so that they will conscientiously respect and safeguard the democratic rights of the people and strictly act in accordance with the law. Fourth, we must correctly recognize and deal with the relations between implementing the two laws and carrying out production and construction, link this work closely with production and construction and promote the development of production and construction.

The people of our country have gone through an arduous and tortuous course in struggling for people's democracy. Marx and Engels said in their "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class and to win the battle of democracy." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272) Under the leadership of our party, people of all nationalities throughout the country have won the victory of democratic revolution and the battle of people's democracy after a protracted struggle. The people have become the masters of the country. Since the establishment of the republic, we have also achieved remarkable results in fostering socialist democracy. However, following the victorious development of socialist revolution and construction, some of our leading members of the state organs, under the influence of feudal ideology, frequently deviated from the correct principles of our state system and neglected the work of carrying forward the people's democratic right of being the masters of their own affairs and the work of letting the people elect their own representatives to administer state affairs. They even maintained that an election was an unimportant formality. Therefore, within a certain period and to a large degree, elections became a mere formality. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of these shortcomings to systematically destroy the democratic system of the party and state and to carry out a feudal and fascist dictatorship, causing an extremely abnormal situation in which they, the minority, could coerce and oppress the majority of people. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party, in view of the bitter lesson learned from the catastrophe inflicted on the state and the people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" through destroying democracy and trampling on the legal system, put forward the correct principle of fully fostering socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system and adopted effective measures to safeguard the citizens' democratic right to manage their own affairs.

Our country's socialist nature and our party's correct principle of fostering democracy are important prerequisites and basic requirements for fostering socialist democracy. But our socialist state emerged, after all, from the womb of a semicolonial and a semifeudal society. The spiritual shackles left by the old society, in addition to the numerous biases of the small producers, also included the influence of the feudalist and bourgeois ideologies. These ideologies, particularly the feudalist and despotic ideologies and their influence, are still obstacles hindering the development of socialist democracy and democratic elections. Some leading comrades are quite seriously influenced by such ideologies. They have become used to practicing the patriarchal system and think that only they can lay down the law. They do not respect, and have even violated, the people's democratic rights and have always wanted a situation in which only what they say goes. They regard elections as a way to realize their personal opinions or the opinions of a small number of people. They do not follow the election law but act arbitrarily, monopolize everything and want the masses to carry out elections according to their opinions or the opinions of a small number of people. They want people to vote for whomever they put on the ballot. Some have even casually disqualified the candidates nominated by the masses according to law and denied recognition for those who were elected according to law. When the people's congress of Lishe County, Nei Monggol, was electing the county magistrate, the league and the county authorities guessed that Comrade Yang Leshan, who was not a candidate, might be elected. Therefore, prior to the election they urged the representatives not to vote for Yang. But in the election Comrade Yang Leshan was elected to be the county magistrate. Seeing that they had failed to attain their expected goal in the election, some comrades of the league and the county sent their representatives to the autonomous region's organization department for emergency help and to request instructions as to whether the election should stand. This episode shows that some of our comrades have a very faint conception of democracy. Although they verbally stress the need to foster democracy, they have actually never respected the democratic rights of the electors and the representatives. Certain leaders of some areas, realizing that the officially appointed candidates have not been elected, have said such things as: "You have your right to vote; I have my right to approve." Some have even brazenly overturned election results and violated the election law, thus reducing the election to a mere formality, impairing the solemnity of the socialist legal system and dampening the masses' enthusiasm. Some other comrades, who have become used to the conventional system of appointment that had been followed for many years, support the system of lifetime leadership tenure for cadres, only want promotions and do not want to work in the lower units. These comrades feel that elections are not only uninteresting but disgusting, and they have used various means to boycott them. In these comrades' minds there is only their authority and not the masses' viewpoint. These comrades have put themselves above the masses and have set the task of strengthening the leadership against the task of fostering democracy. They have actually refused to believe that the masses are the masters of the country. Strengthening leadership over election work is, of course, very necessary, and the recommendation of candidates by party organizations is also permitted by the electoral law. However, party organizations recommending a list of candidates must seek the consent of the majority of electors and representatives before it becomes valid. Whether or not such candidates win the election is the primary means of judging whether their nomination was in line with the will of the people. The failure of such candidates and the success of others not recommended by the party organizations in an election can only prove that the party's choice of its candidates was wrong. Party organizations have no reason or power to negate the results of people's elections.

A tiny number of others, who have indulged themselves in extremes of democracy, use the proletarian stand, viewpoint and methods in elections. Some others try to please the public with a proletarian democratic platform and use claptrap to vie in an election campaign. Some who assert anarchism describe orderly and well-led democratic elections as undemocratic and resist and oppose them, while some others gang up and form factions in the course of an election. All these harm socialist democracy.

Although these negative factors exist only in some localities of the country, we must not underestimate their influence and destructive role. We should fully arouse and educate the masses to understand the significance of democratic elections, to have a serious and earnest attitude toward them, and to struggle against the various unhealthy tendencies that hinder this democratic process. We should urge the masses to value their vote from the angle of upholding the interests of the state and the people and to use their democratic rights properly. The people's democratic rights, like their other rights, are restricted by social, economic and cultural conditions. Marx once said: "Rights can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned by it." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 12) The advance of our socialist democracy to a high degree of development, in the final analysis, is determined by whether or not we can accomplish our socialist modernization. The development of socialist democracy is not spontaneous but occurs in the course of our struggle against the ideological influence of feudalism and the bourgeoisie. As long as we give full scope to the superiority of the socialist system and mobilize the people throughout the country to work hard, with one mind and one heart, unswervingly for the purpose of enhancing socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system, we can certainly overcome obstacles, advance democracy to a high degree of development and quicken the pace of our modernization.

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CERTAIN QUESTIONS ON FINANCE, CREDIT AND BALANCED SUPPLY OF COMMODITIES

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[Article by Duan Yun [3008 0061]]

[Text] In the course of socialist construction, conscientious efforts must be made by the state treasury, the credit sector and the supply departments, respectively, to balance revenue with expenditure, assets with liabilities, and supply with demand in terms of goods. These efforts are of practical and vital significance to the planned and proportionate development of our national economy. At present our country is still devoting itself to implementing an eight-character policy aimed at readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. We must strive to coordinate the development of industrial production with that of agricultural production and on that basis achieve a balance between revenue and expenditure by the state treasury, a balance between assets and liabilities in the credit sector and a balance between the supply of and demand for goods. In addition, we must modify the ratio of accumulation of funds to consumption and gradually improve the economic structure. All these will constitute an important step in accomplishing the readjustment of the national economy. Recently many comrades have made known their views and opinions on the problems of how to achieve a balance in the aforementioned three fields and how to further give full play to the role of the state treasury and the bank credit sector in the development of the national economy. Now I want to take this opportunity to express some views of my own on the history of our country's economic development and its present status.

I. Balances in the Fields of Finance, Credit and Supply Form an Organic System of Comprehensive Balance

Balances in the fields of finance, credit and supply form a comprehensive balance of the economy which reflects an objective requirement for a planned, proportionate development of the national economy. Years of practice prove that only by doing a good job in making ends meet in the three major sectors of the economy can we effectively develop the national economy and achieve better economic results. If we fail to do so, or if we devote ourselves to achieving a balance in only one sector and neglect balances in two other sectors of the economy, we will not be able to achieve a genuine balanced development of the economy, and we will risk the danger of disrupting the proportionate development of the economy, which may cost us an enormous effort to restore it.

To achieve a comprehensive balance in the three major fields of the economy, we must first gain an insight into the interactions between the movement of material supplies and that of value in all their forms in the process of social reproduction. Because there still exists a relationship between currency and commodities in our socialist society, investment in the production of commodities and in its expansion usually takes the form of either material resources or value. In other words, currency still has to be used to accomplish the process of this investment. As economists we must play a direct role in the production and circulation of a variety of goods and must use all kinds of material resources to organize the production of commodities and their supply and marketing as a guarantee to meet the requirements for other forms of production and construction and to satisfy the people's daily needs. At the same time, ways must be devised to concentrate, distribute and use funds in all forms of value and to make them serve as an economic lever in achieving maximum economic results with minimum expenditure. To develop the national economy in a well-planned way, a socialist country is required to employ finance and credit as an important tool of economic management to collect and distribute funds and to coordinate the production of commodities with their circulation and the accumulation of funds with expenditure. Revenue and credit are two forms of value in circulation. In the process of distribution of social products, they circulate in conformity with the specific laws governing their movement and reflect the status of the development of the national economy from different angles.

Of the balances in the three main economic fields, balance in the financial field holds the key to balances in the fields of credit and supply. The government in our socialist country controls the principal means of production and most of the funds in circulation in society, which can be used to organize the economic, cultural and national defense construction. In addition to controlling most of the net income of our socialist economy, the state treasury must work out plans to distribute funds in support of the development of various construction projects. A balanced financial status with a slight surplus basically reflects a balance between the sources of funds controlled by the state and the needs for capital and between the sources of social products controlled by the state and the demands for such products. In organizing the collection of revenue the state treasury must do everything possible to tap the potential of various units for increasing production and income. In allocating expenditures it must distribute financial resources reasonably and with careful calculation and strict budgeting and exhort various units to economize on the use of funds. In other words, in shaping the budget it must persist in making ends meet; while the budget is being enforced, it must strengthen the management of funds to insure that the balance will not be disrupted. Only in this way can we help the credit sector balance its assets with liabilities and keep the supply sector in good shape to meet the needs of society.

A balance in the credit sector epitomizes balances in the sectors of finance and supply. As the center of national economic activities, the bank can draw on deposits and savings, mobilize temporarily idle capital and lend it to units short of working capital so as to insure the continuation of production and circulation. On the basis of the granting of loans and their redemption and the settlement of bank transactions, one can determine the performance of the units in charge of production and its management and of the departments in charge of the implementation of state plans and economic contracts and of purchases, sales and inventories of commodities. Although the bank credit and state revenue services allocate capital for different purposes and function in their own ways, they usually coordinate closely with each other. Overspending by the state will certainly result in deficits, which in turn will force it to overdraw or borrow from the central bank, thus disrupting the balance between assets and liabilities in the credit sector. On the other hand, when liabilities exceed assets in the credit sector, the state treasury should provide an additional amount of capital to insure stability in the value of the currency and in prices. Conversely, a successful operation of the credit service can speed up the circulation of capital, reduce the excess supply of money by the state treasury and strengthen the financial power to make ends meet.

A balance between the supply of and demand for goods is a basis for balancing expenditure with revenue in the financial sector and assets with liabilities in the credit sector. If the financial sector can truly make ends meet and the credit sector can truly balance its assets with liabilities, a balance between the supply of and demand for social products can be basically maintained. The reason is that profits and taxes delivered by various economic units represent specific forms of products, and a specific amount of revenue represents a specific quantity of material supplies and commodities. If the treasury's expenditure exceeds its revenue, a deficit will result. The general stock of social products consists of the means of production and consumer goods, agricultural and industrial products and many other kinds of valuable and useful goods. Before money is spent and loans are handed out, it is necessary to assess the current conditions for production and the status of the supply of and demand for goods. Investors interested in capital construction must first consult the departments concerned with the supply of the means of production. Likewise, the supply of consumer goods must keep pace with the growth of the social purchasing power fed by the handouts from the treasury and credit units. Only in this way can we insure that all funds to be allocated will have a material backing and that the circulation of the currency and that of goods will go hand in hand. In the final analysis, whether we can promote the planned and proportionate development of the national economy and whether a reasonable ratio of expenditure to the accumulation of funds can be maintained depend on how successful the large-scale production of commodities is organized to meet the needs of society. If the distribution of capital by the financial and credit sectors is not based on a balanced supply of goods, the two sectors will find themselves unable to coordinate the production of commodities with their distribution in a well-planned manner. This being the case, the balance between the supply of and demand for social products will be disrupted, and the disproportions in our national economy are bound to develop from bad to worse.

When the First Five-Year Plan was about to end, Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] drew up a proposal on the basis of China's experiences in socialist construction which called on the three major sectors of the economy--finance, credit and supply, respectively--to do a good job of balancing expenditure with income, loan grants with returns on outstanding loans and supply with demand in order to insure a steady and well-coordinated development of our national economy. This is really an important question. Under our socialist system of a planned economy, conscientious efforts must be made by the three major sectors of the economy to balance expenditure with revenue, assets with liabilities and supply with demand

and to create a situation in which they can bring into full play their role in the management of the planned economy in conformity with objective laws and can develop a relationship which enables them to coordinate, cooperate and compete with one another in promoting the planned and proportionate development of the national economy. This is indeed an important but complicated matter that involves some specific problems which deserve a conscientious analysis from the theoretical and pragmatic points of view.

II. With Economic Improvement Comes Greater Demand for Financial Balance

With production developing at a faster pace than ever and with the financial situation improving, should we still consider it necessary to concentrate our efforts on balancing expenditure with income? Some comrades have called for increased spending on construction in gross disregard of the need for a balance between expenditure and income and the requirements for economic efficiency. This has come at a time when the situation on the production front is improving. These comrades also contend that as long as production expands no problem will result from more spending. This tendency deserves attention.

Economics is a foundation of finance. State revenue is bound to increase when the people strive to increase the output of social products and their circulation. At present our state revenue comes mainly from the two primary sectors of production—industry and agriculture. Some of the revenue also comes from the sectors of commerce and transportation. For years our state revenue has grown at a pace basically consistent with the economic growth rate. Normally, a greater increase in revenue can be expected in years of expanded industrial and agricultural production, especially in a year when there is a bumper agricultural harvest and in the following year. For this reason, it is necessary to expand production, to tap the potential of various units for expanding production and to speed up the circulation of commodities as a step in improving the state financial status with new sources of revenue.

We must nevertheless realize that the revenue of the state does not represent the total output of social products, which involves the consumption of raw materials and energy, the payment of wages for workers and other expenses. To continue production, enterprises must also retain necessary working capital. In view of this, that portion of capital delivered to the state treasury by the state-operated enterprises for redistribution is only a part of their net income, excluding production costs (a specific percentage of net income must be retained by enterprises themselves as reserve funds and bonuses). Collective enterprises have to deliver a specific percentage of their net income in the form of taxes to the state treasury. In this connection, the costs of production and circulation and economic performances will have an important role to play. In some years past we have watched the economy develop excellently and production progress rapidly. But many units ended up with no profit, but instead losses, because of their high consumption of raw materials, low efficiency and other uncontrolled expenditures. Mismanagement has also forced many other units to sharply cut prices for their poor-quality products which were in excessive supply or even to junk them. This being the case, no new wealth could possibly be created, and no economic gains could be made to augment the reserves of state revenue. There were other years in which the growth of labor productivity lagged behind the rising prices of raw materials and the increase in other costs in terms of wages and bonuses. Consequently, increased production led to no increase in income, thus widening the gap between the growth rate of production and that of revenue.

It is therefore not true that the treasury can claim immunity to problems as long as the economy grows rapidly. A review of our 30-year history of socialist construction starkly reveals a lack of coordination between economics and finance on several occasions. Most of our past financial deficits occurred in years of the relatively rapid development of production, except for those years in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did damage to production, thus creating deficits. There were also years in which the situation on the production front was excellent and the masses were eager to promote production. Despite this, our state revenue declined rather than increased, because the subjective thinking of our enterprises was out of touch with objective reality and because they set their production targets too high in disregard of the need for improved quality, economic efficiency and lower production costs and consumption of raw materials, thus causing their profits to decline or losses to rise. On the other hand, wishful thinking sometimes drove some units to do too much at one time, to overextend their financial resources and to squander money. Consequently, deficits resulted from a loss of balance between income and expenditure.

The principles of balancing expenditure with revenue, tapping new resources, economizing on the use of funds and basing our expenditure on our income constitute an important economic law. Certainly a small deficit may not spell big trouble. Some deficits in a certain year are permissible if they can be made up in the following year. But resolute efforts should be made to prevent deficits from occurring year after year, or any large deficits in any single year. Historical experience reminds us of the need to maintain financial balances in normal years. When the masses and cadres are eager to vigorously develop production and construction, it may bode well for the economy. But great attention still has to be paid to the overall economic performance. For example, we must shape our budget within the bounds of available resources in accordance with the principle of balancing expenditure with income. Only thus can we achieve a comprehensive balance and improve the financial management system. It is quite likely that people will lose sight of unfavorable factors and will pay too much attention to the favorable ones when a relatively good situation develops on the production front and when successes are scored in all fields of work. This being the case, people are apt to act recklessly and come up with some unreasonable demands. To counter this situation, we must persevere in balancing expenditure with income and in following the correct principles, policies and systems, act in line with the objective economic law and lead people to create a healthy environment in which they can strive to achieve better economic results. Only in this way can socialist production advance faster than ever without risking any danger of disruption.

Perseverance in increasing production and practicing economy simultaneously and in constantly improving the economic performance is an important step in resolving financial problems. At present, wasteful practices still exist on all fronts. This means that efforts still can be made to tap the potentials of various units for increasing production and income by putting their manpower, material and financial resources to good use. Compared with the advanced levels of our past economic achievements, during the last few years there has been a decline in labor productivity, in the total value of output provided by the fixed assets of the industrial sector, and in net income drawn from the total value of industrial output. Our financial status is bound to improve markedly as long as we strive to run the economy according to the economic law and to achieve maximum economic results with minimum expenditure. With the production scale remaining at its present level, many enterprises have increased their deliveries of profits to the state treasury by further reducing the consumption of raw materials and labor in the process of production. On the construction front we still can use the same amount of capital to achieve greater economic results and to speed up the tempo of construction if reasonable arrangements are made and careful calculation and strict budgeting are practiced to concentrate our already available capital and equipment on building projects and putting them into operation one by one. We must practice economy as a step in increasing income, improving the economic performance and reducing expenditure. Only thus can we increase the state revenue, help achieve the financial balance and speed up the readjustment of the national economy.

III. Inflation Cannot Spur Construction

The economies in some capitalist countries are still expanding despite big deficits and runaway inflation. Can our country follow suit?

Perseverance in making ends meet is an important financial principle of the planned socialist economy and a consistent policy adopted by our party and state. Under the socialist system, the state revenue is a concentrated expression of our national economic program in terms of capital. Its receipt and expenditure indicate how well social products controlled by the state are distributed and consumed. A balanced budget with a surplus means that the resources controlled by the state in the form of social products and the people's needs for these products are in balance, that the material affluence in society is on the rise and that it can be made available for production and construction projects in the years to come.

If the budget is not properly prepared, if expenditure exceeds income, or if revenue cannot be collected as scheduled, deficits are certain to emerge. This indicates that many of the social products in circulation are beyond the control of the state and that a gap exists between their output and demand for them. This being the case, the state treasury will have no alternative but to overdraw or borrow from the banking system, which in turn will be forced to print more paper money to make up the deficit, paper money which has no material backing. Consequently, the circulation of currency in the market will outweigh the circulation of commodities, thus creating a situation in which too much money chases too few goods, forcing prices to rise and the value of the currency to drop.

Inflation will first lead to a decline in the people's income. Eventually the additional paper money printed by the state will fall into the hands of workers and peasants in the form of wages and payments for agricultural products and sideline produce. In other words, that portion of expenditure that exceeds the state revenue will become paper money or a form of purchasing power in the urban and rural areas. Because this purchasing power is not backed up by commodities, market prices rise and workers' and peasants' incomes from wages and from the sales of agricultural products decline. The result is devaluation of the currency.

Many capitalist countries have been financing by deficit and by inflation to solve their economic crises and to prevent economic recession. They have also adopted the same method to increase expenditure, to stimulate consumer demand and to speed up the recovery of the economy. The implementation of this policy has also provided the bourgeois governments and monopoly-capitalists with an opportunity to amass a large amount of wealth in the form of profits and to exploit the working people. Some of them have even shifted the burdens of inflation onto the shoulders of other countries and regions through their international trade connections and financial transactions. Inflation today resembles a runaway horse. It is worsening with each passing day, running out of control and becoming a big headache for the capitalist countries. It is strongly opposed by the working class there. Clearly this method cannot be adopted by our socialist country.

Our country's socialist economic system differs in an important way from the system of the capitalist countries, where production proceeds in an anarchic atmosphere and surplus goods are stacked up everywhere. In the capitalist countries the overwhelming majority of industrial and commercial enterprises are owned and operated by private citizens who control a large share of the capital and goods; the revenue that goes to the government treasury accounts for only a small percentage of the gross national income. In these countries, financing by inflation and by deficit is permitted; corporate bonds can be issued to absorb a large amount of idle capital in society; one can borrow money from the bank to buy the goods one needs. Furthermore, in capitalist societies credit can be tightened or expanded to meet the specific needs of their economies. Our socialist country has adopted a system of planned economy under which all economic activities are directly or indirectly planned by the state. Under our socialist system of ownership the state controls almost all means of production; our state budget authority controls most of the net income delivered by enterprises throughout the country and funds from various sectors of the economy. The use of capital and goods is also planned by the state (in whatever form of circulation they may take). If our budget is planned in such a way that expenditure is allowed to exceed revenue or that deficits are allowed by the printing and floating of more paper money, it appears unlikely that those amounts of money printed without material backing can be used by anyone to buy anything in our society. One may suggest that the people's interests be temporarily sacrificed in order to expand and step up construction in our country. Even this suggestion is not realistic or workable in our society. If excess money is circulated, it will chase around everywhere, compete for the planned distribution of goods and disrupt the order in which production and construction are organized and carried out. It will also serve to overextend the resources for capital construction and greatly slow down progress in construction. By relying on inflation to speed up construction, we will end up slowing it down, because haste will not bring it to a quick conclusion. Inflation undoubtedly is counterproductive to the planned economy and therefore should be resolutely opposed and avoided if we want to achieve a planned and proportionate development of the national economy. Deficits that have shown up in our balance of payments have been caused by 10 years of catastrophe and mismanagement of our economy. Financing by deficit has not been prescribed as part of our policy. An important objective of readjusting our national economy is to do everything possible to make ends meet and to gradually eliminate deficits.

Some capitalist countries owe their relatively rapid economic growth rate to certain specific factors and conditions rather than to inflation, which does not contribute to the development of the economy. During the past 20 or 30 years, science and technology in the capitalist countries have developed rapidly, boosting their labor productivity, and have become decisive factors that have contributed to the development of their economies. For a long time a few countries such as Japan and West Germany have progressed more rapidly than other countries and have been able to concentrate more capital on developing their economies because they don't have to contribute too much to their national defense in terms of military expenditure. During the lengthy postwar period they have benefited greatly from a large amount of foreign aid, including economic and technical assistance, when they themselves didn't have to give other countries similar aid. Among other factors which have helped them progress more rapidly than other countries are their past achievements in science and technology and experiences in economic management. Judging from this fact, one can realize that inflation exists in varying degrees in the capitalist countries. To them, inflation is an economic malaise rather than a factor that boosts their economic development. Inflation also exists in many other countries of the world, including some developing countries, where the economies are not faring any better than in other countries. Isn't this fact clear enough to all? We have accumulated similar experiences since liberation. Our economy progressed more rapidly during the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan. That was also a period in which our national economy was readjusted and currency and prices were relatively stable.

Facts show that the economy can grow only when the currency is stable and a financial balance is maintained. No economy will benefit from inflation. True, a large amount of capital is needed to accelerate the socialist modernization; contradictions always exist between the accumulation of funds and the demand for expenditure. This type of contradictions can be resolved only by tapping financial resources, increasing income, reasonably allocating expenditure and economizing on the use of funds. Only in this way can we balance expenditure with revenue, keep the output of social products apace with the demand for such products, insure the proportionate growth of savings and consumption, promote the normal development of the national economy and gradually improve the people's standard of living. As the national economy develops, new dislocations in our economy may occur from time to time, along with some unanticipated problems. A perfect and fault-proof planning seems impossible. On the agricultural production front, natural disasters may strike, reducing our harvests; to counter any unexpected international developments, we must be prepared to meet any contingency. In light of this situation, we are required to leave an appropriate margin for unforeseen circumstances. Of course, in the process of its implementation, any economic plan is subject to changes whenever such needs arise. In the event of revenue exceeding expenditure, we can add new items of expenditure and balance our budget on a new basis. Without additional income, no new item of expenditure should be added to the budget. Spending in excess of revenue should be avoided in every possible way.

IV. It Is Necessary To Balance Asset With Liability

The demand for investment in capital construction today is so great that it has clearly exceeded the limits of funds available in our budget. This being the case, is it advisable for banks to hand out additional loans to expand our investment in capital construction? Many factories in foreign countries have been built with bank loans. Can our country follow suit?

The government in our socialist country can control and use two different kinds of funds: the state revenue, which derives from the income of various units and which is usually distributed by the state for the purpose of developing the economy, culture and other undertakings; and funds earmarked for investment in capital construction and in expanding fixed assets of enterprises. These constitute gratis aid that need not be repaid. Returns on investment in capital construction can be gradually redeemed through the collection of taxes and profits and through property depreciation after factories are built and put into operation. The fund earmarked for bank loans is drawn from temporarily idle capital circulating in society and can be lent out to support production and to meet the short-term needs of some units for a revolving fund. This form of loan is repayable and cannot be amortized over a long period of time.

Capital construction is an important measure for expanding investment in fixed assets and for strengthening the material foundation for boosting the national economy, and it takes a fairly long time to complete. When a project is under construction, it must employ a great number of people and consume enormous amounts of equipment and material. But it cannot provide society with any kind of products. Investment in capital construction has nothing in common with working capital, which can recycle itself in a relatively short period of time after it is spent on buying raw materials and fuels and on employing labor to turn them into products or commodities for distribution to the market. On the basis of the different functions between investment in capital construction and working capital, the state has promulgated regulations stipulating that capital construction should be financed by state funds, and even those investments in capital construction that are not listed as part of the state budget should also be coordinated with the national capital construction plan; suppliers of building materials and equipment concerned with capital construction should be consulted first when funds are earmarked for capital construction. The state also stipulates that the working capital needed by enterprises must be provided by banks, except for that amount of funds that must be directly granted by the state; state funds earmarked for loans and for investment in capital construction and working capital for other purposes should be handled by different agencies; loans from banks shall not be used as part of state funds; nor shall the working capital be transferred to the account for investment in capital construction. This decision is based on the fact that these funds come from different sources, are spent for different purposes and are recycled in different ways. For this reason, they should be handled by different organizations. If equipment and materials for capital construction are in abundant supply and if a bank has surplus funds, it can certainly earmark part of these for capital construction under the guidance of the state plan. If the revolving funds in the form of short-term loans are spent as part of an investment in capital construction or for other unauthorized purposes beyond the state plan, and if later they are tied down with the capital construction projects or used as part of an investment which cannot be redeemed in a short period of time, this may cause a shortage of working capital for production purposes and disrupt the order in which production is organized by some enterprises. Furthermore, it may leave the banks in a seriously depleted working capital position, forcing them to print more paper money and thus causing inflation and price hikes. Both the state treasury and the credit sector have at least one thing in common: they face the same problem of how to make ends meet.

Generally speaking, the banks may lend money to some enterprises concerned with commercial production and circulation for purchasing raw materials and equipment while other enterprises are paying off their loans or increasing their bank deposits with proceeds from the sales of their products or commodities. It is in this manner that capital flows in the form of a revolving fund between different trades and different enterprises during the different seasons, so that surplus can be used to alleviate shortages. Normally, loans granted by the banks are automatically balanced by savings deposits they draw from the public in urban and rural areas; the credit sector will have no difficulty making ends meet as long as the state treasury provides enterprises with adequate working capital and avoids overdrafts with the central bank, which must consider it absolutely necessary to balance loans with deposits in an effort to promote and expand the normal production and circulation of goods. Financial balance must be considered in conjunction with credit balance, because the former has a direct effect on the latter and vice versa.

As I advocated earlier, some intermediate- and short-term loans should be authorized by the banks to purchase equipment and to carry out technical innovations and equipment renewal projects which can achieve maximum economic results with minimum expenditure. But the lenders of such loans should have a reliable source of funds and should insure the supply of necessary equipment. It is gratifying to note that some enterprises have already scored some success in using such loans to tap their potentials for production. Lenders of such loans should also insure that loans to be approved will neither disrupt the balance between assets and liabilities nor create any deficit. In other words, the loans to be granted are within the limits of funds which are at the lenders' disposal. It is inadvisable to rely on the printing of more money to carry out capital construction. Many comrades have suggested recently that the function of overseeing investment in capital construction be transferred to the construction bank or the people's bank, and that the state's investment in capital construction in the form of gratis loans be converted to repayable loans drawing interest. This proposal will serve to strengthen the sense of responsibility among the units engaged in capital construction, the economic accounting system, and the supervision and management of the utilization of funds. This proposal has been tested by some selected units and has produced some remarkable results. The decision to authorize the banks to provide loans for investment in capital construction is an important reform in the capital construction management system and should be actively carried out on the basis of our past experiences in this field. In carrying out this decision, the state treasury is advised to turn over the fund earmarked for investment in capital construction to the banks for distribution to the capital construction units in the form of loans, along with the capital that is not included in that fund but can be used as capital for investment in capital construction in the future.

Banks in foreign countries can offer loans for investment in capital construction because they have an abundant supply of capital at their disposal. In the capitalist countries, banks can attract capital from wealthy capitalists who do not want to go directly into business but want their money to draw interest; the banks can also attract some of the profits earned by entrepreneurs who own businesses but do not want to invest all of their profits in opening new businesses or expanding existing ones. In short, banks in the capitalist countries can control a large share of time deposits in addition to some idle capital circulating in society. They can lend this money in the form of long-term loans for investment in capital construction. Through their international banking operations, they can also attract a large amount of foreign capital. Our socialist country differs in its economic system from the capitalist countries. In our country there exist no such capitalists who live on interest from bank deposits; most of the net income from our industrial and commercial enterprises is delivered to the state; even that idle capital which is absorbed by the banks is included in the state budget and is distributed through a unified credit lending program. Nevertheless, our banks now anticipate an increase in deposits from local collectives and enterprises after the reform in the financial structure is completed and the power of self-determination delegated to the enterprises is expanded. In other words, the situation will undergo changes which will present an opportunity we must firmly grasp. On the other hand, the capital that comes to our country from international sources is regulated and controlled. A portion of foreign capital absorbed by our banks has been used to import technology and equipment according to the state plan. It is absolutely necessary to use foreign capital. First consideration must be given to the use of those low-interest and long-term loans or loans granted to us on the most favored terms, which will play an active role in alleviating our shortage of capital at home and speeding up the tempo of modernization. But we must assure that production is carried out with no lack of complementary components, and that all forms of investment will produce results and will be repaid as required. In short, in the past, when we formulated our credit program each year, almost all returns on outstanding loans were redistributed in the form of new loans in order to meet the needs of various projects. In years past the credit sector often fell short of funds to meet the demands for loans. In the lending business the banks must first consider whether funds are really available for this purpose. Even in the capitalist countries, long-term bank loans are not up for grabs, and their amounts are not unlimited. In considering loans, they too are restricted by the availability of funds. Our socialist banks, which have been overwhelmed by demands for loans for investment in capital construction, are not advised to offer loans beyond the state budget and beyond the capacity of the building materials industry to provide the necessary equipment and other materials. This is determined by our social system and economic structure, which are at variance with those of other countries. In other words, what suits other countries does not necessarily suit our country.

There has been a suggestion that our banking organization and structure should be reformed to create a central bank of the state authorized to print and release currency and to recall part of the currency issued, if necessary, and to organize a balanced supply of capital in the form of credit; the present people's bank would still be authorized to handle deposits and savings, the processing of loans and the settlement of transactions. This means a strict division of responsibility between the sectors in charge of the printing of the currency and the lending activity. If this suggestion is accepted, the people's bank will be authorized to offer all forms of loans as long as it has funds available for this purpose. It can also draw on deposits and raise funds in order to expand its lending operation on the basis of actual needs. In addition to strengthening the management and supervision of the credit sector, it can help enterprises improve economic accounting with the aim of economizing on the use of funds. It can provide some economically viable enterprises with long-term loans if they can guarantee the amortization of these loans on terms insured by state laws. In short, the revitalization of the banking operation in this way can help various sectors of the economy demonstrate their superiority and tap their potentials for promoting the development of industrial and agricultural production and for expanding the circulation of commodities without risking the danger of disrupting the implementation of the state monetary circulation plan or increasing monetary expenditure that may result from the expansion of credit. Only in this way can we truly uphold the principle of shifting the power to print money to the central authorities and help our socialist banks play an active role in promoting production and bringing prosperity to our economy.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE CLEAR THE SCIENTIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE GOALS OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

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[Article by Wu Zhenkun [0702 2182 1024]]

[Text] In a socialist society the goal of production is the primary substance of the basic economic laws of socialism and is a goal which ought to be followed in our total economic life. However, to date people still have different understandings of just what the goal of socialist production is. If the understanding of the goal of production is inconsistent, and if the nature of the goal is not clear, then we will not have a strong and correct leading ideology for socialist construction. If this is the case, it will not be easy to mobilize and organize the masses, and it will not be easy to achieve the various correct proportional relationships in the national economy and thus point the development of the national economy in the right direction. Because of this, it is of extreme importance to continue discussion of this question.

Is the production goal of socialism to satisfy the livelihood needs of the people's material culture, or is it to satisfy the needs of the whole society; that is to say, is it a single goal theory or is it a multiple goal theory? This is an important distinction we must now make regarding this question. I believe that the goal of socialist production can only be the former and not the latter.

Comrades who advocate the multiple goal theory believe that the goal of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of the whole society. These so-called needs of the whole society include both the individual needs and the public needs of the workers. The individual needs refer to those needs which maintain life, provide descendants, improve material and cultural life and develop physical and intellectual strength. Needs such as these represent the workers' individual, present interests. In addition to the development of such areas as science, education, culture and health protection, public needs also include such needs as expanded reproduction, national administration and defense construction. Needs such as these represent the common, long-term interests of the workers. The goal of socialist production completely satisfies these needs. To recognize the goal of socialist production in this fashion appears to be complete and all-encompassing but actually confuses the true goal of socialist production.

The main basis for this view is a formulation by Stalin that the goal of socialist production is to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the whole society. Therefore, in order to have a clear discussion of this question, we must first study exactly what Stalin meant by the whole society.

Everyone is aware that in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" Stalin made two formulations regarding the goal of socialist production: One is "satisfy to the greatest extent the regular growth in the material and cultural needs of the whole society," and the other is "man and his needs." Because the first formulation is included in his definition of the basic economic laws of socialism, it has had a broader circulation. However, if this is viewed from its content rather than from the superficial meaning of the words, then Stalin's reference to the needs of the whole society means the material and cultural needs of the members of the whole society and actually does not imply anything else. Therefore, I believe that the spirit underlying these formulations is consistent and that the second formulation is an explanation of the first. The main reasons are:

First, Stalin said, "The goal of socialist production is not profit but rather man and his needs, i.e., satisfaction of man's material and cultural needs." Just as Comrade Stalin said in "Suggestions," "to guarantee to the greatest degree the satisfaction of the regular growth of the material and cultural needs of the whole society." This passage speaks simultaneously of man and his needs and the needs of the whole society, and no additional information is inserted between them, thus clearly stating the meaning of these two formulations.

Second, in a comparison with the goal of capitalist production, Stalin explains the goal of socialist production. Stalin said that the goal of capitalist production is to make profits, while the goal of socialist production is not profits but rather man and his needs. One is profits, the other is man and his needs, which sets up a clear opposition, thereby demarcating the basic differences between these two kinds of production goals. If the whole society mentioned by Stalin is not explained as man and his needs but as all-encompassing social needs, then there is no way to reveal the essence of socialist production, and the essential differences between the two kinds of production goals cannot be demarcated.

Third, in his criticism of Yaroshenko's mistaken views Stalin explains the goal of socialist production. Yaroshenko advocated production for its own sake. Stalin said, "Comrade Yaroshenko has forgotten that people do not produce just to produce, but rather produce to satisfy their own needs. He has forgotten that production which is divorced from the satisfaction of social needs will decline and disappear." The words "social needs" in the latter sentence are synonymous with the words "own needs" in the former sentence. If "social needs" is understood as all-encompassing social needs, then there will be no separation between production and needs, because no matter what you produce, as long as there is use value some social need will be satisfied, and there will be no question of producing for the sake of production.

Fourth, in his comments concerning the goals of socialist production, Stalin used the concept "the material and cultural needs of the whole society." These needs have both material and cultural aspects and obviously refer to man's needs. They define the nature of the goal of socialist production. At the same time, Stalin also used two other phrases: one is "the greatest extent" and the other is "regular growth." These two phrases have special implications, as they stipulate the quantity of the socialist production goal. If the goal of socialist production is merely to generally satisfy man's needs, then this cannot be distinguished from a small-scale peasant economy--which satisfies only low-level consumer needs and the narrow range of family needs. Even if the goal of socialist production is seen only as a regulator of the number of goals, it can only be used for the people's needs and cannot be applied to the needs of governmental administration or building national defense. We can only speak of satisfying to the "greatest extent" the "regular growth" of the people's material and cultural needs. Expenses for governmental administration can only be reduced as much as possible, and national defense construction is coordinated with the international situation. If war breaks out, the needs of national defense construction of course must increase, and in order to be victorious the people must skimp on food and clothing. But this is a special condition.

It is obvious that to understand Stalin's needs of the whole society as all-encompassing social needs and thereby include all social needs within the goal of socialist production is not in agreement with Stalin's original idea. Of course, the starting point for our study of this question is not whether or not it accords with Stalin's original idea, as his statements can be subjected to study and discussion, but rather is whether the question is scientific or not. I believe that in theory it is unscientific to take socialist production as having multiple goals.

First, it confuses the goal of socialist production with the device for reaching the goal.

According to the above observation, satisfaction of the public needs of expanded reproduction, governmental administration and national defense ought to be the goal of socialist production, because these needs are the conditions necessary for the existence and development of socialist society and also are the prerequisites for satisfying and continually improving the needs of the workers. It of course is correct to understand the above-mentioned needs as being necessary to the workers. However, one cannot conclude from this that they must be included in the goals of socialist production. The explanation for this can be found in the nature of the needs themselves.

Expanded reproduction is the direct source of the people's consumption, and it provides the people with their daily increasing consumer goods; however, this does not mean that the needs of expanded reproduction should necessarily form a goal of socialist production. We do not accumulate and expand reproduction simply to do so, but rather have a particular goal which is none other than to satisfy the livelihood needs of the people. Satisfying the need for expanded reproduction is but a method of implementing the goals of socialist production rather than the goal itself. If satisfying the needs of expanded reproduction is seen as the goal itself, isn't that to say that production growth is for production, that the device has become the goal?

Needs in the areas of governmental administration and construction of national defense maintain normal social order and guarantee the people a safe and peaceful environment to carry out socialist construction; these needs also are unquestionably important. However, in the final analysis these are services which satisfy the people's livelihood needs. Moreover, because the dictatorship of the proletariat is itself a device for building the socialist system, the need to maintain this dictatorship per se cannot become a goal.

From materials on the party program drawn up by the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party, we see that Lenin's vague formulation of satisfying social needs as a goal of socialist production is quite unsatisfactory. In 1902 Plekhanov wrote the first draft program of the Social-Democratic Workers Party, the eighth article of which said: "Organize the production of socialist products to replace the production of capitalist commodities in order to guarantee needs and guarantee the welfare of all members of society." In the draft of "Views on Plekhanov's First Draft Program," Lenin criticized the words "satisfy social needs" as "unclear." To say that this is unclear is to say that it is an insufficiently clear statement of the question of the goal of socialist production. Based on Lenin's views, this article was later revised to read, "Organize the whole society to undertake production of products to replace capitalist commodity production in order to fully guarantee the welfare of all members of society and allow them to freely attain complete development."

Second, it confuses the general character with the specific character.

Comrade Mao Zedong told us, "As for the form of movement of any object, it is necessary to note the points it has in common with other forms of movement. However, it is especially important that, in the object which forms the basis by which we understand undertakings, we must take note of its special points, that is to say, note the qualitative differences between it and other forms of movement. Only if this point is noted will it be possible to distinguish objects." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 283) Therefore, when we investigate the question of production goals in any society, the first thing to note is not the general character it shares with any other society, but rather the special character which distinguishes it from other societies.

To include expanded reproduction, governmental administration and national defense needs in the goal of production is to ignore their special character. This is because these needs are commonly found in all forms of society which have made any progress. Among them, the need for expanded reproduction cannot be missing from any social form. The needs for governmental administration and national defense are found in all social forms. This is to say that for any society whatever, as long as there is a nation, then a portion of the social production must be used to support the needs of governmental administration and national defense. Therefore, these needs (although their conditions are different in various societies) are a common problem for all social forms or for any number of social forms. However, because a given social production goal is determined by given production relationships, it should not embody all the general features of each society, but only the special features of a specific society. Take the goal of capitalist production, for example; its special character is surplus value. The special character of the goal of socialist production is the satisfaction of the livelihood needs of the people.

Third, it confuses the goal of socialist production with the distribution of national income.

Although there is a close relationship between the goal of socialist production and the distribution and use of national income, they nonetheless are two different problems and cannot be confused in discussion. The question to be answered regarding the goal of socialist production is why production is carried out, not how the objects produced should be distributed and used in order to satisfy which needs. The latter question is one concerning which problems are to be solved through the distribution of national income. We must emphasize that the goal of socialist production can only be to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs and must emphatically deny that all social products should be "totally distributed and completely consumed" and given back to the workers without reserve. What we say is that only through correct understanding of the goals of socialist production can there be rational distribution and utilization of all social production and national income.

The people's various misconceptions of the goals of socialist production, basically speaking, arise from a lack of correct understanding of the economic category of the production goal. It must be understood that a socialist production goal is not any general economic category but is one of decisive significance in socialist ways of production. For example, the goal of capitalist production is the economic category of surplus value; this what decides the essential features of the capitalist mode of production and, moreover, controls all capitalist economic activities. According to Marx' analysis, surplus value determines the entire character of capitalist production, is expressed as the starting and ending points of capitalist production, and is the motivation and goal of capitalist production. Therefore, capitalist economics takes its production goal--surplus value--as its central movement. In terms of content, Marx' reasoning can be applied to the goal of socialist production. This is to say that the goal of socialist production is an economic category that also determines the essential character of the socialist mode of production and controls all socialist economic activities. This is because: First, it decides the nature of socialist production. Second, it is the starting point and the resting place of socialist production. Third, it is the motive force and overall regulator for developing the socialist economy. Therefore, socialist economics must take its unique production goal as its core and its movement. Since this question is so important, what, then, can become the content of this economic category of the socialist production goal? Can the need of expanded reproduction become its content? It cannot. Can governmental administration and national defense needs become its content? Again, no. Nothing will do but the people's livelihood needs. Only this can become the content of the economic category of the socialist production goal.

The multiple goal theory is not only theoretically unscientific but in practice is also dangerous. For example, since the goal of social production is to provide satisfaction of all social needs whatever, then no matter how production is organized there will be no way to lean toward the goal of socialist production. In this way it is very easy to overlook and exclude satisfaction of the people's livelihood needs, foster blindness in production and provide a theoretical basis for the error of producing for the sake of production. The previous occurrence of a tendency toward producing for the sake of production (in the past) cannot be said to be unconnected with such a view. To give another example, because the needs of expanded reproduction, governmental administration and national defense are included in the goal of socialist production and, moreover, still represent the workers' overall interests and long-range interests, there is the possibility that in the handling of the relationships between the individual's immediate interests and the overall long-range interests there will be excessive emphasis on subordinating the former to the latter, and so proper consideration cannot be given to both of them. For many years now, the problem in our handling of this question has been emphasis on "subordination" and neglect of "concurrent consideration." This one-sidedness is always connected with an inability to correctly understand the goals of socialist production. In short, to use such a concept as the totality of social needs to generalize the goal of socialist production has in practice already brought serious consequences to our economic work. We ought to now undertake a discussion to clarify this muddled concept, which appears correct but actually is wrong, and thus put our understanding of the goal of socialist production on a scientific track.

Whether the goal of socialist production actually is use value or value is an important distinction in the question of understanding production goals.

We believe that, because socialist production is to satisfy the people's consumer needs, its goal ought to be use value rather than value and profit.

Some comrades believe that it is not the goal of socialist production to satisfy consumer needs, so the goal is not use value but rather value and profit. The comrades who hold this view believe that to take use value, that is, the satisfaction of the people's assorted needs, as the goal of socialist production is to take the natural attributes of a commodity as the goal of production. As they see things, socialist production is commodity production, and their products must demonstrate value before they can have any use value. In this way, the goal of socialist production must be examined only from the perspective of value. They also believe that if we say that satisfaction of the people's consumer needs is the goal of socialist production, it then ought to function as the driving force of economics, while actually the great majority of commodity producers (enterprises) and workers are not entirely concerned about satisfying the people's consumer needs. What they are concerned about is how much income and profit are derived from sale of the commodity, and the satisfaction of the people's consumer needs or use value is undertaken through the creation of super income (profits).

In connection with these views, still others believe that the goal of socialist production is both use value and value, which is the dual goal theory.

The common point of these two views is that they both start from commodities production in their arguments on the goal of socialist production. I believe this deserves some discussion.

They are mistaken about the real reasons that decide the goal of socialist production. We know that in no society is the production goal decided by commodity production, but is determined by the ownership system over the means of production. Small commodity production, capitalist commodity production and socialist commodity production have existed throughout history. If it is said that the production goal of a society is determined by commodity production, these three types of commodity production should be the same; all should be for value or should have dual goals. Actually, however, because of different systems of ownership of the means of production, their production goals are all different. The goal for a small commodity producer in producing and exchanging his commodity is to obtain in return a different use value that he personally needs in order to satisfy the livelihood needs of himself and his family. The goal of capitalist commodity production is neither use value nor general value, but rather is surplus value. The goal of socialist commodity production is neither value nor profit, but is use value which will satisfy the consumer needs of all members of society. Obviously, a study of a society's production goal can only start from the system of ownership of the means of production and cannot start from commodity production. To start from commodity production easily leads to mistaken conclusions.

If, then, we conclude that the goal of socialist production is use value rather than value, does this not set up an opposition between use value and value? Just as we said that a production goal of satisfying the people's consumer needs does not mean there is an opposition between consumption and production, if we see value as a device, this does not mean that there is an opposition between value and use value. It is precisely the opposite; only if the device of value is properly handled can the production goal be better implemented. This is to say that only if there is strict economic accounting of the production process of value and a demand for the greatest economic results with the least labor expenditure can there be greater and better satisfaction of the people's consumer needs.

To believe that value is the goal of socialist production is actually to say that profit is the goal of socialist production. Can profit then become the goal of socialist production? It cannot. This is because under the socialist system the only direct goal of socialist production is to satisfy the people and their needs, and the material content of these needs can only be use value, not profits in the form of value. Does this character of scientific regulation in the goal of socialist production create an opposition between profit and production goals, and is satisfaction of the people's needs of no importance? The answer is no. The profits enterprises obtain through production management represent the corresponding material wealth. The more profits an enterprise obtains, the more wealth a society possesses. Therefore, under the condition of being in accord with the principles of socialist management, the more profits an enterprise obtains, the better. The larger the enterprise's profits, the greater the possibility of expanding reproduction and improving the people's livelihood. If a socialist enterprise cannot provide continuous, unending profits, this will affect the continual, rapid development of socialist production and the realization of the goals of socialist production. Therefore, socialist enterprise profits and satisfying the people's needs not only are not in opposition but are an indispensable major device for carrying out the goal of socialist production.

In connection with the above question, we can also bring up another viewpoint. This viewpoint holds that the production goal of a socialist society and the production goal of socialist enterprises are not entirely consistent, that the production goal of a socialist society can be described as satisfying man and his needs, while the enterprise's production goal is to obtain profits, which is because the enterprise has its own special material interests. I am also unable to agree with this viewpoint, because although the production goal is determined by the system of ownership of the means of production, under conditions of ownership systems of a similar nature the production goal of society and that of the enterprise ought to be similar. Moreover, society's production goal is composed of the production goal of each enterprise, so they must be consistent; otherwise a society's production goal will lose its basis of composition. For example, the reason why surplus profit is the goal of capitalist society production is that surplus profit is the production goal of each capitalist enterprise that comprises this society's production goal. In the same fashion, the reason why the production goal of a socialist society is to satisfy man and his needs is also that each socialist enterprise also has this same goal. The consistent nature of social and enterprise production goals is a concrete embodiment of the superiority of the socialist system. Although socialist enterprises must have their own special material interests, nonetheless they cannot have their own special production goal. To make enterprise special interest their special production goal is to create a division between the production goal of society and that of the enterprises. This does not make sense in theory and would have no advantage in practice.

The scientific implication of our clarification of the goal of socialist production is the firm establishment of the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs as the basic leading ideology of socialist construction and organization and the arrangement of all of our economic activities according to this goal. In this way our undertaking to build modernization will be able to make rapid progress in the correct direction.

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A BRIEF DISCOURSE ON FEUDAL AUTOCRACY IN CHINA

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[Article by Bai Gang [4101 6921]]

[Text] Feudalism is a social formation based on natural economy. History shows that various countries in the world have experienced this stage of social development. The concrete conditions of such social development vary greatly with the country, the nation and the locality.

China has a long feudal history, and feudalism in China acquired many characteristics of its own in the process of its development. Politically, they were manifested in autocracy, patriarchy, bureaucratic politics, hierarchical prerogatives and contentions for political power among political factions. Economically, they were reflected in the exploitation of tenant-peasants by feudal landlords and in certain peasants' becoming appendages to feudal landlords under feudal landlord ownership of land. Ideologically and culturally, they were expressed in the theory of the mandate of heaven and the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues as specified in the feudal ethical code. After Gin Shi Huang, the first emperor of Qin, unified the six states, established his feudal autocratic empire and centralized state power, Chinese feudal society began its development along the road of autocracy. This development continued for as long as 2100 years, and by the time of the 1911 revolution, feudal autocracy and feudal ideology had become highly developed. Although the 1911 revolution succeeded in driving away the emperor, this revolution failed to duly criticize the feudal system, nor did it change the economic foundation on which feudal autocracy rested. The May 4th Movement of 1919 was a direct onslaught on feudal culture, but it, too, failed to lash at the foundation of feudal autocracy. Therefore, feudal autocracy still exerted wide and profound influence on all aspects of social life.

One outstanding feature of conditions in China is that new China was born out of a semifeudal and semicolonial society without going through the historical stage of independent capitalism. This has been one of the strong points of the Chinese revolution. It has exempted us from exploitation and oppression by the bourgeoisie. The new democratic revolution led by our party was a revolution that was thoroughly against feudalism and imperialism. However, the new democratic revolution has not completely fulfilled the task of eradicating the vestiges of feudal autocracy. After the founding of new China, we paid attention to the importance of guarding against erosion by bourgeois ideas but not to the importance of eradicating the ideological influence of feudal autocracy. This was our shortcoming. As a result, the vestiges of feudal autocracy were able to continue their existence.

In the past 3 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee has brought order out of chaos, made great achievements on the various fronts and issued the great call for realizing the four modernizations. However, the existence of the vestiges of feudal autocracy inevitably prevents us from carrying forward socialist democracy, and without socialist democracy the development of socialist mass production will become empty talk. Therefore, a reassessment of the conditions in our country and the eradication of the vestiges of feudal autocratic ideology is of great significance to the acceleration of the four modernizations.

I

By vestiges of feudal autocratic ideology we refer mainly to certain phenomena in modern Chinese society that give expression to feudal autocratic ideology. The major manifestations of the influence of feudal autocracy on modern political and social life in China can be summed up in the following three aspects:

First, "power means everything." Unlike the bourgeoisie, who are nominally restricted by law, the feudal ruling class wielded supreme power, and its will was law. Hence, once it seized political power the feudal ruling class had social wealth at its disposal. In the past centuries a feudal emperor established his supreme position and, once he had initiated his reign, was the only one who enacted laws and appointed officials. His likes and dislikes determined the fate of all the people in the state. This was true not only of the emperor who initiated a dynasty but of the emperors who became successors to his throne. For example, when Emperor Wuzong of the Ming dynasty was planning to tour the south of the country, civil and military officials in the Ming court headed by Xia Liangsheng remonstrated against the idea. The emperor flew into a rage, arrested Xia Liangsheng and some others and put them in jail. Some 107 others were made to kneel down at the Wu Men Gate outside the Imperial Palace for 5 days. Later these officials were also flogged. Some of them were then "sent into exile," some had "6 months' salaries confiscated," some were "dismissed" and some even died from the flogging. All such disasters were brought about by a piece of advice given by the officials that clashed with the emperor's wishes. When the emperor was engaged in such perverse acts, the ordinary officials followed suit. "Once they assumed office, they too began to abuse power." They held power over the people's lives and property, controlled the administrative organs, denied many people justice by receiving bribes and making arbitrary decisions in legal proceedings, unjustly occupied houses and farmland, willfully ordered people about, killed people with the intention of seizing their property, illegally kept others' wives and daughters in custody and took liberties with them, and so on. All this drove the people to the point where they could hardly bear it any longer. It was just like what is described by the proverb: "The magistrates were free to burn down houses, while the common people were forbidden even to light lamps." In his book, "Excerpts of Leisurely Notes of a Summer," Xia Gongxie wrote about how someone experienced "great changes" after he became a successful candidate in the imperial exams at the provincial level during the Ming dynasty. The writer said that, as soon as the news came, landlords came up to the successful candidate's house to befriend him, some people proposed to marry their daughters to him, some called him their teacher and others presented him with gifts of 1,000 taels of silver. Why such sudden changes? It was because becoming a successful candidate meant becoming an official and hence "wielding power." As the saying had it, "One can accumulate 100,000 taels of sparkling silver after working as a magistrate for 3 years in the Qing dynasty." This is a vivid portrayal of the ways in which members of the ruling class took advantage of their public office and grabbed social wealth. Precisely because of this, deception and trickery in the scramble for power and profit became a persistent malady of feudal autocracy.

Second, patriarchy. After he seized supreme political power in the country, Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of Qin, declared that "from now on I will call myself 'Zhen' and pass on my power to my sons, grandsons, great grandsons, and so on to infinity." "My word will be law, and everything, big or small, under the sun will be decided by me." ("The Records of the Historian," "Biography of the Shi Huang Emperor of Qin") Hence, the emperor "meant the state," and the word "zhen" came to be used to specially signify the supreme power of the emperor, which soon became a convention followed by the feudal ruling class of different dynasties. It was said that "his majesty is the sun of the heaven and the father of the people." The notion that "the emperor is the father of the people" ruthlessly exposed the patriarchal nature of the system of the emperor. Therefore, Lenin said that feudal autocracy in a word meant "the dictatorial rule by a single person." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 49) The tall walls of the "Forbidden City" cut the emperors off from the ordinary people. The emperors listened only to reports from the officials and did not have any understanding of the sufferings of the people, because they failed to go deep among the people. The masses of people were only supposed to obey the will and decrees of the emperors; if they refused, they would be regarded as "traitors" or "heretics." The emperor was entitled to confer any noble title on any of his subjects, offer him any appointment and bestow on him any property or prerogative; the emperor could also take anyone's life under any fabricated charge. Hence, what the emperor said counted was the most important characteristic of feudal autocracy.

In the feudal era the country belonged to the imperial family. The family of Emperor Gaozu of the Han dynasty was once the imperial family; so were the families of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty, Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty and Emperor Taizu of the Ming dynasty. That is to say, the whole country was ruled by a certain clan. The emperor was the most powerful patriarch, while a certain civil or military official could be a less powerful patriarch. The fact that a country magistrate was often referred to in the feudal era as the "responsible official and father of the people" is proof of this. In each of the countless families of the people, the father was also the patriarch. The emperor and the patriarch of a family upheld the same ethical code; the emperor's subjects should be "loyal" to the emperor, and sons and daughters should show "filial piety" to the patriarch. It was said that "if the emperor wants one of his subjects to die, the subject must not refuse to do so, and if a father wants his son to die, the son should not refuse to do so." This most clearly proves that both the emperor and the patriarch were products of feudal autocracy, whose influence on Chinese history should not be underestimated.

Third, bureaucracy. In Chinese feudal society the emperors relied on a huge bureaucracy to enforce their will and rule the country. With regard to the formation of bureaucracy, which was an organic component of feudal autocracy, there are four questions worthy of our attention: 1) Rigid stratification. The bureaucracy took the shape of a pyramid with the emperor at the very top of it, and all the officials were divided into nine grades. The 9 grades were then subdivided into some 18 steps. In addition, there were other small officials and clerks who were not included in these grades or steps. It was said that "in this rigidly stratified society the emperor possesses absolute power and the most dignified position." ("A History of the Han Dynasty," "The Biography of Jia Yi") Under the hereditary system, the emperor enjoyed lifetime tenure, and the bureaucrats were given various kinds of prerogatives according to their different ranks. One of the systems that conferred prerogatives on people was called the "en yin" system. It originated in the Han dynasty, was applied by the ensuing dynasties and became most prevalent in the Song dynasty. Under this system, when a person became a successful candidate in the imperial exams, his sons, grandsons or other relatives could all benefit from association with him and secure official appointments. Sometimes one's aides or family doctors could also be given appointments, bringing the number of people who received benefits to over 20. There were even people who tried to "sell" such "rights" to the highest "bidder." 2) Usually the system of appointing and removing administrative personnel was implemented from top to bottom. In different dynasties the methods used to select officials were different. In the Han dynasty this was done by the method of recommending candidates for the position of "xiao lian." In the Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern dynasties the method of the "nine-grade official selection" was in use. From the Sui dynasty to the Qing dynasty the system of imperial exams was practiced. However, there was not much change in the function of the bureaucracy. In Chinese history, bureaucracy in any dynasty always acted as a tool for the emperor's dictatorial rule. In the appointment of officials, talent and moral character were ignored, and emphasis was placed on people's family background. Nepotism and corruption ran rampant, and many people got good jobs by deception or by going through the "back door." In the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern dynasties, officials were selected "only from among the gentry." For some time during the Tang dynasty, officials' promotions were decided in accordance with their "seniority" regardless of "talent and performance." As a result, many key posts were occupied by incompetent officials, the work efficiency of the government remained very low and there was quite a lot of chaos in the official ranking system. In the Song dynasty, 8 or 9 officials out of 10 "even did not know their terms of reference." 3) The emperors' in-laws and eunuchs controlled state power, and there were many factional struggles. In the Qin dynasty there were the prime minister, the defense minister and the imperial censor, respectively, in charge of administrative affairs, military affairs and censorship. Later, emperors of the Han dynasty felt that these three wielded too much power and therefore might endanger the emperor's rule. Hence, the Han emperors began to delegate more power to eunuchs. During the reign of the Wu emperor of the Han dynasty, state secrets were discussed only among the emperor and his eunuchs and in-laws. Eunuchs and the emperor's in-laws were able to exert immense influence on state affairs. Shortly after he came to power, the Taizu emperor of the Ming dynasty simply killed the prime minister in the official structure of the Ming dynasty. After the Cheng Zu emperor of Ming seized power with the help of eunuchs, the eunuchs' political power drastically increased. In the middle part of the Ming dynasty a lot of power was conferred on organizations like the "jin yi wei," the "dong chang" and the "xi chang," which were controlled by the eunuchs. The eunuchs simply bypassed the civil and military officials and reported directly to the emperors. In this way, the administrative, military and judicial powers were controlled more and more completely in the hands of the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs. Eunuchs who won the emperors' favor never played any glorious role in Chinese history. The collusion between the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs and their grip on state power often led to inconsistency in government policies, widespread factional strife and the practice of fawning upon the emperors and people in high positions and bullying and fabricating unjust charges against those below. The emperors' in-laws and eunuchs "fished for fame, sought material benefits, built up personal influences, discriminated against people holding views different from theirs, deceived the emperors and took pleasure in flattering them." ("Factual Accounts About the Emperors of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 18) Officialdom was simply foul at that time. 4) Overlapping bureaucratic organs became increasingly overstaffed, and bureaucratic ways were passed on from generation to generation. In the Song dynasty there were many redundant officials; sometimes five or six people were appointed to the same position. In the Yuan dynasty it was said that "officials outnumbered ordinary people." By the middle part of the Ming dynasty, bureaucratic organs took on unprecedented dimensions. The number of civil and military officials, eunuchs, members of the "jin yi wei," the "dong chang" and the "xi chang," and imperial kinsmen exceeded 400,000. They lived in luxury, squandered public money but took no part in social production and were reluctant to shoulder responsibilities. It would "take them months or even years to carry out a task assigned to them by higher authorities," and they would "make numerous reports to higher authorities about even the most trivial matters" in order to avoid making decisions and to dodge responsibilities. Officials at that time "devoted more time to watching their superiors' every mood and readjusting their behavior accordingly than to attending to their official business." This means they did everything according to their superiors' likes and dislikes. It resulted in rampant red-tapism, and things got lost in the maze of official papers. Such bureaucratic airs have historically been an inseparable companion to autocracy and have survived all changes of dynasties.

II

Economically, feudal autocracy had three major manifestations: First, land ownership by feudal landlords. This type of land ownership was the economic foundation of feudal autocracy. In other words, it was the material support for the emperors' centralized power and also provided the guarantee for the existence of bureaucracy. In feudal society the mode of production that combined agricultural labor with land--the basic means of production--played the decisive role in the entire social life. When land was owned by a proportion of the people in society, the peasants, who used land in their labor, were forced to enter into a relationship of subordination with the landowners to an extent determined by the peasants' dependence on the use of land. The peasants then had to hand over to the landowners in the form of tribute, rents and so forth their surplus labor and in some cases part of the labor that yielded their means of subsistence, or the products of their labor. In addition, the peasants had to enter into political, ethical and legal relationships equivalent to the economic relationship of subordination to the landowners. The emperors were the leaders of the landlord class. They had absolute power to allocate land and seize from the peasants all their surplus labor or products of labor. Since the emperor "ruled the country in conjunction with the literati and the officialdom," officials at various levels and landlords, big or small, obtained various political and economic prerogatives by relying on the backing of the emperors and through the redistribution of property and power. From the time of Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of Qin, onward, the peasants' products--grain, cotton and silk--formed the revenue of the government. Officials' salaries were paid mainly in grain. For example, during the Han dynasty the "three top-ranked ministers" were each paid "10,000 shi" of grain; other "senior ministers" each received "2,000-odd shi" of grain; and other "ministers" received around "2,000 shi" each. Sometimes the term "2,000 shi" was used as a synonym for the official title of "prefectural magistrate." After the middle of the Tang dynasty, a two-tier tax system was introduced under which the government collected taxes twice a year, in summer and in autumn. Such taxes were paid in grain and other farm produce. During certain periods taxes could be paid in silver. Then there was the "capitation," a tax paid "equally by all people." This tax system, which collected mainly farm produce, determined the nature of Chinese feudal society over the past 2,000 years and more, with agriculture being its foundation.

Second, natural economy was the basic feature of the feudalist mode of production. Each household was a production unit engaged in scattered individual production. Individual peasants produced grain, cattle and domestic fowl, cotton yarn and cloth to satisfy their own needs. The society was composed of many economic units like this, and each unit carried out all aspects of economic work from the gathering of raw materials to the final stage of the manufacture of consumer items. Such a unitary small-scale peasant economy possessed great power of regeneration due to its patriarchal clan connections. The changes of dynasties did not cause its disintegration, because some reorganization was enough for it to adapt itself to the needs of the new environment. In the time of Qin Shi Huang, "agriculture was encouraged and other trades suppressed." In all the ensuing dynasties, "agriculture was emphasized while other trades were pushed aside." Attaching great importance to agriculture and discriminating against commerce was the tradition of all feudal dynasties in Chinese history. Commodity production was suppressed and neglected. Science and technology was considered to be "evil" and "sordid." Therefore, for many thousands of years, hundreds of thousands of peasant households shared the same tradition of "working to grow grain for food." Since ancient times China has been a unified multinational country. However, despite the fact that nomadic races or tribes conquered China proper on several occasions, these nomadic people always abandoned their original mode of production--animal husbandry--and switched to a small-scale individual peasant economy like that of the Han nationality once they took political control over China proper.

In Chinese feudal society, landholding peasants existed as a supplement to land ownership by the feudal landlord class. However, because land could be sold freely, land annexation became very popular. After the time of the Wu emperor of Han, there were numerous historical records about "the rich owning a great deal of land but the poor living such a wretched life that they had no roof to sleep under." Land annexation led to further developments in the relations between the landlords and their tenants, and the peasants had to rely more heavily on the landlords for land. Many of the peasants who lost their land rose in revolt and "died in trenches on the battlefield." The rest were reduced to landlords' tenants or hired farmhands relying on landlords for a living. There was no qualitative change in the structure of the small-scale peasant economy.

There have been tens of thousands of peasant uprisings and peasant wars in the history of Chinese feudal society due to land annexation, feudal oppression and feudal exploitation. Wave upon wave, the peasants' struggles continually deepened, and the spearhead of their struggles were always directed toward the land ownership by the landlord class. Egalitarian ideas permeated their struggles, as evidenced by such programs as the one that called for "equal social status and land ownership for all" and slogans like "equalizing land ownership and abolishing taxes." Another example of egalitarianism was the "land system" advanced by the "heavenly kingdom." Egalitarian ideas in those times were the most revolutionary and played a positive role in the peasants' struggles against feudal exploitation and oppression. However, the peasants did not, after all, represent any new productive force, nor were they able to create new modes of production. Although in the course of peasant wars some land previously owned by landlords was seized and a number of old landlords killed or driven away, the leaders of the peasants became new landlords. Therefore, peasant uprisings and peasant wars never replaced the unitary small-scale peasant economy with anything else.

Chinese feudal society also had its periods of full boom. These included the "periods under the rule of the Wen emperor and the Jing emperor of the Han dynasty" and the "period under the Taizong emperor of the Tang dynasty," as well as short periods of economic prosperity at the beginning of many dynasties when the founders of the dynasties laid down policies of mollification to give the people "a chance to have some rest." During such times the wounds of war were healed, social wealth increased, social order returned to normal, "state coffers became fuller" and people "did not take any article left by the wayside." However, this invariably was achieved through the implementation of the policy of "encouraging agriculture and sericulture" in an effort to stabilize the small-scale peasant economy. During the Ming and the Qing dynasties the development of commodity economy and the emergence of certain capitalist factors in the economy brought small-scale changes to the economic structure of Chinese society. However, capitalism was nipped in the bud in China before it was able to transform the self-supporting small-scale peasant economic structure because of the feudal autocratic rule, the closed-door policy toward customs administration and the exploitation and suppression of commerce and handicraft production.

Third, extra-economic coercive measures and the wanton squandering of public money by the ruling class led to a monstrous waste of social wealth (including manpower). In the feudal era, social labor took the form of individual manual labor, and labor productivity was very low. To quench its insatiable desires, the feudal ruling class resorted to extra-economic coercive measures and human wave tactics to launch large-scale construction projects in complete disregard of the enormous costs involved. The savage economic exploitation of the peasant class severely sapped the economy and exhausted the people. The construction of the Afang Palace and the Lishan Tomb ordered by Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of Qin, was a typical example of this. It was recorded: "Qin Shi Huang wanted to build a vast palace complex that would cover more than 300 square li and include mountains, valleys, pavilions and palaces, as well as wide roads crisscrossing the area and linking it with the Li Shan more than 80 li away. The front portion of the palace complex would be constructed on the top of the Biao Nan Shan, and below it a lake would be dug to link up with the Fan Chuan River." ("The Geography of the San Fu Area," Vol 1) From this one can imagine the huge dimensions of the project and the amount of money and manpower it required. For another example, the Yang emperor of the Sui dynasty decided to build his eastern capital soon after he came to power. Under his orders, "20,000 laborers were assigned to the work every month." Among the buildings in the palace was a hall named "Xian Pen" and a garden named "Xi Wan." The hall was so designed that it projected over a brook, and in the garden "many rare animals were kept and outlandish plants were planted after the emperor made a tremendous effort to have them gathered from all corners of the land." Furthermore, the "Xi Wan" garden occupied "an area of some 200 square li with a large lake in the middle of it." In the lake there were three mountains--the Peng Lai mountain, the Fang Zhang mountain and the Ying Zhou mountain--all of them rising more than 100 chi above the water. Altogether the mountains had a circumference of more than 10 li. They were dotted with numerous raised terraces, pavilions, halls and palaces." ("Zi Zhi Tong Jian," Vol 180) Some "labyrinthine structures" were also designed, and the elaborate patterns with their "thousands of windows and doors" took "tens of thousands of workmen" a long time to finish. What a life of wanton extravagance was lived by the feudal ruling class, who looked upon the people's labor and the country's material resources as dirt! Such oppressive extra-economic measures destroyed much of the work force in the rural area and caused great damage to the economy. While the emperors indulged themselves to their hearts' content, they ruined thousands of families. There have been many examples of this in history. We know that progress is based on accumulation and that the exhaustion of material resources and manpower hinders the development of science and technology. During the middle ancient times China was well in the fore with regard to scientific and technological development in the world. However, the feudal ruling class in China often neglected and even wreaked havoc on the development of science and technology. As a result, China was prevented from making further rapid progress in science and technology and began to fall behind others in this respect after the middle part of the Ming dynasty.

III

Cultural autocracy was a characteristic of feudalism in its ideological and cultural spheres. To unify thinking, Qin Shi Huang "burned books and buried Confucian scholars alive," thereby putting an end to the contention among 100 schools of thought during the Period of the Warring States and setting a precedent for cultural autocracy. He "forbade starting rumors" and "forbade gossiping in the street." He did not allow people to express their views. He only allowed the government cultural office to keep "the book of poetry and the books of various schools" and the scholars to "take the government officials as the teachers." Doubtless, this was a measure to control the mind. However, the Confucian doctrine was a type of magic for defending the autocratic centralist rule. For this reason, the situation began to change during the Han dynasty. During the reign of the Gaozu emperor of the Han dynasty, Han Xin, Peng Yue and other ministers who had rendered outstanding meritorious services rose in rebellion. Later the Lu brothers, who were the emperor's in-laws, also rose in rebellion. What was the best way to maintain a unified situation under autocratic centralism? Dong Zhongshu, who was a minister during the reign of the Wu emperor of the Han dynasty, found a way from practice. He said: "There are different schools of thought at present. Different people have different opinions. The various schools of thought adhere to their own principles. For this reason, the officials at the higher levels are not unified in their thinking and change their policies from time to time, while the lower-level officials have no rules to follow. In my opinion, all subjects of study which have nothing to do with the six arts--rites, music, archery, driving chariots, learning and mathematics--taught by the Confucian school should not be allowed." ("Biography of Dong Zhongshu" in "History of the Han Dynasty") His opinion was adopted by the emperor. Thereafter, "all heretical thoughts were eliminated," and the Confucian school of thought was "regarded as supreme." As a result, "only the Confucian school was held in esteem, and all other schools were forbidden." Reformed and developed by Dong Zhongshu, the Confucian doctrine was adopted by the emperors of the succeeding dynasties. After that, Confucian thought was upheld by the ruling class and absolutely dominated Chinese history. During the Song and Yuan dynasties and even the Ming and Qing dynasties, only the "Four Books" and "Confucius' Analects" were taught in schools. "A magistrate of a prefecture or an official in charge of the discipline of public functionaries in a prefecture should establish an academy, build a memorial hall for the former sages, make annotations on the Four Books and elaborate on the Analects to gain a reputation as a virtuous official in order to be promoted. In the civil service examination, a candidate must quote from the Four Books and the Analects in order to gain credit." ("Principles of Learning" in the last part of the third volume of "Miscellaneous Information" by Zhou Mi) Whoever acted at variance with this practice would be labeled as "deviating from the right path" and attacked. Because of its lopsided development, the system of civil service examinations adopted during the Ming and Qing dynasties reached an impasse. Accepting Liu Ji's proposal, Zhu Yuanzhang, the Taizu emperor of the Ming dynasty, ordered that questions set for the civil service examination should be limited to the Four Books and the Five Classics and that the answers should be based on the annotations by Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao and Zhu Xi. Zhu Jianshen, who was the Xianzong emperor of the Ming dynasty, even created the calamitous "eight-legged" style of writing, which tightly fettered people's thinking for several centuries. Gu Yanwu said in his "Setting of Topics" in "Collection of Daily Knowledge," Vol 16: "In my opinion, the eight-legged style of writing is as disastrous as burning the books and is more destructive in wiping out talent than the incident of burying more than 460 Confucian scholars alive in a suburban area of Xianyang City during the reign of Qin Shi Huang." Moreover, many people were imprisoned for writings which were considered offensive to the government. Rules and regulations were strictly applied against them. They were executed if their writings were regarded as offensive to the emperor. Throughout the past dynasties, many rulers burned large numbers of books disadvantageous to them in order to consolidate their rule. Subsequently, cultural autocracy led to the fettering of the mind. In philosophical terminology, these rulers were pursuing obscurantism.

In pursuing obscurantism, the feudal rulers chiefly resorted to two magic weapons: One was the conception of the mandate of heaven. In his "Spring, Autumn and Gems on the Crown," Dong Zhongshu said that "the officialdom can be likened to the celestial system," vigorously creating public opinion for bureaucracy. He held that "the ruler can be matched with the heaven" and extolled the emperor as "son of heaven." An emperor's edict usually carried the phrase "by command of heaven," thus disguising an emperor as an envoy to "maintain communication between heaven and man" and as a "god." A "deification campaign" took place in every dynasty in Chinese history. Its purpose was to "deify" the emperor. Being a "god," the emperor was holy and inviolable. This point was officially written in the law during the Han dynasty. Violations of this rule were regarded as "a great disrespect," and the offender would be given severe punishment. During the succeeding feudal dynasties, provisions were laid down in the law against "10 major crimes." One of these provisions was drawn up against the violation of imperial dignity. For example, anyone found guilty of falsifying an imperial edict, harboring "great disrespect," cursing and calumniating the emperor, forming a faction to cheat the emperor, spreading a rumor against the government or plotting a rebellion was given capital punishment without exception.

The other magic weapon was the ethical conception of "the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues." This ethical conception focused on the three cardinal guides, which meant "the sovereign guides the ministers; the father guides the son; the husband guides the wife." (Ban Gu, "Ethical Discussions at Baihu Palace") Actually, the powers of the sovereign, the father and the husband were combined and regarded as the moral standard in society which was applied to all, from the emperor to the ordinary citizen. In this way, political relations were taken as clan relations and clan relations as political relations. The so-called way to cultivate oneself, govern one's family, administer one's country and bring peace to the world became the standard for the feudal landlords, and especially for the feudal officials and scholars, to conduct themselves in society. The main point of the three cardinal guides was to advocate blind devotion to one's superiors. All should be "devoted" to the emperor, whether he was a child or a fool. The three cardinal guides aimed at combining the clan relations and the political relations. For this reason, when one handled these guides well, "one would meet with success and benefit one's relatives." But if one did not handle these guides well, "one would commit a crime and get one's relatives involved in trouble." Therefore, for the sake of one's personal safety as well as that of one's family, one would invariably follow these guides. A salient feature in the development of the history of Chinese feudal society was that the dead were always a drag on the living. This was true of the Chinese feudal society for the past 2,000 years. This concept was like invisible shackles fettering the people. Occasionally some "intelligent people" cast doubt on it. They were invariably met with brutal persecution from the authorities. What happened to Li Zhuowu, a noted thinker of the Ming dynasty, was an outstanding example. This concept generated a force of habit and had an evil influence on Chinese society. For this reason, the concept of the mandate of heaven and the ethical concept of the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues were the ideological foundation of feudal autocracy.

The above is an account of the basic characteristics of feudal autocracy in China and the evil role it played in Chinese history. Chinese feudal society lasted for a long time, with rare parallels in world history. In addition, the Chinese bourgeoisie did not completely liquidate feudal autocracy. As a result, we are seriously impeded by feudal bureaucratic ideas. After liberation we did not clearly estimate the influence of these ideas and promptly take action to eliminate the feudal remnants. This gave Lin Biao and the "gang of four" a chance to exercise feudal fascist dictatorship and to bring boundless disaster to the party, the state and the people. We should remember this lesson, which we learned through bloodshed, and wage a struggle to criticize feudal autocracy. The pernicious influence of feudal autocracy is an obstacle to the development of productive forces. Only when we have completely wiped out the ideological influence of feudal autocracy and shattered the structure of the natural economy will we be able to develop productive forces to a great extent, promote the development of socialist production and quicken the four modernizations.

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THE WAY TO SOLVE THE ENERGY CRISIS AS SEEN FROM ENERGY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

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[Article by Wu Zhonghua [0702 0112 5478]]

[Text] Energy is an important requirement for raising the people's standard of living and pursuing socialist modernization. The pace and scope of economic construction depends on the production and utilization of energy. If the energy supply failed to meet the requirements of economic development, there would be an energy crisis which could arrest the progress of the four modernizations.

This article proposes to analyze the exploitation and utilization of energy in our country and the trend of future developments as seen from energy science and technology.

I. Our Country's Energy Resources and the Energy Requirements of the Four Modernizations

(1) The Existing State of Energy Resources

1. Energy Reserves: Our country is comparatively rich in energy resources. Our known coal deposits amount to 600 billion tons, the world's third largest. Our petroleum reserves rank eighth in the world, and there are also exploitable resources in such places as Xinjiang, the Bay of Bohai, Hainan, etc. yet to be ascertained. Our natural gas reserves rank 16th in the world. We have ample waterpower, theoretically amounting to 680 million kilowatts, the world's largest. Although the exploitable installed capacity is as high as 380 million kilowatts, the actively used installed capacity is only 19 million kilowatts. Our deposits of uranium, thorium and other new energy resources also are comparatively abundant.

2. Energy Production: Energy exploitation in our country has been proceeding at a rather fast pace since the liberation. The total amount of energy produced in 1979 (not including noncommodity energy produced in rural areas) equals 643 million tons of standard coal, 27 times that produced in the early stage of liberation. Noncommodity energy produced in rural areas accounts for an estimated annual total of 290 million tons of standard coal, including 458 million tons of stalks and twigs, 153 million tons of night soil and manure and 28 million tons of firewood.

Energy consumption in our country (not including noncommodity energy consumed in rural areas) in 1979 totaled 586 million tons of standard coal, the third largest in the world. However, since we are a very populous country, the average annual energy consumption per capita is only 0.6 ton (still less than 0.9 ton even if the figure included noncommodity energy consumed in rural areas). The ratio is quite small, only one-fourth of the world average of 2.3 tons per capita. Compared with the world's developing countries, this ranks us a little below the medium level. Compared with the industrialized countries, we rank even lower (for the United States, the Soviet Union, West Germany and Japan the ratios are 12.8, 6.8, 6.3 and 4.7 tons per capita, respectively).

3. Estimated Energy Requirement of the Four Modernizations: The four modernizations require a lot of energy. If we were to achieve a per capita output value of $1,000 by the end of the century, how much energy would be required?

Judging by history, Britain, West Germany, the Soviet Union and Japan consumed 4.9 (1955), 3.8 (1957), 2.8 (1960) and 1.9 (1966) tons of standard coal, respectively, to achieve such a level of per capita output value.[1] According to published data[2] on energy consumption in 85 developing countries and localities in 1975, the amount consumed to achieve an annual per capita output value of $1,000 was 1.6 tons of standard coal.

In 1978 the amount of energy consumed in the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and West Germany to achieve a per capita output value of $1,000 was 1.28, 1.20, 0.71 and 0.54 tons of standard coal, respectively. Since the GNP of these countries is so large and their fuel composition contains a large percentage of oil and gas, the per unit energy consumption is actually lower. As a rule, when industry and technology develop, energy consumption per unit of output value will go down.

The energy consumption for $1,000 of output value per capita (the output value in our country differs in content from that of other countries, and the comparisons given here represent only a general picture) in our country is 1.7 tons of standard coal, much higher than that in industrialized countries. What accounts for the difference is: technological backwardness; the use of coal as the principal fuel; irrational, scattered and duplicated distribution of industry; poor management; lack of coordination between the different sectors; and the fact that more than half the enterprises, which are small and medium-scale manufacturers, produce energy-consuming products. What is worth noting is that the energy consumed in the industrialized countries consists mainly of oil and gas, while we still depend on coal (see following table[3] for a comparison). Compared with oil and gas, coal has a number of disadvantages. It is solid and difficult to transport. Coal contains sulfur, nitrogen, etc. which cause pollution during combustion. Its complicated molecular structure retards reactions and the ratio of utilization.

	Petroleum %	Natural gas %	Coal %	Hydro-electric power %	Nuclear energy %
China	22	3	71	4	0
Japan	75	3	15	5	2
West Germany	49	13	35	1	2
United States	43	29	21	5	2
World average	44	18	30	6	2

If we want our gross industrial and agricultural output value to reach $1,000 per capita by the end of the century, and if our energy consumption per $1,000 of output value is 1.6, 1.2 or 1.0 tons of standard coal, the energy consumption by that time for the whole country with a population of about 1.2 billion will be as much as 1.92 billion, 1.44 billion or 1.2 billion tons of standard coal. The corresponding annual increase in energy production should be 5.6 percent, 4.5 percent or 3.5 percent. Judged in the light of our current energy production, it is estimated that the production quota could not go any higher by the end of the century. That is to say, we must plan carefully and take various measures to eliminate waste, conserve energy, speed up research work, employ advanced technology as much as possible and reduce energy consumption by manufactured products. This is the only way to insure adequate production of energy to meet the needs of the four modernizations.

(2) An Energy Flow Chart of Our Country

A chart of a country's energy flow reflects the movement, conversion and utilization of its energy as well as the crisscross energy relations between various sectors. We have prepared an initial chart of our country's energy flow for 1978 (Chart 1).

The chart shows that the greatest proportion of our country's energy is consumed by the industrial sectors, especially electric power, smelting and the chemical industry, which are the major consumers of energy.

Only 30 percent of all forms of energy in our country is utilized efficiently for purposes of production and livelihood. The following is a comparison between our ratio of utilization and that of the industrialized countries:

	USA 1970	Britain 1973	Japan 1975	China 1978	
Energy consumption per annum	23.3		5.2	5.78	(100 million tons, standard coal)
Ratio of utilization	51	40	44	30	%
Industry	78	67	77	39	%
Electric power	31	27	36	27	%
Communications	25	20	25	20	%
Civilian use	80	70	80	20	%
Source of data (see footnotes)	(4)	(5)	(6)		

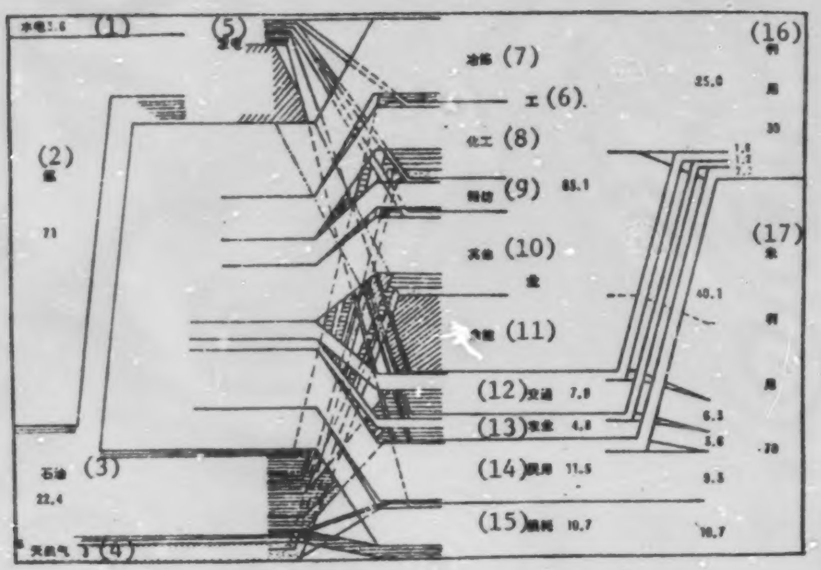


Chart 1. Chart of Energy Flow of Our Country (1978)

Key:

1. Hydroelectric power
2. Coal
3. Petroleum
4. Natural gas
5. Electric power generation
6. Industry
7. Smelting
8. Chemical industry
9. Light industry and textiles
10. Others
11. Residual energy
12. Communications
13. Agriculture
14. Civilian use
15. Loss
16. Utilized
17. Not utilized

Obviously, the ratio of energy utilization in our country is comparatively low. We must work hard to reduce energy consumption (especially by industry) and raise the ratio of utilization.

II. Analysis and Evaluation of the Quality of Energy

(1) Energy Resources, Their Conversion and Utilization

Chart 2 shows the various energy resources, their conversion and utilization. The top row of the chart consists of natural energy resources. Those in the left center are energy resources which have been in use for many years, known as regular energy resources. Those in the right center are new energy resources, because they have been put to use only recently. Of the regular energy resources, natural gas, petroleum and coal are fuels derived from ancient fossils, often called fossil fuels. They are the major energy resources today.

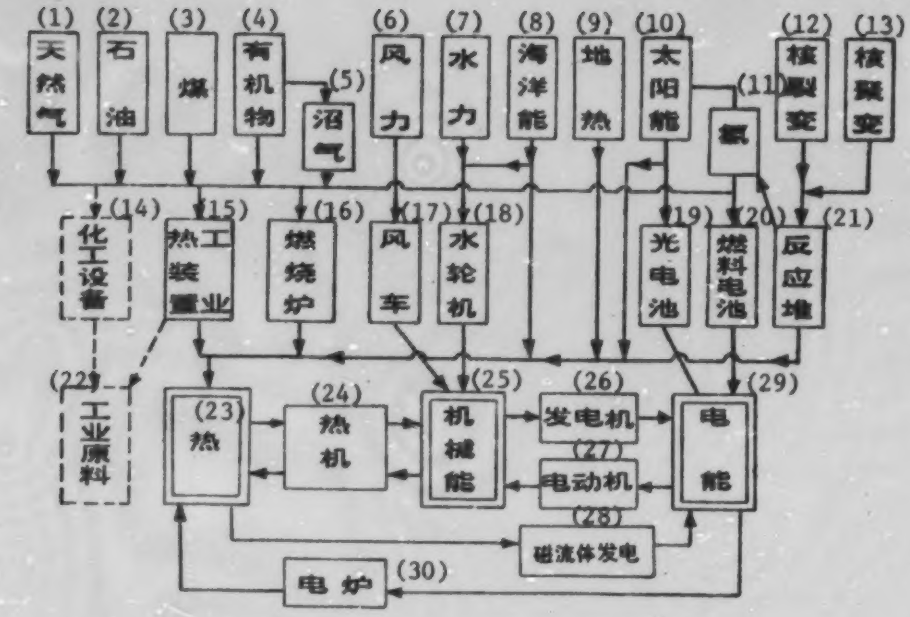

(1) 天然气
(2) 石油
(3) 煤
(4) 有机物
(5) 沼气
(6) 风力
(7) 水力
(8) 海洋能
(9) 地热
(10) 太阳能
(11) 氢
(12) 核裂变
(13) 核聚变
(14) 化工设备
(15) 热工装置业
(16) 燃烧炉
(17) 风车
(18) 水轮机
(19) 光电池
(20) 燃料电池
(21) 反应堆
(22) 工业原料
(23) 热
(24) 热机
(25) 机械能
(26) 发电机
(27) 电动机
(28) 磁流体发电
(29) 电能
(30) 电炉

Chart 2. Energy Resources, Their Conversion and Utilization

Key:

1. Natural gas
2. Petroleum
3. Coal
4. Organic matters
5. Methane
6. Windpower
7. Waterpower
8. Oceanic energy
9. Geothermal energy
10. Solar energy
11. Hydrogen
12. Nuclear fission
13. Nuclear fusion
14. Chemical industry
15. Industrial heat installations
16. Combustion furnaces
17. Windmills
18. Hydraulic turbine
19. Illumination battery
20. Fuel battery
21. Reactor
22. Industrial raw materials
23. Heat
24. Heat engine
25. Mechanical power
26. Electric generator
27. Electric engine
28. Magnetic fluid power generation
29. Electric power
30. Electric furnace

Heat, mechanical power and electric power are three popularly used forms of energy. They may be interchangeably converted by means of certain equipment, such as the heat engine. Most primary energy resources are heated before they are used, either directly or converted into mechanical or electric power. So furnaces and heat engines are important links in energy conversion systems.

(2) Evaluation of the Quality of Energy Resources and Existing Conditions

There are numerous energy resources, and each has its strong as well as weak points. First, let us evaluate the density of energy flow, which is the energy or power actually derived from a given energy source in space or a given locality. Obviously, if its density of energy flow is too small, it could not be used as a major "source" of energy.

To put a given energy resource to practical use, it is necessary to estimate its exploitation cost and the price of equipment to use it. The cost of exploitation and utilization depends on the degree of technical sophistication involved in its conversion and utilization. The latter bears heavily on the order of priority in using different sources of energy.

A good source of energy should supply energy continuously according to the amount and pace of the requirement. This may call for storage to insure continuity of supply. This means that it may be stored up when not in use and can generate energy instantly when the need arises.

Most customers do not live near the source of energy, and this requires careful consideration of transmission and energy loss.

The main source of pollution is energy-consuming equipment. We must remember that pollution worsens as the consumption of energy increases as time goes on.

A dependable source of energy must have plentiful reserves. The possibility of regeneration and geographical distribution are factors to be considered in evaluating energy reserves. For instance, our country's coal resources are in the northwest, while waterpower resources are in the southwest. These are factors which may affect the utilization of these resources.

Finally, there is the question of grading the conversion of energy. An energy resource which can be turned directly into mechanical or electrical power (such as waterpower) should be graded higher than any other energy resource which requires heating (such as petroleum).

(3) Selective Use of Our Country's Existing Energy Resources

We can see from the above that natural gas and petroleum are better than other regular energy resources. They pose practically no problems other than exploitation costs and pollution. The spectacular development of production and economic growth experienced by many countries in the 1950's and 1960's are attributable to cheap petroleum at that time. We missed that opportunity. Now we must keep in mind that our per capita oil extraction and reserve is low when we plan for the four modernizations. Oil of course is more convenient and efficient than coal. But when the oil supply is insufficient, we have to let transportation machinery and mobile power equipment use oil ahead of fixed ground facilities which can use coal.

Judging by the existing conditions in our country, the major source of energy during the present century will still be coal. Compared with natural gas and oil, coal poses more problems for efficient utilization of energy and pollution control. Beijing is badly polluted, and the main source of pollutants is burning coal. This deserves serious attention.

We have plentiful waterpower resources, the foremost in the world. Waterpower may be efficiently converted into mechanical power by hydraulic turbines. It is a regenerating resource, cheap to exploit and free of atmospheric pollution. The utilization of waterpower usually requires dams involving heavy capital construction costs, long construction time and investment. Compared with thermoelectric power which depends on coal, the construction time and investment are about the same in both cases if the construction cost of coal mines is included. However, we have to study more seriously the impact of water dams on the ecology and the transmission of electricity over long distances. At any rate, we should exploit as much as possible our rich waterpower resources, including giving priority to small hydroelectric power stations which could more effectively provide electric power for villages and remote districts as locally required.

We should also begin to develop nuclear power.

It is a very serious problem to provide energy for a population scattered in villages over a vast expanse. We will discuss this in a separate section.

As for new energy resources (including wind), they are not likely to become the major energy resources at this point because of the high cost of the required equipment under existing technological conditions and the low density of energy flow. However, since most of them are available and do not pollute so much, they deserve careful study. Once a breakthrough is achieved in the crucial scientific and technological areas, they may become practical energy resources of the next century.

III. The Science and Technology of Energy Conversion and Utilization

(1) From Fuel to Heat

Most materials used for energy, except certain industrial chemicals, have to go through the medium of heat to be serviceable. (Strictly speaking, the definition of "heat" in physics is heat conduction. The Chinese character for "heat" denotes high temperature. Consequently, most people regard the inherent energy of a substance which fluctuates with temperature changes as heat. The former definition of heat is kept in most cases throughout this article, even though the latter, a loose popular meaning, is also implied in certain cases.) Over 90 percent of the serviceable energy in our country requires heating, while the world average is over 85 percent.

The caloricity of a chemical fuel is the amount of heat into which its chemical energy is converted. The amount of effective conductible heat into which the chemical energy of a fuel is converted in a furnace is known as the rate of furnace efficiency. The efficiency rate of the different kinds of furnaces used in our country is as follows: the boilers of big electric power generation stations (90-94 percent), industrial furnaces (50-70 percent), small-type furnaces (20-60 percent), domestic gas ranges (about 50 percent) and domestic coal stoves (10-20 percent).

It is comparatively easy to convert the chemical energy of fuel into heat. Theoretically, the combustion rate could get close to 100 percent, and heat loss during conduction could be kept to a minimum. So the efficiency rate of furnaces could be quite high. Low efficiency in furnaces is due to incomplete combustion, inefficient heat conduction and loss of heat in smoke emission, in residual heat and in other forms of heat loss. The efficiency of furnaces has a lot to do with the quality of fuels. For instance, ash and rock contained in coal carry away heat when they are discharged as coal cinder, affect the process of combustion and lower the efficiency of furnaces. Thus, coal must be washed and sorted before it is used. During combustion, all fuels (especially coal) discharge SO_2, NO_x, CO, CO_2 and dust, causing environmental pollution and an ecological imbalance. We must be fully aware of the danger. It is very costly to control pollution. Electric power plants in some foreign countries have to spend 20-30 percent of their total investment for pollution control. The new trend is to employ new combustion technology which eliminates pollutants during combustion. Generally speaking, the smaller the furnace, the lower its efficiency and the more serious the pollution.

Civilian consumption of coal used mainly for cooking and heating amounts to 100 million tons in our country. But the heat-efficiency of household coal stoves is just a little over 10 percent, far behind the heat-efficiency of natural gas and electricity. Small coal stoves should be eliminated, and high-efficiency gas ranges should be used widely in cities. The heat-efficiency of small boilers for heating is less than 50 percent, so we must plan to use central heating to raise the energy utilization ratio and reduce pollution.

Industrial consumption of energy in our country accounts for 65 percent of all the energy consumed. It is the biggest consumer of primary energy resources. Industry uses all kinds of furnaces to convert the chemical energy of fuel into heat to meet the needs of its technological process. The use of heat, therefore, accounts for a rather large proportion of energy consumed by industry. The ratio of energy utilization should be higher. In industrialized countries the ratio is over 70 percent. But the ratio of energy utilization in our industrial sectors is less than 50 percent, and here lies a great potential for energy conservation.

Our country's industrial sectors, especially small-scale enterprises, are so backward in technology, so outmoded in equipment and so irrational in technological process (including product design) that their energy consumption is far above the advanced international level. Our small steel mills, small chemical plants, small electric power plants and small cement plants consume five times, four times, three times and two times more energy, respectively, than their counterparts in Japan. Since these small enterprises account for more than 50 percent of our gross industrial output value, the energy consumption of our industrial products far exceeds that of foreign products.

Many of our industrial products consume a tremendous amount of energy. For instance, it takes 1-2.5 tons of standard coal to produce a ton of steel, and the cost of energy consumed to produce certain products accounts for 30-50 percent of their price.

Consequently, to raise the ratio of energy utilization we must adopt advanced technological processes, eliminate energy-consuming enterprises, promote the renewal of equipment, increase the efficiency of all kinds of furnaces, provide a centralized supply of heat, run a simultaneous supply of heat and electricity and make good use of residual energy. The industrial sectors are potential savers of energy.

(2) From Heat to Mechanical Power

1. The Basic Laws of Energy Conversion

The First Law of Thermodynamics--The Law of Energy Conservation: There are various forms of mutually convertible energy, but energy cannot be produced out of the void, nor can energy be destroyed. Its total amount remains unchanged. This is a universal law.

The substances we study in thermodynamics are called "systems." The aforesaid law may be represented like this: After a heating process, the total heat transfer Q of the system equals the total output of work W of the system plus the total increase of the internal energy ΔE of the system. That is: $Q = W + \Delta E$.

The Second Law of Thermodynamics: A heat engine is a machine which works continually to convert the heat of an external medium into mechanical power. The second law of thermodynamics tells us that the heat of a medium Q_1 transferred to a heat engine cannot be completely converted into work W. After the medium goes through a number of thermodynamic cycles, its internal energy does not change, i.e., $\Delta E = 0$ (see Chart 3). Since the heat transferred from a high temperature heat source to the medium Q_1 cannot be completely converted into work, a certain amount of heat Q_2 would go to a lower temperature heat source. So the work output of the heat engine is $W = Q_1 - Q_2$. Heat efficiency is used to represent the degree of efficiency of the conversion of heat into mechanical power, i.e., heat efficiency:

$$\eta = W/Q_1 = 1 - (Q_2/Q_1)$$

It is difficult to give a general description of a heat engine which is so complicated. Thus, in studying heat engines we employ a hypothetical ideal heat engine which performs isothermal transfer with the outside under temperature T_1 and T_2 without any heat loss. This ideal heat engine and ideal heat efficiency may be given as:

$$\eta \text{ ideal} = 1 - (T_2/T_1)$$

It must be pointed out that the temperature in the above formula is not the ordinary Centigrade temperature. It is the absolute temperature which equals Centigrades plus 273 degrees (see Chart 4). Actual heat transfer in a heat engine does not always take place under isothermal conditions, and there may be heat losses due to friction, leakage or cooling. The actual heat efficiency, therefore, is much lower than the ideal heat efficiency. But the ideal heat efficiency shows the impact of the temperature of both heat source and cold source as well as areas for possible improvement. These are important in engineering. For instance, the ideal heat efficiency formula demonstrates that the higher the temperature at the heat source T_1, the lower the temperature at the cold source T_2, and the higher the ideal heat efficiency, the greater would be the amount of heat converted into mechanical power. We rank any energy source with high T_1 as a high-grade energy resource; otherwise it is ranked as a low-grade energy resource. Of course, any energy resource (such as water) which may be converted directly into mechanical power should be rated an even higher grade of energy resource. We should make proper use of different grades of energy resources where they fit best. Take geothermal energy, for example. Since its temperature ranges below 200-300 degrees, it is a low-grade energy source, unlikely to be heat efficient when used for generating electricity. But it is good for heating purposes. On the other hand, it would be a waste to use a high-grade energy source for heating.

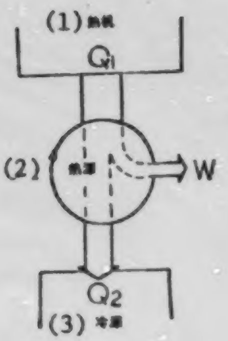


Chart 3. Second Law of Thermodynamics

Key:
1. Heat source
2. Heat engine
3. Cold source

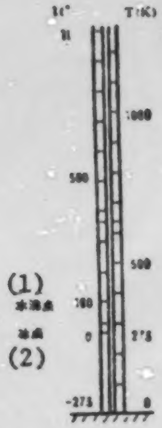


Chart 4. Temperatures

Key:
1. Boiling point
2. Freezing point

As far as heat engines are concerned, both high T_1 and low T_2 are important. So we have been working on a combined rotative power generation which will be taken up later.

To reduce the difference between actual heat efficiency and ideal heat efficiency, we have to study the way to improve the structure of heat engines, including better systems of internal flow, more efficient heat transfer and better combustion. These are topics of engineering thermodynamics as developed in the middle of the century.

2. Power Generation and Energy Consumption--Employ Simultaneous Supply of Power and Heat and Combined Rotative Power Generation. Industry, urban enterprises, urban residents and vast rural areas together consume a tremendous amount of energy. At present the amount of energy consumed to generate electricity (15.8 percent for thermoelectric power) accounts for 19.4 percent of all the energy consumed. This ratio falls far behind the need for power in developing industrial and agricultural production. If we are to realize the four modernizations, the ratio of energy consumed to generate power should increase. At the same time, we must increase the efficiency of power plants and reduce energy

consumption per unit of power generated. The average rate of power generation efficiency (1975) in such industrial countries as Japan, West Germany and Italy is about 36 percent, about 25 percent more efficient than our own rate of 29 percent. And we have not yet begun to use residual heat. So the most urgent problem now, which is also a long-term research project, is to study heat engine technology and develop high-efficiency facilities for simultaneous supply of electricity and heat.

High Power Steam Turbine and Simultaneous Supply of Electricity and Heat: Steam turbines are now the major power installations in large thermoelectric power plants (power for industry and large ships). When the capacity (power) of a machine increases, the temperature of the steam T_1 rises, the power it generates increases, the power it consumes decreases and its efficiency increases. Another area of improvement covers the design of the pneumatic capacities of the steam turbine, such as applying the principle of ternary flow, which may raise the efficiency of the steam turbine. If all the steam turbines in our country could increase in efficiency by 1 percent, they would generate 2 billion kilowatts more power per annum. Additionally, improved boilers could also increase the efficiency of power plants.

The most effective way for a steam turbine power station to increase its fuel utilization rate is to run a simultaneous supply of electricity and heat. That is to say, a thermoelectric power station supplies both power and steam required by nearby factories for their technological process and by residents and enterprises for heating. The steam, no more than 300°C in temperature, comes from the steam exhaust of steam turbine power plants and may replace steam produced by scattered medium and small coal-burning boilers. Since the temperature of combustion gas in the boilers is 1600-1800°C, it is a waste to use it to provide steam under 300°C. A thermoelectric power station which does not supply heat needs lots of water to cool its cooling equipment, and this takes away 50 percent of the heat of the burning fuel (heat in discharged water may be used in agriculture and fishery, but this requires additional investment). When a steam turbine power station begins to simultaneously supply electricity and heat, the rate of its fuel utilization could go over 60 percent. The capitalist countries of the West paid very little attention in the past to energy conservation, and it is now too late to change. But northern European countries are seriously concerned about this particular problem. Take Finland, for example. By 1990 the amount of electricity generated by power stations which supply both electric power and heat will be 32 percent of the total amount of electricity generated, and the energy saved will be 7 percent of the energy consumed in the whole country. Being a socialist state, we may be able to do well in planning and achieving excellent results in energy conservation.

High-Efficiency Combustion Gas Turbine Power Stations: A combustion gas turbine usually means an open-cycle gas turbine. Fuel, such as oil and gas, burns with compressed air in the combustion chamber to produce high-temperature burning gas which enters the gas turbine as work (Chart 5A). The precombustion medium is air, while the postcombustion medium becomes burning gas. Compared with a steam turbine power station, this has a higher T_1, does not need a huge boiler and occupies only 0.5 square meter of land per kilowatt. Light in weight, small in size and requiring less time and money to build, it does not need water and has high efficiency potentials. To increase the thermoefficiency of the installation, it is necessary to raise the temperature T_1 of the burning gas entering the turbine, lower the temperature T_2 of the exhaust and improve the air compressor and the aerothermodynamic capabilities of the gas turbine parts. The parameters at present are: compression rate 10-30, temperature of the burning gas before entering the turbine 900-1150°C, and thermoefficiency 30-38. The thermoefficiency will increase as turbine cooling technique and materials improve. The maximum power output of a turbine unit recorded in foreign countries (1977) is 114,000 kilowatts. Usually several combustion gas turbines are installed in a power station to increase its capacity.

The temperature T_2 of the exhaust of an open-cycle gas turbine is 400-600°C. Like the exhaust of a steam turbine, this exhaust may be used to produce steam for industrial and other purposes. Because both electricity and heat are supplied, the fuel utilization rate may go up to 65 percent or higher. Due to the rising price of petroleum, many foreign countries are adding regenerators to their gas turbine generators (Chart 5B), using the preheated air forced into the combustion chamber to further reduce the exhaust temperature T_2 in order to enhance thermoefficiency.

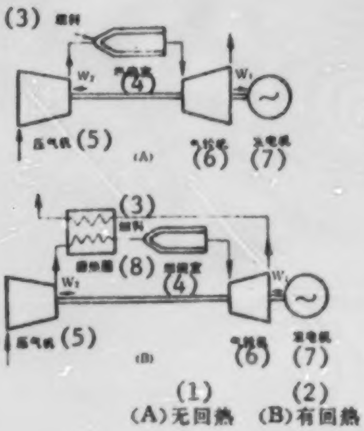


Chart 5. Combustion Gas Turbine

Key:

1. Without regenerator
2. With regenerator
3. Fuel
4. Combustion chamber
5. Air compressor
6. Gas turbine
7. Electric generator
8. Regenerator

A 10,000-horsepower installation test-built in a foreign country may increase its thermoefficiency by 43-44 percent if a regenerator is included, plus intermediate cooling in an air compressor. All high-thermoefficiency gas turbines in foreign countries are new industrial models of high-parameter aviation engine. For instance, the industrial model of the Spay engine increased its thermoefficiency from 34 percent to 38 percent after a regenerator was installed. This kind of gas turbine which burns natural gas or heavy oil is good for oilfields and coastal oil wells.

We can remodel the Spay engine we have imported and use it in industry or on naval vessels. The major modifications needed are to remove some external accessories (including shortening fan blades and reducing the power of the low-pressure gas turbine), to remove the combustion chamber for additional power and a tail exhaust pipe and to install a power gas turbine and an exhaust passage.

Combined Gas-Steam Turbine Power Installation (Combined Rotation): When the temperature T_1 of a gas turbine is high, the temperature T_2 of its exhaust would also be high (400-600°C). If the exhaust heat is channeled to a residual heat boiler to produce steam for steam turbines, more power would be produced, and the generating efficiency would increase by 5-10 percent over that of an ordinary steam turbine power station. Compared with an ordinary steam turbine generating station, a generating station with combined power installation, according to data from abroad, requires 15 percent less investment, 10 percent less in generating cost and 20 percent less construction time. It takes less land, emits fewer pollutants and uses 50-75 percent less water. It represents the trend of development of the world's thermoelectric powerplants. The most crucial thing is that it requires a high-thermoefficient (high temperature T_1 and high-efficiency parts) gas power turbine. Japan began her Gekko plan of energy conservation in 1978 and is going ahead with the development of such power facilities. In the United States the first step is to increase T_1 to 1150-1200°C and substitute heavy oil for natural gas and light oil as fuel. The second step (about 1995) is to raise T_1 again to 1400-1650°C and use gasified coal and liquid fuel. We should also step up our study and development of this project. Right now we may build, step by step, this promising system of combined gas-steam installation on the foundation of our existing higher thermoefficient gas turbines.

When a combined installation supplies both electricity and heat (exhaust from a steam turbine may be used for heating and industrial production), its fuel utilization rate may go even higher.

Closed-Cycle Gas Turbine--Using Solid Fuel: To generate electricity and provide power for transportation, a closed-cycle gas turbine has been developed in recent years to use coal, other forms of fuel (coke oven gas, blast furnace gas, garbage gas), other sources of heat (nuclear fission, solar energy) and more suitable thermodynamic media and parameters. It takes only one-fifth of the cooling water required by a steam turbine plant (may employ complete air cooling).

West Germany is working to use coal efficiently to generate electricity. Five closed-cycle gas turbines with a total generating capacity of 46,000 kilowatts were built in 1975 to burn coal and blast furnace gas. To raise fuel-efficiency, the exhaust heat from the heating furnaces is used to heat steam and water for industry and heating. This completes a closed-cycle gas turbine installation for both electricity and heat. Another West German gas turbine of this type which uses helium as a medium generates 50,000 kilowatts of electricity, recording thermoefficiency at 31.3 percent. It also supplies 53,500 kilowatts of heat. The total utilization rate is as high as 65 percent.

The technology of coal fluidization and gasification is tied to using coal as fuel for combined high-efficiency gas-steam turbine plants. Our country will be using coal to generate electricity now and for a long time to come. Apart from the closed-cycle gas turbine plants which burn coal, various countries are now studying two different methods to use coal as a fuel in gas turbine or combined gas-steam turbine plants. One of the methods is to gasify coal into gaseous fuel of either high or low caloricity and burn it in the combustion chamber of a gas turbine. Even though there is a 20-30 percent loss of energy when coal is being gasified, the combustion efficiency of the gas turbine combustion chamber is 8-9 percent higher than that of coal-burning boilers. So the real loss is just a little over 10 percent. Another method is to burn coal in a fluidized (boiling) combustion chamber. After removing dust at high temperature, the heated gas enters the gas turbine (Chart 6). Combustion efficiency achieved by this method could be as high as 99 percent. Moreover, sulfur may be removed by adding limestone during combustion, and the discharged residue is good for making cement or soap. NO_x may be reduced by using surplus air to control the boiler temperature to help control pollution from burning coal, a big saving in investment otherwise required for pollution control in ordinary thermoelectric powerplants. Many countries have begun using this kind of combustion since the energy crisis of 1973. One American company has installed a 1,000-kilowatt experimental plant to try out this method. Next year it will build a plant with a generating capacity of 25,000 kilowatts. The third stage will see the completion of a 165,000-kilowatt model plant. A 500,000-kilowatt plant will be ready in 1985 for commercial use. We should begin with research and experiments to study this approach and then proceed from smaller plants to bigger plants as we surge ahead.

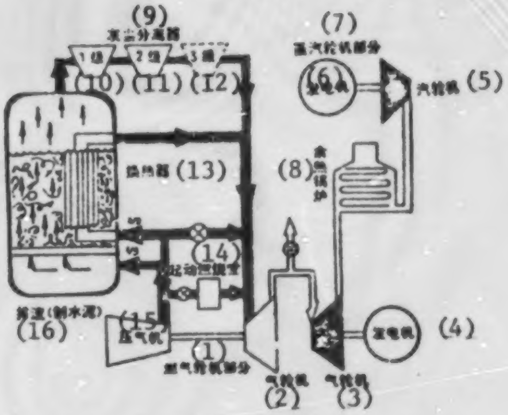


Chart 6. Fluidized Combined Rotation

Key:

1. Gas turbine parts
2. Gas turbine
3. Gas turbine
4. Electric generator
5. Steam turbine
6. Electric generator
7. Steam turbine parts
8. Residual heat boiler
9. Dust separator
10. Stage 1
11. Stage 2
12. Stage 3
13. Heat exchanger
14. Starting combustion chamber
15. Air compressor
16. Residual discharge (for making cement)

Magnetic Fluid Power Generation Facilities: To further increase power generation efficiency, there are studies on the use of oil or pulverized coal to heat gas to 1800-2200°C and accelerate it through a thrust jet to discharge electric power by means of a magnetic field. This is known as direct magnetic fluid power generation. Its generation efficiency rate is 30-35 percent. Gas from its exhaust passage may be channeled to a gas or steam turbine installation to form combined circulations to achieve thermoefficiency as high as 55 percent. The largest experiment plant in foreign countries today is a 2,500-kilowatt unit which may become industrially functional in 10-20 years.

The average thermoefficiency of our thermoelectric power stations is about 29 percent. If all additional electric power stations we build in the next 20 years could use generating facilities with a thermoefficiency rate of over 40 percent, the average thermoefficiency rate of our thermoelectric power stations, adjusted to accommodate increasing demand, may reach 37-38 percent 20 years from now, even if the original power stations remain unchanged. By that time we may save as much as 80 million tons of standard coal per annum. If the existing low-efficiency power stations were overhauled technologically, such as replacing old facilities with high-efficiency steam turbines or installing additional gas turbines to form combined gas-steam turbine installations, the average generating efficiency rate would be even higher.

3. Energy for Communications and Transportation--Suitable Fuel and Preferential Supply of Oil

Railroads: Our country depends mainly on railroads to provide transportation for passengers and cargo. Our country and India are the only two expansive countries which still use steam locomotives, the energy-efficiency rate of which is less than 8 percent, and they need water continually. It is a waste of energy to keep using steam locomotives. Internal combustion and electrical locomotives are more energy-efficient. But our diesel oil supply has been pretty tight, and the installation of cables for electric locomotives costs too much. A practical way out is to substitute coal used in locomotives for heavy oil used at power plants and then let gas turbine locomotives use heavy oil. Thus, one steam locomotive may be replaced by two gas turbine locomotives of practically equal horsepower without increasing fuel consumption or reducing the generating capacity. That is to say, the transportation services will double while energy consumption remains unchanged. This is made possible by suitable use of fuel and improved thermoefficiency. These gas turbine locomotives which do not need water are good for areas where there is a shortage of water.

In recent years, gas turbines have been widely used on vehicles. For instance, the United States uses gas turbines on tanks and achieves 28 percent thermoefficiency.

Highways: Our automobiles are imitations of foreign models from the 1930's to the 1960's. They consume more fuel than foreign cars and ought to be improved. When an engine operates at different rotational speeds, its power and fuel consumption will also differ. The lowest rate of fuel consumption may be achieved only if it operates at a given rotational speed constantly. So, engines should be operating at such a speed most of the time. Due to differences in the use and maintenance of our country's automobiles, cars of the same model may vary a great deal in fuel consumption during operation. Take the "Liberation" trucks, for instance. To cover a distance of 100 kilometers, a gas-efficient truck takes 28 liters, while a gas guzzler requires 36 liters. A practical way of correcting this is to popularize gas-saving technology and better management. A more basic approach, however, is to speed up the manufacture of a newer generation of cars. This does not mean copying foreign cars blindly. All new cars must meet our practical operating conditions, such as gas efficiency, reduction in car size and weight and synchronization of the most efficient engine rotation speed with the practical minimum driving speed in our country. We must study how to mix gas with water to increase its octane value, improve the combustion process, reduce gas consumption and reduce CO in the exhaust. We must also study combustion technology to slow down gas consumption by engines running at different rotational speeds so that the total energy consumption may be reduced even though cars travel at different speeds. There are serious improprieties in the use and maintenance of our tractors in the villages, and they consume too much gas. The technological level of village mechanics should be raised. Our farm tractors today are used for transportation. When conditions permit, smaller farm vehicles should be manufactured in order to bring tractors back to farm jobs. To compensate for the petroleum shortage, we may develop battery-operated automobiles. People in other countries have been studying this type of smaller cars and lighter trucks.

Waterways: Most of our steamers depend on internal combustion engines for power. The per ton/kilometer consumption of energy by ships is much lower than that of trains. Waterway transportation should be developed extensively. However, since the oil consumption rate of our diesel engine steamers is 8-20 percent higher than that of foreign ships, we have to conserve oil and improve our ships.

In a word, except when petroleum is used for essential industrial chemicals, priority should be given to transportation services and tractors to use petroleum as fuel. Our petroleum production is not likely to increase rapidly in a few years. It is therefore necessary to reduce oil consumption by internal combustion engines and develop gas turbines, which burn heavy oil, in order to provide better transportation.

(3) Utilization of Residual Industrial Heat

Industrial consumption of energy constitutes an especially large proportion of the total amount of energy consumed in our country. All possible potentials should be explored to increase the rate of energy utilization. Apart from better management, rational planning and improvement of production technology, we must also pay close attention to the utilization of residual energy and heat. For example, the temperature of the exhaust of industrial flues is usually over 600°C (some may go as high as 1000-1650°C). The temperature of steel products (except those still being processed), ash and coke is usually 1000°C or more, and that of industrial fluid (such as heated oil) is 100-300°C. These are all useful sources of heat. Compressed high-temperature residual gas from petrochemical and metallurgical plants is an even better source of energy and ought to be utilized.

There are two ways to utilize residual heat. One is to force the residual heat through heat-exchange equipment (requiring investment) to preheat the air, to desiccate products, to supply hot water, to produce steam and to refrigerate. These are comparatively simple operations. The other method is to utilize the power. But this depends on the pressure of the residual gas. High-pressure and high-temperature residual gas which is as good as the high-pressure and high-temperature gas coming out of the combustion chamber of a gas turbine powerplant may be forced through a gas turbine to be converted into direct output of mechanical work. The amount of the output again depends on the temperature and pressure of the residual gas. The process is easy, but the rate of utilization rests on the efficiency of the gas turbine, which usually could be as high as 70-80 percent. After expansion of the gas in the gas turbine, the temperature of the heated gas will drop, but the exhaust gas may still be led into a residual heat boiler for further utilization. Low-pressure and high-temperature residual gas is good as an ordinary source of heat. To generate mechanical power, it has to go to a heat exchanger to pass the heat to another medium for the heat engine to do the job.

To fully utilize the residual heat is not only a problem of how to use it but also one of using it efficiently according to the basic principles of thermodynamics. For instance, high-temperature flue gas at 1000°C or more with a comparatively high T_1 would be wasted if it were used to produce low-pressure steam or hot water. It would be more thermoefficient to use it to generate electricity.

To use residual heat effectively and rationally in order to conserve fuel, we must not think of it as "something to get over with," nor should we try "to make coarse grain out of delicacies." We must plan carefully for comprehensive utilization of residual heat according to its grading (temperature and pressure). At the same time, it is also necessary to study and improve the facilities for efficient utilization of residual heat, including such equipment as high-efficiency heat exchangers, heat pipes to recover low-temperature residual heat, heat pumps, axial flow or centripetal gas expansion turbines, residual heat boilers, high-efficiency organic media, recycling steam power, etc. With adequate investment in advanced technology and equipment, we may be able not only to make good use of residual heat and shorten its recycling time but also to raise the thermoefficiency of industrial fuel to a more advanced level and conserve even more fuel.

(4) Rural Consumption of Energy

Our rural population is so large that the rural energy supply has been a tough problem. A great deal can be done to farm production equipment, such as tractors, water pumps and electrical engines, to conserve energy. Energy required for subsistence purposes may be improved by developing methane. As of now there are over 6 million methane generation pits in our country, capable of producing 2.1 billion cubic meters of methane and 630,000 tons of organic fertilizers per annum. If 50 percent of farm stalks and manure were utilized, the annual production of methane could reach 65 billion cubic meters, enough to meet the basic subsistence fuel requirement of the villages. This could be further developed to provide heat or energy for production needs. Since rural consumption of energy is huge in volume and yet scattered over vast areas, it is advisable to build firewood and charcoal forests, small hydroelectric power plants, facilities for solar energy, wind and geothermal energy and small coal mines under uniform state plans. The use of new sources of energy, however, should be in keeping with the development of technology.

In a word, the important points are to conserve gas and electricity and develop local resources wherever locally possible.

(5) The Efficiency of Electrical Appliances

To study ways to increase the efficiency of electrical appliances is also an important measure to conserve energy. At present the efficiency of our electric and wind-driven motors and pumps, especially small electric motors and farm water pumps, is quite low. They were once designed to conserve materials, and they must now be improved to conserve energy. Since electric motors consume a large portion of our electric power, we should develop a new series of electric motors to achieve still higher efficiency. New technology and improved equipment no doubt will bring about more energy conservation in the electricity-driven production process. These are the problems we must tackle in our endeavor to conserve energy.

(6) Energy Transmission

The toughest problem confronting the development of waterpower in the southwest of our country is long-distance transmission of power. The United States uses 760,000-volt high-tension transmission, and the voltage will increase to 1.2 million volts in 1985. The Soviet Union has always preferred high-tension direct current transmission. A 1 million-volt direct current transmission system covering several thousand kilometers will be installed during the coming five-year plan period. Underground transmission technology, such as superconduction transmission, is under intensive research in foreign countries. We ought to direct our attention to this area of research.

The problem of transmitting power from our coal mining bases involves a choice of either transmitting power from mining-site power stations or shipping coal by railroad or pipelines. This calls for overall planning and careful analysis. In the United States[7] high-tension transmission of electric power is most expensive. Shipping coal by pipelines is the least expensive if the annual shipment exceeds 6 million tons. The cost of shipping by pipelines is half the cost of super high-tension transmission if the annual shipment reaches 18 million tons. Electric power stations by the mining site require an adequate local supply of water for cooling, because this method consumes eight times more water than shipping by pipelines.

IV. Concluding Remarks

To do better in developing and utilizing our country's energy resources to meet the needs of the four modernizations, it is recommended that we do well in the following eight areas.

(1) Determine the facts and ascertain the requirements.

Energy waste in our country is pretty serious today. The ratio of energy consumption by the industrial sectors is especially great, while efficiency is low.

It is advisable to organize investigations to determine the facts and ascertain the requirements so as to adopt proper measures to reduce waste. We must also study the energy needs of the four modernizations.

(2) Enact necessary laws and regulations and strengthen energy-related organizations.

To carry out a scientific and stable energy policy is to insure the realization of the four modernizations. We recommend that the Energy Commission organize its leading cadres, specialists in energy science and technology, energy consumers and management personnel to conduct thoroughgoing investigations for the enactment of energy-related laws. At the same time, it should strengthen all the organizations concerned to implement the energy laws and regulations. The Energy Commission of the State Council should hire more professional energy science and technology specialists. All factories and enterprises should have energy conservation engineers and technicians.

(3) Give priority to orderly, step-by-step scientific research.

Energy is the vanguard of our entire national economy, and research in energy science should proceed ahead of them all. We must step up research in energy utilization technology and the economics of energy technology. The research work should proceed in orderly fashion and expand step by step to cover more ground. Indiscriminate expansion and irresponsible promotion should be avoided by all means.

(4) Keeping coal as the mainstay, give priority to oil and develop waterpower and nuclear energy.

Priority should be given to the exploitation and development of petroleum and natural gas. Coal no doubt is our major source of energy for realizing the four modernizations, but there are difficulties in its exploitation, shipment, conversion and utilization. So we have to strengthen the study of the science and technology of coal utilization. The development of hydroelectric power should have a headstart. Nuclear energy should be developed, too.

(5) Distribute energy properly to give each resource a role to play.

Various energy resources of different grades should be properly distributed so that each has a role to play (Chart 7).

(6) Renew equipment and control pollution.

We should adopt advanced technological processes and energy-efficient equipment, transform our technology, increase energy efficiency and control pollution. The state should provide funds and low-interest loans to assist the industrial and mining enterprises to renew their equipment and transform their technology.

(7) Achieve scaled utilization of energy at suitable temperatures.

To achieve scaled utilization of energy, we should select suitable heat engines and heat installations according to various ranges of temperature for combined rotations, simultaneous supply of power and heat and utilization of residual heat (Chart 8). All localities and enterprises should plan and proceed step by step according to the overall energy system.

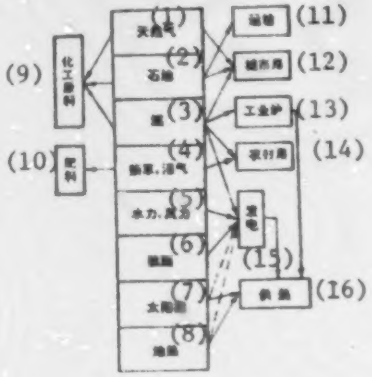
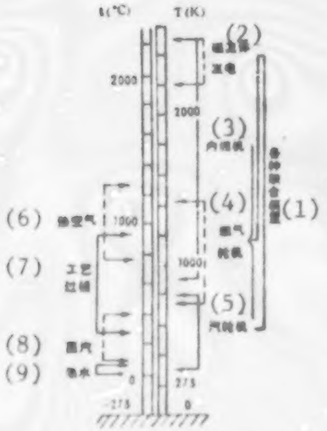


Chart 7. Proper Distribution of Energy and the Role of Each

Key:
1. Natural gas
2. Petroleum
3. Coal
4. Firewood, grass, methane
5. Waterpower and wind
6. Nuclear energy
7. Solar energy
8. Geothermal energy
9. Industrial chemicals
10. Fertilizers
11. Transportation
12. For urban use
13. Industrial furnaces
14. For rural use
15. Power generation
16. Heating



Key:
1. Various combined installations
2. Magnetic fluid power generation
3. Internal combustion engine
4. Combustion gas turbine
5. Steam turbine
6. Heated air
7. Technological processes
8. Steam
9. Hot water

Chart 8. Scaled Utilization of Energy

(8) Systematic planning and exhaustive utilization of energy.

We must make comprehensive studies of the cost of prospecting, exploiting, shipping, conversion and utilization of energy and its effect on the national economy. We should employ systems analysis to select the best projects which are most conducive to rational and exhaustive utilization of energy. For instance, we may discover during the progress of a project that, by providing the industrial and transportation sectors with petroleum to speed up our economic development, we can have more exportable industrial products which could earn more foreign exchange than by exporting petroleum. If so, that may prove even more beneficial to the development of our national economy.

In conclusion, judged in the light of energy science and technology, our energy resources are adequate to support the four modernizations. Modern science and technology have made it possible for us to increase energy efficiency. If we are successful in energy planning, in scientific research and related sciences and technology, in developing energy resources, especially energy conservation, and in transforming our technology and revitalizing our equipment, we will be able to overcome energy shortages, make our national economy grow continually and bring about the speedy realization of the socialist four modernizations.

(Comrades Cai Ruixian [5591 4213 6343], Ling Zhiguang [0407 1807 0342], Ye Jingwei [5509 4842 4885], Zhang Shizheng [1728 0013 6927], Chen Mingzheng [7115 6900 6154] and Jiang Shuqin [3068 3219 3830] of the Engineering Thermodynamics Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences, participated in the investigations, research, data analysis and preparation of this paper. The author wants to thank those units of the departments concerned which offered him data and valuable comments during the progress of the work.)

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(This article is an abridged version of a lecture given by Professor Wu Zhonghua at the Secretariat of the Central Committee.)

5360
CSO: 4004

IN SUPPORT OF WRITING ABOUT THE TRUTH--A DISCUSSION WITH COMRADES LI YUMING AND HAN ZHIJUN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 pp 44-48

[Article by Chen Liao [7115 6697]]

[Text] The column "Ideological Contention in Literature and the Arts" in Volume 4 of RED FLAG this year was written by Comrades Li Yuming [2621 3768 6900] and Han Zhijun [7281 1807 0689] and titled "Some Questions Concerning 'Writing About Facts'" (hereafter referred to as "Questions"). This article expresses "disagreement with the slogan 'write about the truth,'" in the belief that advocacy of this slogan is responsible for such harmful tendencies as "a lack of selective description of the finer details of life, an unanalytical description of evil and violence, pursuit of what is stimulating, complicated and bizarre, some even describing with approval and sympathy the sex lives of young men and women at night on stormy river banks and writing unrestrained, detailed descriptions of such criminal acts and filthy behavior as theft, violence, obscenity and rape." "The slogan 'write about the truth' is ambiguous; it seems to be correct but actually is wrong, and we are hard put to use it to demarcate the borderline between naturalism and realism." "To emphasize 'write about the truth' is to be unable to attain the sublimation of the beauty of life into the beauty of art." Therefore, even though the title of this article is "Questions," it actually is a rejection of "writing about the truth." This is a very serious matter and is related to the development and prosperity of creativity in socialist art and literature. Therefore, I wish to carry out a discussion with Comrades Li and Han in support of "writing about the truth."

First, "writing about the truth" is a development of the Marxist theory of realism.

Stalin advocated "writing about the truth" in the third decade of this century. His original words were as follows: "Write about the truth! Let the writers study it in life!" "If the artist truthfully depicts our lives, then he cannot but see and depict the things that direct our lives toward socialism." ("A Discussion of Party Policy on Art and Literature") It is widely known that Stalin was thoroughly familiar with the important works of Marxism and with Marxist literary theory, so he must have understood Engels' formulation of realism: "The meaning of realism is that, in addition to details and the truth, there must be truthful re-creation of typical scenes and typical people." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 462) Why, then, in the 1930's did not Stalin promulgate Engels' formulation about realism, but rather advocate his new formulation "write about the truth"? We believe that Stalin was making new demands of writers and artists based on developments in socialist real life and on experiences and lessons in socialist literary and art movements, and that this was a contribution to the Marxist theory of literature and the arts.

Engels' formulation of realism mainly sums up the writing experiences of 18th and 19th century authors of realism. Most writers in these two centuries were bourgeois writers, but among them were a few authors who accurately wrote a great many works of realism. These works had faithful details and accurately reproduced typical characters in typical settings. Without this great mass of practical writing, no matter how great Engels' talent, he would not have been able to sum up and make a generalization to produce this classic definition of realism. However, on the question of how to both write detailed truth and truly produce typical people in a typical situation, in his letter "To M. Hackness," Engels did not get around to making an explanation, and later, for a variety of reasons, he never did expound upon this question. After the Russian October Revolution there was a socialist society with socialist literature. Starting in the 1920's, however, in the realm of Soviet art and literature the Rapp dogmatism and factionalism carried out long-term harassment and destruction of socialist literature and art. They disregarded their literary and artistic heritage and were cut off from real life and the people in the belief that reliance on revolutionary aspirations and on the "creative methods of the theory of dialectical materialism" (actually, this creative method never existed, and even though it was mentioned by Rapp many times, they never produced a model work written according to this writing technique) could produce good socialist works by writers closeted in their rooms. Under Stalin the Central Committee of the Soviet party consistently opposed the dogmatic and factional art and literary ideology of Rapp and carried out a long struggle against their literary and artistic theory and their views on art and literature. However, the Rapp faction's leadership obstinately held on to their theories and views on art and literature and seriously obstructed the development and prosperity of socialist art and literature in the Soviet Union. Under just such conditions, in 1932 the Soviet party Central Committee was forced to decide to reorganize the art and literature groups and disbanded the Rapp faction, and, moreover, in 1934 it convened the first Soviet writers congress. The congress summed up 20 successful years of creative experiences and offered the creative method of socialist realism (this creative method actually is also that of revolutionary realism, which was produced in 1932 in Gorkiy's home by Stalin and some other writers). The requirements of this creative style are to truthfully, historically and concretely describe the reality of revolutionary developments, all the while uniting this with the duty of educating the people in the socialist spirit. Although this creative method has some shortcomings in its wording, we nonetheless must admit that socialist realism objectively exists and that, moreover, it is the continuation and development of realism. How, then, does one succeed in truthfully, historically and concretely describing the reality of revolutionary developments, all the while uniting this with the duty of educating the people in the socialist spirit? Stalin, who was so skilled at grasping the "key point," believed that writing about the truth is the core of socialist realism. This is because only "writing about the truth" can truthfully, historically and concretely portray the reality of revolutionary developments. Only emphasis on "writing about the truth" can enable writers and artists "to see and depict the things which direct our lives toward socialism." Only emphasis on "writing about the truth" can make writers and artists deeply enter into life, be close to the people and study life from within. Historical practice demonstrates that after the Soviet Union suggested the creative method of socialist realism, and after Stalin suggested the view of "writing about realism," Soviet literature and art made great developments and achieved general prosperity, and until the death of Comrade Stalin the international status and influence of Soviet art and literature could not be refuted or obliterated by anyone. This clearly shows that the viewpoint of "writing about the truth" was very useful in socialist literary and artistic creativity, developed the Marxist theory of realism and was Stalin's great contribution to the storehouse of Marxist theory on literature and the arts.

In order to negate the view of "writing about the truth," "Questions" even distorts Soviet literary history, saying, "After the 20th CPSU Congress there were a few authors who had great respect for the creative methods of naturalism and made such an uproar about 'writing about the truth'" that "a great many works showing a strong tendency toward naturalism were produced"! This is contrary to historical fact. Everyone knows that the 20th CPSU Congress was marked by anti-Stalinism, so how could Soviet literary circles possibly advocate Stalin's slogan "write about the truth" after the 20th congress? The "strong tendency toward naturalism" shown in Soviet art and literature after the 20th congress was but a result in art and literature produced by anti-Stalinism and the beginnings of political revisionism. Is it fair or historically worthy to blame this on Stalin or on his viewpoint of "writing about the truth"? The excessive vigor of the denunciation of "writing about the truth" in "Questions" even goes so far as to overturn historical fact.

Second, could "writing about the truth" lead to naturalism?

"Questions" asserts that "the slogan 'write about the truth' is ambiguous and seems correct but is wrong, so we are hard put to use it to demarcate the borderline between naturalism and realism." The authors go on to state that "under the slogan 'writing about the truth' naturalism passed itself off as realism and, moreover, bragged that it was the truest and most thoroughgoing realism." Actually, the "ambiguity and the appearance of being correct but actually being wrong" lies with "Questions" rather than with the viewpoint of "writing about the truth." This is because, on the one hand, "Questions" does not admit that "during the struggle to expose the 'gang of four' the slogan 'write about the truth' had revolutionary and critical significance, because it stood in opposition to the meaningless art and literature of the 'gang of four' and helped art and literature escape from that purely imaginary paradise and return to the world and replant its roots in the fertile soil of the people." On the other hand, the authors make an about-face and characterize "writing about the truth" as the evil source of several bad tendencies in current artistic and literary creation. Is this "being ambiguous and seeming to be correct but actually being wrong"? In our view, there is absolutely no common ground between "writing about the truth" and naturalism.

Naturalism is an antirealistic method of bourgeois art and literature which originated in the 1860's and was popular in the 1870's and 1880's. Later, it increasingly merged with decadence and became an ideological tool of the reactionary forces in capitalist society. The essence of naturalism is the superficial depiction of the individual features of reality, a disregard for art and a lack of sociopolitical moral or esthetic evaluation of the events described. In depicting the affairs of life, naturalism seeks only to express apparent surface reality and merely records a description of the various phenomena without expressing their significance or revealing anything essential, typical or in accordance with laws. On the contrary, "writing about the truth" as Stalin advocated it wished precisely to depict our socialist life, to observe and write about things in the march toward socialism, to make sociopolitical, moral and esthetic evaluations of real life and to reveal and express those objective laws of life which are essential, typical and not subject to willful change by anyone. These constitute the continuation and development of realism. It is obvious that these are two diametrically opposed views on intellectual trends in creativity, as Stalin explained long ago in his formulation of "writing about the truth." Why, then, do the authors of "Questions" assert that it is not possible to clearly demarcate the borderline between the slogan "writing about the truth" and naturalism? Furthermore, what is the basis for saying that the creative tendency of naturalism is toward "the viewpoint of 'writing about the truth'"?

"Questions" says, "Practice is the greatest critic of all." This is correct. But ever since the founding of our nation practice has proved that, whenever emphasis is placed on "writing about the truth," literary creativity then rises and flourishes, and whenever there is criticism or negation of "writing about the truth" literary creation then stagnates and retrogresses. In 1956, after the party adopted the "hundred flowers" policy, many comrades in literary and art circles rectified the term "write about the truth" and restored its reputation. Consequently, in 1956-57, before the antirightist campaign, they produced a large number of "truthfully written" socialist works, such as "Newly Arrived Youths at the Organization Department" and "At the Bridge Construction Site," which still are like the fresh scent of flowers to us. Later the antirightist faction expanded and criticized the viewpoint of "writing about the truth" as an "antiparty and antisocialist" and an "antirealistic" view. Works which "wrote about the truth" were criticized as poisonous weeds. And what was the result of all this? The result was that in the 3 years from 1958 through 1960 our literature was saturated with cheap, vacuous and unrealistic works of romanticism. These works were completely unable to withstand the test of time and the masses and have long been forgotten and discarded by the people. In direct opposition to these abnormal conditions, Shao Quanlin [6730 5425 7792] and other comrades rose to the occasion and in 1962 advocated the viewpoint of "intensified realism," which then again restored the reputation of "writing about the truth." Under the influence of the Guangzhou Conference and the Dalian Conference, some rather good works which "wrote about the truth" were produced in 1961-62, such as "Constant Training," "Remarkable People in the Countryside" and "An Unofficial Biography of 'Old Resolute.'" In later literary rectification movements, however, "intensified realism" came under attack, and these works were overthrown as works "written about middle [vacillating] characters," and literature again exhibited signs of stagnation. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" came into power, "writing about the truth" was strongly criticized as one of the main "eight black doctrines," and realism in art and literature encountered a severe setback, resulting in 10 years of calamity in art and literature. In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," people with insight have smashed taboos and liberated ideology, so that this repeatedly castigated theory of "writing about the truth" has received the support of a great majority of literary and art workers and brought progress and prosperity to art and literature. Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out that ever since the destruction of the "gang of four" there has been an unprecedented flourishing of the arts and literature. I believe that one of the reasons for this is that they have again gained the approval and the practice of being inseparable from "writing about the truth." The writers of "Questions" have observed these historical practices without understanding them; the criticism of this "greatest of all critics" has filled their ears yet they do not comprehend this. It comes as a surprise that, given the present greatly favorable conditions in art and literary creation, because of the appearance of a few undesirable symptoms they should again attempt to cut down the great banner of "writing about the truth" and smash this theory. Is this not excessively disrespectful of the practices of this "greatest of all critics"?

Can the appearance of some unfavorable symptoms in current art and literary creation be ascribed to advocating the theory of "writing about the truth"? No. They appeared because some writers have a superficial understanding of life and in some ways are ideologically ignorant, so that they have been unable to "truly depict our lives" and to observe and describe "those things which direct our lives toward socialism." This is to say that they simply have rejected the basic requirements Stalin stipulated for "writing about the truth." How can any connection be made between some unfavorable symptoms in art and literary creation and advocating "writing about the truth," even claiming that "writing about the truth" is the "breeding place" of these symptoms? Is it scientific argumentation to take a nonrelevant factor as a "factor" and then add insult to the injuries done to this "factor"? Moreover, we must also point out that in current art and literary creation the concrete expression of these unfavorable symptoms is of incidental things in minor positions and is not as serious as "Questions" exaggerates. For example, the work "By the Riverside," which the authors of "Questions" believe describes with approval and sympathy "the storm-tossed nighttime sexual encounter of young men and women on a riverbank," as far as the whole work is concerned is still good literature. It reveals the serious consequences that befall certain units which are unwilling to implement party policy.

Most critics and the broad masses of readers are positive about this book. As for depicting the "nighttime, sexual encounter between young men and women on a storm-tossed river bank," there is a slight tendency toward naturalism, but it is incidental to the story. Just as Comrade Stalin said, the criticism of a work consists of seeing its main direction rather than merely observing separate details. As for the "unrestrained detailed description of such criminal acts and filthy behavior as theft, violence, obscenity and rape," "a lack of selective description of the finer aspects of life, and an unanalytical description of evil and violence and pursuit of what is stimulating, complicated and bizarre," we are unsure of what works they refer to. If the writers of "Questions" were to make these works public (they need only state the facts and speak rationally, and no one will accuse or attack them, thus avoiding implementing a "hundred flowers" policy), would the actual conditions be all that serious? Are these things of major importance and primary position in these works? This perhaps should also be brought into "question." Naturally, we also disapprove of and oppose such symptoms in creative works, but we believe: 1) No haphazard connection can be made between these symptoms in creative works and the viewpoint of "writing about the truth." 2) There must be concrete analysis of specific situations rather than an all-encompassing general attack on creative works exhibiting a few of these unfavorable symptoms. 3) Does emphasis on "writing about the truth" obstruct the "sublimation" of the beauty of life into the beauty of art?

Our understanding of the significance and content of the viewpoint of "writing about the truth" has been stated above. Therefore, we believe not only that "writing about the truth" does not obstruct the "sublimation" of the beauty of life into the beauty of art, but, moreover, that it is only "writing about the truth" that can open the obligatory paths to follow in sublimating the beauty of life into the beauty of art.

This so-called "writing about the truth" is not merely writing about some of the truth in life but is writing about the living truth, and it is also the transformation of living truth into artistic truth. And to what, then, does the living truth refer? It refers to these things in life which have objective authenticity, "things which impel our lives toward socialism." You need only be capable of writing about this living truth, no matter whether it be the beauty of life or exposure of that which is ugly in life. This is because living truth refers to things in life which are objectively authentic; therefore, the primary implication of "writing about the truth" is to write that which has objective authenticity, that truth which is not subject to anyone's willful changes. This kind of truth has no class characteristics. Gorkiy's viewpoint from many years back about the so-called "existence of two kinds of truth" (that is, the viewpoint that truth in the eyes of the proletariat and truth in the eyes of the bourgeoisie are different, which sees truth as having different class standpoints, liable to capricious change because of differing subjective wishes and as not having objective standards) has already been proved through practice to be an outmoded viewpoint. Nonetheless, the authors of "Questions" firmly hang on to Gorkiy's viewpoint that there "exist two kinds of truth." To use this to establish the argument for rejecting the viewpoint of "writing about the truth" shows that the writers of "Questions" have not correctly understood the primary implication of "writing about the truth."

The secondary implication of "writing about the truth" is an even more important one, which is the requirement that the author put artistic truth into his works. This is because living truth is the natural pattern of man's social life and exists and develops according to its own definite rules. Artistic truth demands that when the living truth is reflected it be concentrated, summarized, heightened and typified, and that sociopolitical, moral and esthetic evaluations be made. Therefore, the artistic truth of literary and art works is living truth; it is an artistic and typified reflection and description of the living truth and a unification of the sociopolitical, moral and esthetic evaluations of living truth. The higher the degree of unification, the more moving and educational is the esthetic truth. It is just as Stalin demanded in his suggestion to write about the truth: the artist must truthfully express life, artistically write about the living truth, "describe the things which impel us toward socialism" and make a precise evaluation of the living truth. Because "writing about the truth" has these two implications, therefore, emphasis on "writing about the truth" definitely does not reject the active use of a progressive, revolutionary world view in a writer's creative works, but rather makes an even greater demand on our writers to study and grasp the Marxist world view. Therefore, the viewpoint of "writing about the truth" is not, as the writers of "Questions" assert, an obstruction of the "sublimation" of the beauty of life into the beauty of art, but rather is a clear indicator of the path for "sublimating" the beauty of life into the beauty of art.

In our practices in literature and art over the past 30 years, a regular phenomenon has appeared: whenever the ideology of the workers in art and literature is relatively lively and relatively liberated and a number of good works are produced, a number of unhealthy things also appear in literary and artistic creations. Some comrades are unhappy over this complex situation and always grasp at the unfavorable symptoms in this period (they are difficult to avoid in any period of socialism), then exaggerate things and put the blame on some creative theory. This is followed by criticism and attacks, all in the belief that this is the only way to protect socialist art and literature. However, the theory they blame is the factor which promotes the prosperity of art and literature, so that this blame has the opposite effect and obstructs development and prosperity in art and literature. In fact, some comrades have not truly understood or investigated the content or the historical function of the viewpoints they blame, but merely assume that certain unfavorable symptoms in works probably originated in this viewpoint and immediately press the attack. It cannot be said that these people have bad motives, but 30 years of practice have proved that the objective results of such actions are bad. The present appearance of the article "Questions" is a repetition of this pattern. Nonetheless, we believe that our literary and art workers, who have weathered 30 years of storms in art and literary work, will correctly understand and practice the creative viewpoint of "writing about the truth," will strive to overcome unhealthy things in literary and artistic creation, and definitely will not let the article "Questions" affect their belief in and practice of Stalin's suggestion to "write about the truth."

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11582
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'IDLE TALK' SHOULD NOT BE ENCOURAGED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 p 49

[Article by Xueh Ming [5641 7686]]

[Text] In recent years "idle talk" has flourished, and there has been an abundance of "commentators" with high-pitched, strong emotions.

Study shows that "idle talk" has long existed. In 1927 Lu Xun's textual criticism showed that in China "idle talk" originated with the metaphysicians He Yan, Xia Houxuan and Wang Bi during the Wei dynasty [A.D. 220-29], which was ruled by the Cao family. The metaphysicians revered the concept of "wuwei" [nonstriving] found in the thinking of Laozi and Zhuangzi and used it to explicate the Confucian texts. They neglected worldly duties and spoke only of "logic," and the gentry competed to emulate them. At the end of the Wei dynasty there were Yuan Jie and six others, renowned as the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," who not only engaged in empty talk but also were given over to drink. Later this trend gradually grew in society, so that "many people only engaged in pointless empty talk and conversation and were unable to manage affairs. This also influenced politics, so that people engaged in 'empty city stratagems' while actually lacking any real strength." (Lu Xun, "Collection of Mere Truths") This is why there is the historical saying, "impede state affairs through idle talk."

The intellectuals of the landed gentry class were pessimistic and felt hopeless over the future of their class dictatorship, so they used "idle talk" to avoid their worldly responsibilities, alleviate their sorrows and escape reality. This was determined by their class nature and therefore was not at all strange. It is worthy of note that, just as when our state first began to form, so today, with the first beginnings of the great plan of the four modernizations, we also see a number of people who call themselves "observers" and "commentators" and spend their days offering their comments, either making pointless and irrelevant big, empty talk or complaining about everything and everyone until one sickens just to hear them. They talk about everything except how to manage their unit and what they themselves ought to do. Their encouraging tunes are heard everywhere, in the conference rooms, offices, dormitories and in all the publications; some even ramble on as they lie in bed. This is entirely incompatible with what our proletarian revolutionary spirit ought to be. "Idle talk" must not be encouraged!

Because of various subjective and objective factors, all sorts of social comments have been made, and this is indisputable, so if some people happen to make some "meaningless" remarks, it is nothing to wonder at. The problem is that there is a limit to all things; "going too far is as bad as not going far enough," "one extreme leads to the other," so that when "idle talk" becomes excessive and turns into a trend, not only is much time wasted but, furthermore, fighting spirit is blunted, perceptions are confused, the nation is imperiled and the people are harmed, all of which poses great dangers. Now, as far as discussions are concerned, there are a few reminders to be given: 1) Be practical and realistic, refrain from speaking groundlessly and don't pass on baseless rumor. 2) Pay attention to the situation, always distinguish between insiders and outsiders and do not make indiscreet remarks everywhere. 3) Make more positive suggestions and take concrete actions. 4) Be consistent in word and action, become involved in things and constantly ask oneself, "Have I done everything to the limit of my abilities?" In short, in my humble opinion, don't be an "idle talker," be a worker; even commentators should be men of action. Isn't it better to make nets than to watch the fish in the pond? Isn't it better to take vigorous action than to set around making empty talk? Isn't it better to say "Let me do it and do it now" than to make empty comments?

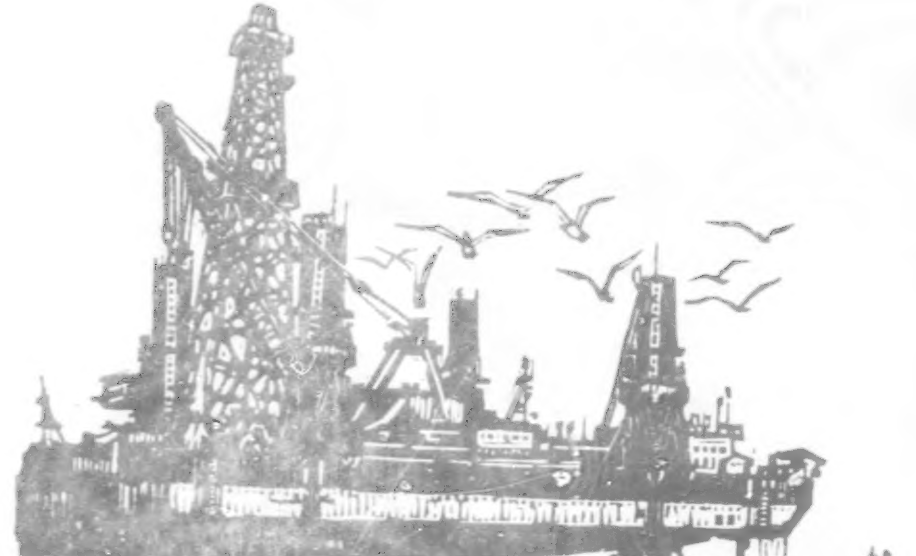
"Idle talk" impedes the state, taking action builds a nation!

11582
CSO: 4004

OIL PROSPECTING ON THE SEA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Li Liangyu [2621 5328 3768]]



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10 December 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 18, 16 September 1980

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10 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 18, 16 September 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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NIGHT AND DAY

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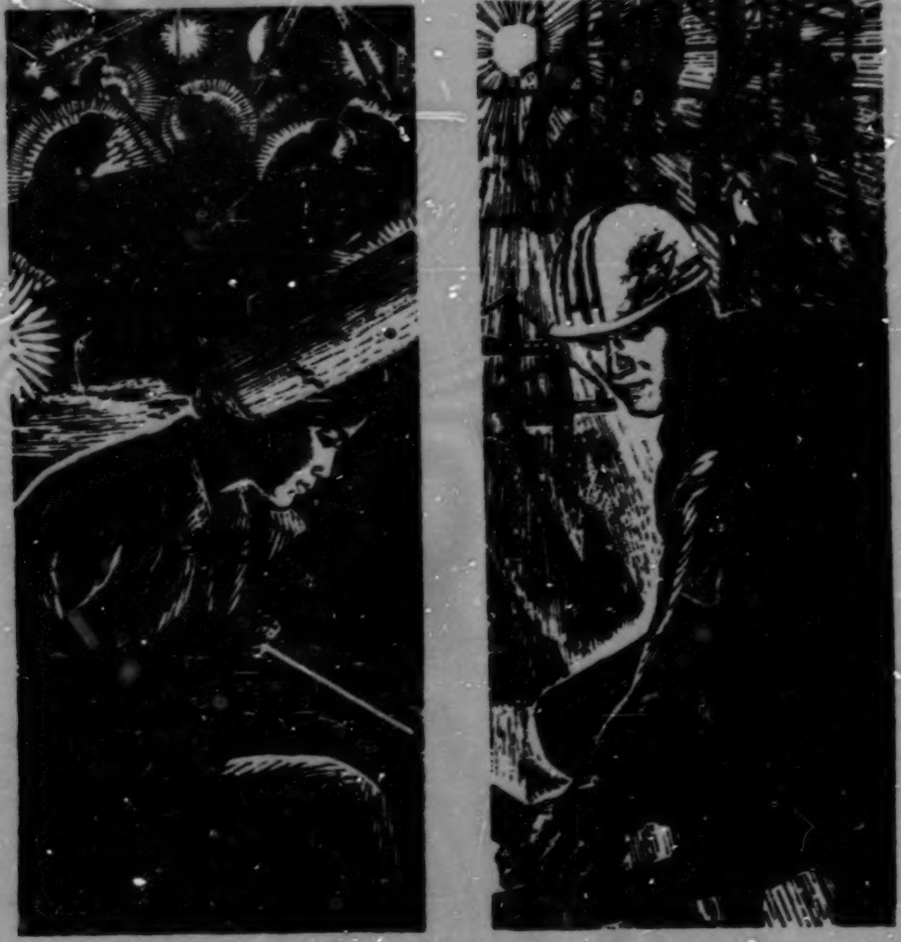
[Woodcuts by Chen Jinrong [7115 2516 1369]]



CSO: 4004

ADVANCE ALONG THE PATH OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 2-4

[Editorial]

[Text] The Third Session of the Fifth NPC has successfully accomplished its scheduled tasks and come to a triumphant close. This was a very important session. It discussed some important problems which will decide the political life and economic construction of our country. This session was in keeping with the aspirations of the people throughout the country and fully reflected the interests of the masses. In particular, the reshuffle of some leading members of the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council at the suggestions of the CCP Central Committee will be beneficial to improving the leadership system of the state, exercising the functions of the state organs and advancing socialist modernization.

From beginning to end, this session was distinctively characterized by an atmosphere of eloquence, liveliness and democracy. The work reports and speeches delivered by leaders of the state and responsible members of the departments concerned were not mere formalities. On the contrary, their reports contained the true facts and were submitted to the deputies for examination and approval. The deputies not only made statements on their positions in the discussions, but also freely expressed their views on the problems of interest to all. They not only talked about achievements at the session, they also criticized various aspects of the political life in our country and the work of the government and put forward their own proposals. All these criticisms and proposals were positive, pertinent and helpful. In addition, deputies addressed inquiries concerning some important problems in the work of the government, fully playing their role as the people's deputies in supervising the work of the government. All these showed that we have made great progress in promoting democracy, and the people's deputies, as the people's representatives, have conscientiously exercised their right of administering the country. The directions defined at this session for the political and economic reforms in our country are encouraging and have greatly strengthened the people's confidence in the four modernizations.

The problem of socialist democracy is, first of all, a problem of the state system of a socialist country. Ours is a socialist state of proletarian dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The broad masses of workers, peasants, armymen, intellectuals and all patriotic personages can fully exercise their democratic rights. These democratic rights encompass all aspects, and there are many ways and methods for fully exercising them. The basic way to exercise these democratic rights is to administer state affairs through the system of people's congresses. The people's congress is the basic political system of our country and the basic form for the people to administer their country. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power. The local people's congresses at all levels are the local organs of state power. The people administer the affairs of the state through the people's congresses and have the power to make decisions on important matters concerning the economy, politics, culture, education, science and social life, and they have the right to vote for, supervise and recall the personnel of state organs. In this way the people's democratic rights in all aspects will be truly guaranteed. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said, laborers' rights to administer their country, various enterprises and science and education are the greatest and the most fundamental rights of the laborers under the socialist system. If such fundamental rights are sabotaged, and if an individual or a few individuals have the final say, then the people are actually deprived of their rights. Things have changed since the smashing of the "gang of four." Following the First Session of the Fifth NPC held in 1978, we have convened a session of the NPC every year in order to discuss and decide the affairs of state, and the format for holding these sessions has improved with each session held. The functions of the people's congress as stipulated in the constitution are being implemented. Direct elections at county level which are being carried out throughout the country show that democratic life in our country, which was sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," has been gradually restored and our democratic system increasingly perfected. The democratization of political life and institutionalization of democracy in our country have reached a new level.

In order to realize socialist modernization, we must promote the democratization of the country. Basically speaking, we should let people exercise their rights of being the masters of their own country in the process of carrying forward the four modernizations. The four modernizations are the cause of the people, and the people have their indisputable rights to be the masters of their own cause. All important problems arising in the four modernizations should be discussed and decided by the people and their representatives. Only by realizing the democratization of the country can we effectively insure that the people are exercising their rights to take part in the administration of state affairs and other economic and cultural undertakings and that millions upon millions of people will truly regard the four modernizations as their own cause and use their initiative in order to advance. Only thus can we carry out our four modernizations in a better and faster way and increasingly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system. If we fail to do so, the basic democratic rights of millions upon millions of people will not be guaranteed, and the reliance on the masses in our efforts to realize the four modernizations will become empty talk, with only attempts to please the public with slogans rather than by demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system. In the political life of our country, our act of bringing democracy into full play, encouraging people to exercise their rights to vote for, supervise and recall cadres and truly supervise the personnel of the state, is the basic way to insure that working members of the state organs maintain their spirit of serving the people, prevent them from seeking privileges and degenerating and eliminate various drawbacks in our state organs, in particular the trend toward bureaucracy. Therefore, it is obvious that democratization of the country is a necessary guarantee for the modernization of our country. It is as indispensable as daily necessities such as cloth, silk, beans and grain.

Our present task is to build our country into a modernized and powerful socialist state with a high degree of democracy and civilization. This task includes the realization of democratization and modernization. Democratization and modernization are closely related. Democratization means that we should let the people fully exercise their rights to administer state affairs, of which the most important is the promotion of socialist modernization. If we approach and treat the problem of the democratization of the state from such a high plane, we will consciously respect people's rights of being the masters of their affairs and will not let an individual or a small number of people decide everything. Cadres' power was originally given by the people, but things were frequently turned upside down. It seemed as if cadres had conferred their power upon the people. Although some cadres agreed in words that democracy should be fully carried forward, they actually regarded the promotion of democracy as a chance for people to air their opinions. They still pursued the practice that "you have the right to speak out and I have the power to make decisions." They actually regarded themselves as the masters of society and treated the masses as if they were fools. The Chinese people gained their democratic rights after they had succeeded, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, in overthrowing the three big mountains and establishing the people's government. However, for a long period in the past, due to the pernicious influence of feudalism and some defects in our state systems such as overconcentration of power, patriarchy, bureaucracy and so forth, the people's democratic rights were hampered and obstructed. During the 10-year chaos, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing did much evil and completely deprived the people of their democratic rights. It is now time to restore the democratic rights which people should fully enjoy and exercise. Our constitution stipulates that all power of the state belongs to the people. However, while exercising power, a small number of people always placed themselves above the people. Some personnel of state organs refused to be supervised and rode roughshod over the people. Some administrative organs overstepped organs of state power and regarded people's congresses as mere ornaments. Some people arbitrarily rejected the candidates of people's congresses elected by the people or even nullified election results of the people's congresses. Some cadres abused the power given by the people to sabotage and trample upon the will of the people. All these inevitably harmed our political system and ran counter to the nature of our socialist state.

The nature and superiority of our socialist society are advantageous to the promotion of democracy. However, owing to the fact that our country was ruled by feudalism for several thousand years and that we lacked the democratic tradition, "the evil feudal practice of arbitrary dictation is so deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even of the ordinary party members that it cannot be swept away at once. When anything crops up, they choose the easy way and have no liking for the bothersome democratic system." (Mao Zedong, "Struggle in the Jinggang Mountain") In addition, due to the pernicious influence and effects of the fascist dictatorship exercised by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, some cadres, including leading cadres, were fond of making arbitrary decisions and refused to consult the masses when matters arose. Some people even regarded patriarchy and the practice of "what I say goes" as all in a day's work and conventional. If we fail to eliminate these outworn things, people's congresses at all levels will unavoidably turn out to be a mere formality. It will be hard for the people to fully exercise their democratic rights. Their democratic rights will always face the danger of being trampled upon and sabotaged. Did not the serious accident of Bohai No 2 and other foolish cases of wasting money and manpower in production and construction occur because of the lack of people's democratic rights and the widespread progression of bureaucracy, as well as prerogative ideas on the part of some leaders? Therefore, to fully promote socialist democracy we should unswervingly fight against various erroneous ideas which hamper democracy, the influence of feudal autocracy in particular, and bureaucracy of all hues engendered by the influence of feudal autocracy.

To realize the democratization of the country we should realize the institutionalization of democracy. The people's democratic rights should be explicitly defined in the constitution and in various rules and regulations so that they will be legalized and stabilized and become the norms for people's action. Historical experiences have proved that only by implementing a perfect democratic system can our cadres and masses establish an excellent democratic work style and practice. Therefore, realizing the institutionalization of democracy is a basic problem of improving our socialist democracy. Socialist democracy can be realized through many systems and forms. The National People's Congress, people's congresses at all levels, the workers congress of all enterprises and institutions and the commune members assembly in villages are the most important and basic democratic system. We should effectively convene people's congresses at all levels on schedule and, just as we did in the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, let deputies fully exercise their democratic rights and turn the standing committees into working bodies. In this way the most fundamental rights of the people will be guaranteed.

Although we have a good democratic system, this does not mean that we can automatically implement it. Some people will openly resist and violate laws and decrees and refuse to implement them. Others will implement them perfunctorily or comply in public but oppose in private. Many defects such as bureaucracy, overconcentration of power, patriarchy, the system of lifelong service for leading cadres and privileges of all hues and so forth can be found in the leadership system of our party and state. All these are apt to give rise to such evil practices as "replacing the laws with individual decisions," "replacing the laws with individual directives" and "defying the laws." This will harm the democratic life of our country or turn various kinds of congresses into nominal assemblies in which all attendants can only say yes, or "meetings of empty talk" or accessories of administrative organs. People often say: "The party secretary makes the decision, the factory director delivers a report, the masses are regarded as fools and the trade union is only a bit player." This has reflected an abnormal phenomenon in our society. Therefore, we should combine our efforts to reform the leadership system and our practice of improving the democratic system. Through a series of reforms of our systems, we should strengthen our legislative work and explicitly define the scope of functions and powers of various cadres at all levels and improve and perfect the inspection and supervision system of the people's congress. In the meantime, we should improve and strengthen judicial organs and discipline inspection organs so that the democratization of political life, economic management and the whole social life will be institutionally guaranteed.

The Third Session of the Fifth NPC has set us a good example in promoting democracy and establishing an excellent work style which will insure that people can fully exercise their democratic rights. This session has also charted an advance for the realization of the democratization and institutionalization of democracy in our country. It is a sign that our country has bright prospects. We firmly believe that the consolidation and development of the political situation in which there are both democracy and freedom, both personal peace of mind and unity of will, liveliness, stability and unity will greatly promote the socialist modernization of our country.

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WAGE A FIRM STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY--BEGINNING WITH THE LESSON LEARNED FROM THE 'BOHAI NO 2' INCIDENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 5-7

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The decisive manner in which the State Council handled the accident of the sinking of the oil rig ship "Bohai No 2" has won the enthusiastic support of the masses. Facts have shown that only by truly relying on the masses, eliminating interference and ascertaining the true picture of a major accident of this nature so as to seriously deal with it and correctly summing up the lesson learned from this experience can we turn the bad thing into a good thing and enable it to become the motivating example for promoting and improving work. We should learn an important lesson from this experience, and that is: We must wage a firm struggle against bureaucracy, which is hindering the four modernizations.

The highest aim of our party and people's government is to serve the people. The cause of socialism is to work for the well-being of the people. The purpose of all the work of the party and people's government is to satisfy the ever-increasing needs in the material life and cultural life of the people. The nature of our party and people's government and the nature of our cause requires all of our cadres, and particularly the leadership cadres at various levels, to wholeheartedly serve the people, always think of the people and proceed in all cases with the interests of the people in mind. For many years most of our cadres have done this and have made contributions to the cause of socialism at their respective stations. However, because of the pernicious influence of feudalism, and particularly the influence of the ultraleftist ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there are definitely some cadres who in recent years have cast away the fine traditions and work style of the party. They have forgotten that communists are only the service personnel of the people, and they only make plans for themselves and devote themselves wholly to seeking fame and position. They understand nothing about conditions in production and construction but are nevertheless very determined. They frequently concentrate a great quantity of manpower and resources to fight so-called "battles of annihilation" and do not balk at extravagance and waste. So long as they can make some slight achievements they get swellheaded and become more domineering and assertive as well as imperious. As a result of a blind command, this accident occurred, state property was lost and casualties resulted, but they felt not the slightest pain and treated the lives and property of the people like dirt. Is not the sinking of the oil rig ship "Bohai No 2" the inevitable result of the development of this kind of disgusting thinking and work style?

Bureaucracy in our leadership work has completely subverted the relationship between the cadres and masses in the socialist system. Socialist public ownership of the means of production has enabled the working masses to become the masters of production and the state, and party and state cadres are only public servants of the people. Where does the power of our cadres come from? It comes from the people. In leading economic work and commanding production we can only work for the interests and welfare of the people. All policies and measures of economic work must conform to the interests of the people. In the course of production we must cherish public property, but we must show even more concern for the lives of the masses. The working masses are the mainstay of production and the most important factor in productive forces. Only by relying on the masses, arousing their enthusiasm and bringing their creative spirit into play can production develop smoothly. The working masses and technicians know firsthand about the actual conditions. They have production skills as well as scientific and technical knowledge. Only by regularly soliciting the views of the masses and respecting their criticism and suggestions can production command conform to reality and objective laws and can economic activities produce better results. When drawing up plans and making decisions, the leading members involved in the "Bohai No 2" accident ignored the masses and disregarded science. They considered themselves to be infallible, made arbitrary decisions, forced the masses to obey their blind command and basically refused to listen to their views. After the accident they also did not honestly reflect the conditions and still put forth the excuse that it is difficult not to make mistakes and that a price must be paid, in an effort to exonerate themselves and deceive the masses and the upper level. They even noisily celebrated the accident in which a ship was sunk and people had died as a heroic achievement and not only tried to evade responsibility but also tried to seek honor through fraud and deception. If this type of bureaucratic attitude is not basically changed, how can we even talk about leading the masses to carry out socialist construction?

The task of socialist modernization is arduous and complicated. Not only must we deal with people but we must also deal with nature. To be good at leading production and construction, we must adhere to the ideological line of dialectical materialism, seek truth from facts and work according to objective laws. Leading members must possess knowledge not only of social science but also of natural science. A decision or order of the leadership organ has a direct bearing not only on the success and failure of a specific project but also on the safety of state property and people's lives. Therefore, leadership cadres must be very modest and careful. They must guard against arrogance and rashness, be good at learning, carry out investigation and study, listen to all kinds of views and make decisions prudently. This is the scientific attitude as well as one which is really responsible to the people. However, some of our leadership cadres, as in the case of the leading members of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Offshore Oil Exploration Bureau, have very great power but very little knowledge. They neither delve deeply into their vocation nor investigate and study actual conditions. They do not follow the mass line in work and do not respect the views of the specialists and workers. They act rashly and carelessly and violate scientific and objective laws. How can they not but make serious mistakes and be severely punished by objective laws?

Some people hold that the setting of high indexes and giving of blind commands in economic construction is caused by the desire to carry out work well and stems from "good intentions." The desire to push forward the four modernizations as quickly as possible is naturally a good thing. However, we must conscientiously study economic and natural laws and handle affairs based on objective laws as we carry out the four modernizations. We must act according to our ability and pay attention to economic results, and it will never do to rely purely on subjective desire. Every subjective desire is restricted by objective conditions. One-sidedly exaggerating the role of subjective initiative without paying attention to the feasibility of objective conditions will surely result in serious consequences. For a long time there was a prevalence of leftist ideas which led to rash advance and impatience for success, resulting in the setting of high indexes and blind commands, wanton disruption of normal production procedures and the use of noisy movements to command production, and willful destruction of natural resources and the carrying out of predatory production in economic construction. These methods greatly damaged China in the latter part of the 1950's, and even now their pernicious influence has not been completely eliminated. This kind of thinking is the formidable foe of modernization, and the people have suffered enough from it. If we do not completely eliminate these leftist ideas, not only will it be difficult for our modernization to advance rapidly, but, moreover, we will also again and again incur losses which normally could have been avoided.

The phenomenon of bureaucracy in our leadership work has a great deal to do not only with the thinking and work style of the cadres but also with the great imperfection in our socialist democracy, and particularly our economic management system. Therefore, to overcome bureaucracy in leadership work we must also take practical and effective measures to reform the leadership system and the economic management system. We must in particular amplify socialist democracy, strengthen socialist law and protect the people, so that they can fully exercise their fundamental rights of managing state affairs and economic affairs.

First, oppose the excessive concentration of power. We must realistically and steadily transfer most of the power to the basic levels and the masses. For many years China has practiced a highly centralized economic management system, and leadership organs at the upper level make the final decision on all important matters concerning an enterprise. In an enterprise a handful of leading members or a single member has the final word, and the masses of workers are actually denied the right to participate in management. The working people are nominally the masters of the state and its enterprises, but actually they are unable to bring their role into play. To reform the existing management system we not only must give greater decisionmaking power to the enterprises but must at the same time protect the right of the workers to manage the enterprises. All enterprises and business units must set up a workers congress system so that it can become the organ of power in name and in fact and transform the workers from nominal masters into actual masters. The workers congress will have the right to manage an enterprise, decide on important matters of an enterprise, hold elections and recommend the appointment and dismissal of leading members in an enterprise.

Second, oppose the patriarchal system. All party and administrative organs must practice the principle of collective leadership. At present collective leadership in some units is not very healthy, and the patriarchal style is particularly serious among some of the leading members. Many important issues are based on the decision of an individual without going through collective discussions, and the word of the leading member is "law." Those with dissenting views are suppressed and even vindictively attacked. The views, suggestions and plans offered by the specialists and masses can also be overruled by a single word from the leading member. In this way, mistakes arising from subjective conjecture are difficult to avoid. In the future we must fully discuss important matters within the leading body, conscientiously listen to the views of various sectors and, in particular, respect dissenting views. We must not allow a handful of people or a single individual to monopolize everything. This is the only way to really practice democracy and develop the spirit of democracy within party and administrative organs.

Third, abolish the system of lifetime tenure for leadership cadres which now actually exists. We must step by step put into practice a system of promotion, employment, examination, training, reward and punishment and retirement for cadres and must promote those in the prime of life with vocational knowledge and ability to leadership posts. We must set up and amplify all kinds of inspection and supervision systems so that, based on the genuine desire of the masses, we can promptly praise, reward and promote those cadres who have made outstanding contributions to the cause of socialism, criticize and educate those who have faults and made mistakes and remove and dismiss those bureaucrats guilty of serious dereliction of duty.

Fourth, oppose the lack of distinction between party and government, with the party replacing the government. In many enterprises today all work, including production tasks, is mostly run by the party committee. This has actually weakened the leadership role of the party and is also detrimental to bringing the role of the administrative organs into play. The tasks of party organizations and administrative organs are different, and there should be a clear division of labor. The party must look after the affairs of the party, and the party committee of an enterprise must give play to the role of the party organization as a fighting bastion and the role of party members as model vanguards, strengthen ideological and political work among the workers and play a supervisory and guaranteeing role in an enterprise. It must not take on the administrative leadership work. Leading administrative members should have complete power over production tasks. The trade union is the mass organization of the working people. It must have independent jurisdiction over work in an enterprise, work for the interests of the workers and speak on their behalf.

Fifth, leadership cadres, just like other citizens, must be restricted by discipline and law. Leadership cadres who abuse their power and violate law and discipline must be sanctioned by discipline and law. All legislation, policies and regulations for the economy must be strictly enforced, so that laws must be complied with, law enforcement must be strict and violations must be investigated. Serious violations of law and discipline under any pretext will not be permitted. We must uphold the principle that everyone is equal before the law and must not again practice "punishments are not meted out to senior officials." No matter how meritorious his service or how high his position, anyone who violates the law must be given the same punishment as would be given a common person.

Bureaucracy is incompatible with the fundamental character of our socialist system. The reason bureaucracy is able to survive and grow under China's socialist system has something to do with the level of development of productive forces and with the cultural level and educational standard of the whole nation. Just as Lenin said: "Soviet power, which in principle has provided an immensely higher proletarian democracy, has created a model of such democracy for the whole world. But this lack of culture is depreciating Soviet power and reviving bureaucracy." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 152) Therefore, the struggle against the various manifestations of bureaucracy will be a protracted and arduous task. However, precisely because we have an immensely higher socialist democracy under the socialist system, bureaucracy is not an incurable disease. So long as we combine the struggle to overcome bureaucracy with the reform of the leadership system and the management system, and especially if we resolutely put into practice the handing of power to the lower levels and allow various enterprises and business units to have the power of independent management and activity under the unified leadership of the state, and, moreover, if this kind of power can be genuinely exercised by the entire body of workers of all the enterprises and business units, then we will certainly be able to achieve the goal of overcoming bureaucracy.

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THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY--HOW TO APPROACH THE DELETION OF THE PROVISION ON THE 'FOUR BIGS' FROM THE CONSTITUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 8-11

[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] In accordance with a proposal made at the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and after serious discussions, the 3d Session of the 5th NPC which was held recently decided to delete from our country's constitution the provision regarding the citizens' "rights to 'speak out freely, air views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters.'" This decision reflects the wishes and demands of the broad masses and has won support throughout the country.

As everyone knows, to carry forward socialist democracy, to strengthen the socialist legal system and to insure that the people enjoy full rights and opportunities to express their views on affairs of state and make proposals and criticisms to party and government leaders are important matters regarding the socialist political development of our country and are policies firmly upheld by our party and government. However, are the "four bigs" a good method to attain this goal? Facts eloquently show that, judging by the general situation, the "four bigs" have never played an active role in safeguarding the people's democratic rights but, on the contrary, have impeded people's normal exercise of their democratic rights. This is the common understanding acquired by our party by upholding practice as the only criterion for testing truth, by fully reviewing the situation after the emergence of the "four bigs," and by proceeding from practice to seriously sum up experiences and assessing our gains and losses.

We paid a price to acquire this understanding.

As a social phenomenon in our country, the "four bigs" emerged in 1957 when the rectification and antirightist campaign was under way. At that time a handful of bourgeois rightists used the "four bigs" to attack the party, the people and the socialist system. Immediately after that the party and the people also used the "four bigs" to wage a counterattack against the rightists. Of course, it was unfair to say that the "four bigs" were the only reason the wrong label of being a bourgeois rightist was placed on a great number of people at that time. Doubtlessly the "four bigs" and the atmosphere created by them played a role in promoting the wrong policy of broadening the scope of the antirightist struggle.

In almost a quarter of a century after that, the "four bigs" have never disappeared from the political life of the Chinese people. They were closely linked with almost every political movement. Especially during the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk deliberately created and pushed the ultraleftist line to usurp supreme power of the party and the state. As a result, the "four bigs" spread more and more pernicious influence and culminated in a catastrophe. There was a flood of big-character posters which engaged in endless "debates" and made wrong criticisms. Order was replaced by confusion, unity by division, and stability by upheaval. A large number of revolutionary cadres and intellectuals were persecuted. A large number of false and wrong cases were fabricated. Our party, state and people were made to suffer. To many people the "four bigs" were good for nothing and should have been sent to the historical museum long ago.

While liquidating the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people bear in mind their experiences of the past two decades and have long been thinking about these questions: Have the "four bigs" played an active or passive role in promoting socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system? Are they advantageous or disadvantageous to the effort to maintain a political situation of stability and unity and achieve socialist modernization? In the course of learning, people invariably continue to develop and deepen their knowledge in practice. Millions and millions of people have learned painful lessons about the "four bigs." Our knowledge of the "four bigs" has also been elevated from the level of perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge. We have to expose their evil, which is chiefly as follows:

(1) They infringed on people's democratic rights. Whatever his motive, anyone could use the "four bigs," especially the big-character posters, to attack other people, provoke conflicts and even spread false rumors about people. Those who were accused in the big-character posters were not given a chance to state the facts and defend themselves. The big-character posters were put up in streets for the public to read. Most of the readers did not know the facts. They were only given a one-sided story. It would be difficult for them to tell the true from the false. In particular, the writers of the big-character posters said whatever was on their minds. This invariably misled the public, upset democratic order in society and disrupted and infringed on the citizens' democratic rights specified in the constitution.

(2) They trampled upon the socialist legal system. Many big-character posters did not bear the true names of their writers. Thus, they could not be held politically or legally responsible. As a result, those who used the "four bigs" to calumniate others, spread rumors and trump up charges could not be prosecuted according to law, and the victims' personal freedom and citizenship were not safeguarded by law. The state laws could not be enforced wherever the "four bigs" prevailed.

(3) They mixed up the two types of qualitatively different contradictions. Most of the big-character posters carried one-sided and exaggerated reports and even unwarranted and fabricated materials. Moreover, they made prejudiced criticisms

and fabricated charges, willfully seizing on other people's mistakes, putting labels on them and bludgeoning them. The so-called "great debates" actually were mass criticism and repudiation, where only one party was allowed to speak out freely and the other party was not allowed to air his views fully. Therefore, it was totally impossible to resolve the contradictions among the people by the formula "unity-criticism-unity," by proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts, by putting facts on the table and making things clear through reasoning, and by penetratingly and meticulously carrying out ideological education. In most cases, big-character posters emerged in a mass action and adopted an ultraleftist attitude, treating problems of thinking and understanding as political problems and regarding contradictions among the people as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. In some places and units where factionalism prevailed, the factionalists used the "four bigs" to incite people, thereby sharpening the contradictions instead of correctly and quickly resolving them. At the same time, the big-character posters facilitated the activities of counterrevolutionaries, criminals and those who had an ulterior motive. Facts have already shown that these people used the "four bigs" to make trouble, create confusion and divulge the secrets of the party and the state, thus impairing the fundamental interests of the state and the people.

(4) They disrupted normal order of production and work and social order. With a writing brush, a bundle of paper and a bucket of paste, some people put up big-character posters on walls in streets and lanes, creating a sensation. The irresponsible exposures and criticisms sapped the people's morale and strained the relations between one man and another. This diverted people's attention, dissipated people's energies and hindered the cadres and the masses from concentrating on working concertedly to build socialism.

In a few words, the "four bigs" gave rise to much evil and caused great harm. Allowing them to remain in the constitution would jeopardize the political situation of stability and unity, hinder the people from exercising their proper democratic rights, facilitate sabotage waged by the handful of class enemies and harm the four modernizations. As the NPC deputies said: "We want the 'four modernizations,' not the 'four bigs.'"

Democracy should be highly developed in the political field in order to accomplish the four modernizations. The four modernizations cannot be carried out effectively if we do not fully develop democracy and allow the people to cultivate their sense of responsibility and to display their enthusiasm, activism, initiative and spirit of self-sacrifice. The four modernizations will not have bright prospects if we do not practice centralism of a high degree on the basis of ample democracy and do not create conditions in which people work intensely and in good order under unified leadership and command. Socialist democracy as the superstructure is determined by the socialist economy as its base and serves it. For this reason, our socialist democracy has clear-cut concrete contents. Whatever the form and procedures by means of which it is developed, it will invariably be conducive to the upholding of the four basic principles and the accomplishment of the four modernizations. Democracy which impairs the four basic principles and deviates from the goal of achieving the four modernizations through stability and unity can never be socialist democracy, no matter what beautiful disguise it may put on and how nicely it is worded.

Some people hold that the "four bigs" are a form of democracy and that deleting the "four bigs" means doing away with socialist democracy or at least weakening or restricting socialist democracy. They have confused the "four bigs" with socialist democracy. They do not see the basic, inherent defects of the "four bigs." They also lack correct understanding of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy implies that all of the people wield supreme power in running the country on the basis of the rights of ownership and disposal which they exercise in various forms over the means of production. This is an unshakable political principle of the socialist system. However, socialist democracy should never be developed spontaneously, but under leadership. When the "four bigs" are separated from party leadership and from the restrictions of the laws, a few people will advocate anarchism and ultrademocracy, do whatever they like, defy both human and divine laws, impair the democratic rights of the majority of people and disrupt social order. Why should the "four bigs" be related to socialist democracy? They should not be regarded as equal.

Socialist democracy embodies the unity of rights and duties. There are no rights without duties nor duties without rights. Rights and duties form an indivisible entity. To enjoy democratic rights, every citizen must fulfill his duties to the country, the society and other people. Failure to fulfill one's duties invariably will lead to the violation of democratic rights. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered to the Second Session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "To enjoy rights and freedom a citizen must fulfill his duty to society and to other people." Without taking any political, legal or moral responsibility, the "four bigs" willfully encroached upon other people's democratic rights. They themselves impact on socialist democracy. Of course, doing away with them should not be regarded as weakening or restricting socialist democracy. On the contrary, doing away with them means promoting and strengthening socialist democracy. This indicates that democracy has taken a step forward and absolutely not a step backward in its course of development.

Some people say that people's democratic life will not develop normally if the "four bigs" are eliminated. Actually, the facts answer this question. Before the rectification and antirightist campaign in 1957, the "four bigs" did not exist in the political life of the Chinese people. A relatively normal political life was enjoyed both inside and outside the party. Superiors got along well with their subordinates, and so did the cadres with the masses. Facts show that the "four bigs" are not a necessary form for developing socialist democracy. On the contrary, we saw another situation during the decade when Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk ran amuck: on the one hand, the "four bigs" were advocated most vigorously; on the other hand, socialist democracy was recklessly destroyed. At that time the outcry for "great democracy" was accompanied by the fascist autocratic atrocities of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk, and inner-party democracy and the people's democratic life were seriously harmed. This showed that the "four bigs" ran counter to socialist democracy. When the "four bigs" developed to their peak, socialist democracy dropped to its lowest point.

Some people also worry that if the "four bigs" are eliminated the channels through which criticisms and suggestions may be communicated to the leadership will be blocked. In our country the people are the masters. They have every means and opportunity to run the country and enjoy the right to air their views. State organs at all levels maintain the system of the people's congress. Organs to handle letters from the people and receive visitors are attached to party and government organizations at all levels. The majority of our cadres live in the grassroots-level units, where the masses may put forward their proposals and demands at any time. Many of our leading cadres often handle matters revealed by the masses in their letters or visits. We have the fine traditions of following the mass line and making criticism and self-criticism. When the masses have opinions on the leading organs or their leaders, they may criticize them directly or report the matter to a higher level and even to the party Central Committee and the State Council. Therefore, when the "four bigs" are eliminated, the question of having nowhere to air views and make complaints will not exist. Our party and government will continue to create more and better conditions to insure that people may exercise their various democratic rights.

It should also be noted that those who sincerely and responsibly make criticisms and proposals to their leaders want to quickly solve actual problems. However, it is hardly possible to attain this goal by means of the "four bigs." Even the question of a bureaucratic work style can be solved effectively only through a proper channel or method. We are thoroughgoing materialists. We never deny that bureaucracy does exist in various forms in our party and state organs. Resorting to bureaucracy in trampling on democracy and retaliating against those who make criticisms existed in the past and also exists at present, and even to an intolerable extent, in some places and units. However, we can persistently resist and eventually overcome the virus of bureaucracy as long as we, under the party's leadership and with the support of the masses, continue to improve party leadership, strengthen the socialist political and economic systems and promote socialist democracy. We do not encourage the method of using anarchism to cope with bureaucracy, because the former cannot overcome and defeat the latter. Indiscriminate exposure, criticism and struggle will only sharpen the contradictions, broaden the scope of struggle and bring serious harm to the socialist cause. Daily life has repeatedly shown that in promoting socialist democracy it is necessary not only to firmly oppose bureaucracy of various descriptions but also to firmly rectify ultrademocracy and anarchism.

The Chinese people's democratic rights were seriously violated when Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk ran wild. This is an impressive lesson for the party, the government and the people. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party and the government have adopted many practical and effective measures to restore and carry forward socialist democracy and insure and expand the people's democratic rights. For example, they have seriously redressed cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed; they have laid down rules and regulations safeguarding the people's democratic rights; they have set up discipline inspection committees at all levels; they have strengthened the work of handling problems revealed by the people through letters and visits; they have reiterated that the practice of seizing on others' faults, putting labels on others and bludgeoning others should not be encouraged among the people; they have used newspapers to criticize bureaucracy, the "special privilege" mentality and the misdeeds of trampling on democracy and violating law and discipline; they have adopted the systems of holding workers and staff members congresses and democratically electing squad and group leaders and workshop directors in enterprises, and so forth. Arduous and unremitting efforts have yet to be made to put these measures into practice. Some of these measures need to be improved. However, all these measures have won all-out support from the people, have played and will continue to play a good role in the political life of the Chinese people, and have brought about an unprecedented, gratifying scene in the democratic life both inside and outside the party. Of course, socialism inevitably will meet problems of one sort and another in practice. To improve and perfect socialist democracy, we must do a great deal of work, go through many struggles and in particular struggle against the long-existing feudal patriarchal system. Through the continuous course of "practice, understanding, again practice and again understanding," socialist democracy in our country will surely be carried forward and improved with each passing day. There is no doubt about this. Deletion of the provision of the "four bigs" from the constitution is proof of the healthy development of socialist democracy in our country.

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COMMODITY RELATIONS AND ENTERPRISES' DECISIONMAKING POWER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OWNERSHIP BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 12-15

[Article by Jiang Xuemo [5592 1331 2875]]

[Text] A correct understanding of the place and role of commodity relations within the realm of socialist economic relations, particularly a correct understanding of the commodity relations within the framework of ownership by the whole people under socialism, has an important bearing on the socialist modernization and construction of our country. At present we are undertaking the reform of the economic management system and have already achieved notable results in experiments to enlarge the decisionmaking power of state enterprises. But should state enterprises have the decisionmaking power in management and control? What should be the extent of the decisionmaking power delegated to them? How can we reconcile the state's centralized control of state enterprises with the decisionmaking power of these enterprises? These problems are closely connected with the attempt to achieve a clear theoretical understanding of commodity relations within the economic sector of ownership by the whole people under socialism.

Problems Arising From the "Outer Shell" Theory of Commodities

For a long period after the publication of Stalin's treatise "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," a certain "outer shell" theory has been in vogue on the problem of commodity relations under socialism. The theory postulates that within the sector of the economy of ownership by the whole people, and among the state enterprises, commodity relations really do not exist, and the products purchased or sold among the state enterprises are in reality not commodities but only the outer shell of commodities. With this as the starting point, it would appear, insofar as the relations within the sector of the economy of ownership by the whole people are concerned, that economic laws would lose their regulatory role over production and at the most could exert only a little influence. The pricing of products and the computation of production costs and profits would likewise not be governed by economic laws. It would follow that state enterprises are not, relatively speaking, independent producers of commodities and that, objectively speaking, they would not need to have decisionmaking powers. Quite clearly, for a prolonged period of time a certain mode of procedure for economic control under the system of ownership by the whole people has been to deny state enterprises a definite degree of decisionmaking power. Almost all production materials turned out by state enterprises are placed at the disposal of the departments handling material resources, which make the necessary allocations according to plans. The fixing of product prices is not made according to the necessary amount of social labor expended in the production process. Some of the products are priced much higher than the amount of social labor spent on them. This gives the enterprises large profits without actually having to make much of an effort. On the other hand, the prices fixed for some products are below the average production cost, resulting in many enterprises suffering losses despite having devoted much effort to production and management. The finances of state enterprises are now subject to a system of unified receipts and unified disbursements by the state. Under this system, all profits are remitted to the state, while in turn the state makes good on losses or deficits. Such methods of operation, which actual practice has shown to have impeded the development of production, are fundamentally related to the failure to recognize that, in theory, commodity relations do exist within the realm of the economy under ownership by the whole people.

At present many comrades engaged in practical and theoretical work on the economic front have come to recognize the existence of commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership by the whole people and that the products exchanged between state enterprises are, in substance, commodities. Hence, objectively speaking, goods exchanged between state enterprises should be of equal value. Price fixing and determination of targets for production costs and profits must conform to the objective demands of economic laws. As commodity producers, state enterprises must possess definite decisionmaking power with regard to production and business operations. In the control of state enterprises, the state should rely less on administrative procedures and concentrate more on economic tactics. It appears that a consensus is gradually beginning to emerge on these problems. Nevertheless, why is it that within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people there still exists, in substance, commodity relations? What economic conditions determine such commodity relations? Is there any difference between these commodity relations and those of enterprises under the two kinds of public ownership system? At present views on these problems are still divergent. And because of the divergent viewpoints on the theory of commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people, different opinions continue to be held on reform of the economic control system. Hence, in my opinion, it is extremely necessary to make a study of the theory of commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people in order to reach general agreement on the matter of reforming the economic control system.

Where Does the Error Lie in the "Outer Shell" Theory of Commodities?

The logic behind the "outer shell" theory of commodities is this: The production materials and production results of state enterprises are the property of the whole people and belong to the same owner. The mutual exchange of products between state enterprises does not change the ownership status of the products. On the other hand, the exchange of commodities is an exchange between different owners. Therefore, an exchange within the sector where there is no corresponding change of ownership does not in reality constitute commodity exchange. It is commodity exchange in form only, and the exchanged products are only the outer shells of commodities.

In my opinion, the trouble here lies in considering all socialist state enterprises to be under the same ownership, without any differentiation between them. This is the result of a prolonged period of "leftist" influence that has caused the principle of socialist material interests to be completely ignored. Likewise, the difference between the system of ownership by the whole people under socialism and that under communism has been completely ignored.

As everybody knows, Marx and Lenin never paid any attention to a socialist utopia. Instead, they treated socialist society as a vestige of the old society of capitalism, being a low-class type of communist society with economic, moral and spiritual traces of the old society. Marx regarded the equal rights of "distribution according to work" as representing in principle the rights of the capitalist class. This, together with Lenin's dissertation on the relations of the individual's material interests and the responsibility system governing the operation, management and profit and loss of state enterprises, both glittered with the luster of materialist thinking. But by the time of Stalin, who probably hoped to arouse the warm feelings of the Soviet people for their socialist fatherland, writings on socialist economic relations touched only on their basic difference from capitalism and never mentioned that they contained the vestiges of the old society. The result is that on many problems the line of demarcation between socialism and communism has not been clearly drawn at all.

Personally, the writer believes that the difference between the vestiges of the old society existing under the socialist and communist systems of ownership by the whole people is that the socialist system of ownership by the whole people is a kind of system of ownership by the whole people which is intimately concerned with the material interests of the individual. Viewed from the standpoint of the ownership or possession relations of production materials, state enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people are the property of the whole people. But the people taken as a whole cannot dispose of or utilize the production materials of the whole people. Instead, these production materials are disposed of or utilized by a combination of state enterprises that act as producers and are concerned with the material benefits derived from their labor. The extent of the benefits to the state enterprises derived from production (such as the quantity of output, quality of output, value and profits) depends not only upon the quantity and quality of the production materials and the labor arrangements but also on the use and disposition of these materials and labor power, that is to say, upon the business and management level of the enterprises. Objectively speaking, the development of socialist production requires the close binding together of the production results and the material benefits of the workers and employees of the state enterprises. The amount received from state enterprise labor depends not only upon the quantity and quality of the labor contributed by each individual worker and employee but also upon the use and disposition of the production materials of the whole people on the part of the workers and employees in their collective role as producers. Only in this way is it possible to mobilize the labor enthusiasm, originality and sense of responsibility for business operations and management of the workers and employees.

From this it can be seen that, viewed from the possession relations of production materials, all state enterprises belong to the same owner, that is to say, to the whole people represented by the socialist state. The profit and loss of enterprises originating from the quantity and quality of the production materials should also be taken care of by the same principal, the socialist state. Viewed from the use and disposition of production materials, a clear line of demarcation exists among the individual state enterprises themselves. The profit and loss resulting from the conditions of the use and disposition of the production materials, that is to say, resulting from the business operation and management level, should not be the unified responsibility of the socialist state but rather should be taken care of individually by the state enterprises who have banded together as producers. Precisely because of this separation of the possession relations of the production materials from the utilization and disposition relations of the production materials, there exists a special distinction between the system of ownership by the whole people under socialism and that under communism. It has also brought about the need for the relative independence of socialist state enterprises, as well as the necessity for the existence of commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people.

In the higher stage of communism, despite the fact that the disposition and use of the production materials owned by the whole people are still in the hands of the enterprises who have banded together as producers, man's labor becomes a kind of labor devoid of compensation but done conscientiously for the benefit of the public. In enterprises owned by the whole people under communism there no longer exists a distinction between the possession relations and the disposition and utilization relations of production materials. The profit and loss of all enterprises, irrespective of the cause, will be shouldered by the entire body of constituents of society. Only then will commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people become extinct. While still in the stage of socialism, individual enterprises which club together for the purpose of production possess the economic rights and shoulder the economic burden of the good or bad business results of their respective enterprises on an individual basis. The state enterprises themselves must treat each other as independent commodity producers. The exchange of products between them must be carried out according to the principle that commodities exchanged must be of equal value.

Peculiarities of Commodity Relations Within the Sector of the Economy Under Ownership of the Whole People

Commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people are different from commodity relations of the two categories of public ownership economy under socialism. Like all commodity relations in history, commodity relations between state enterprises and collectively owned enterprises are generated from the division of labor in society and the production materials and products of labor belonging to different owners. Commodity relations between state enterprises are not generated by the production materials belonging to different owners. They are generated by the production materials belonging to the same owner but coming under the disposition and use of different groups of producers.

The peculiarities of commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people brought about by the nature of the system of ownership by the whole people under socialism form the main theoretical basis for our reforms of the economic structure. For example: Expanding the financial power of the enterprises and determining the ratio of the division of enterprises' profits regarding what proportion should be at the unified disposal of the state and what proportion should be at the disposal of the enterprises themselves should be based on the objective and subjective factors contributing to the making of the profits. As regards the fundamental sources of profits, all state enterprises derive their newly created value, including profits, from the productive labor of their workers and employees. However, due to the differences in the quantity and quality of the production materials available for disposal and utilization, the same quantity and quality of labor power may not bring about equal amounts of profits. Likewise, due to the different degrees of efficiency in the disposition and use of production materials, the same quantity and quality of these materials may also bring about unequal amounts of profits. Profits generated because of a large quantity of high-quality production materials should belong to the owners of the production materials, that is to say, the whole people. They should be placed at the disposal of the state, representing the interests of the whole people, for the purpose of improvement and expansion for the benefit of the entire people. As for profits in excess of the general level derived from the efficient disposition and use of production materials, the surplus portion should belong to and be placed at the disposal of the enterprises which by virtue of their high-quality labor power in the use and disposition of the production materials have achieved outstanding successes and which may thus use the surplus profits to further develop their production, improve the welfare of the entire staff and increase the rewards for deserving workers and employees. Let us cite the following examples:

Example 1: A state-operated television plant has the following particulars: a staff of 1,000 people; old and antiquated equipment; annual production, 10,000 television sets; production cost of 250 yuan per set; ex-factory price, 300 yuan each; and gross profits of 500,000 yuan a year. Later on the state invested a large sum in the plant for the purposes of expansion and development. It then employed the latest technological equipment and installed an assembly line. The size of the staff remained at 1,000, but annual production went up to 100,000 television sets. The production cost per set dropped to 200 yuan, but the ex-factory price stayed at 300 yuan per set. As a result, profits went up to 10 million yuan a year, an increase of 9.5 million yuan compared with before. Meanwhile, the technological level of the staff of workers had already been suitably raised in order to enable them to handle the new technological equipment. The technological level of the staff having been raised, it followed that their pay scale had also been suitably raised, but the pay raise was duly incorporated into the production cost. Hence, the newly increased profits of 9.5 million yuan were derived from an increased quantity of production materials plus an improvement in their quality. Since the investments for the new equipment had come from the treasury of the whole people, in principle the entire amount of the increased profits should be placed at the disposal of the socialist state.

Example 2: Seven television plants, all of which have the same technological level, same size of staff and same technological grading. The state had stipulated the following targets for each of the plants: annual production, 100,000 television sets; production cost, 200 yuan each; and annual gross profits, 10 million yuan. However, as a result of their different business and management levels, the following disparities were found in their production results:

Plant No.	Annual output (sets)	Production cost (per set) (yuan)	Ex-factory price (per set) (yuan)	Profits (per set) (yuan)	Total annual profits (million yuan)	Deviation from plan (million yuan)
1	90,000	320	300	-20	-1.8	-11.80
2	95,000	210	300	90	8.55	- 1.45
3	100,000	200	300	100	10.00	0
4	105,000	190	300	110	11.55	1.55
5	110,000	180	300	120	13.20	3.20
6	115,000	170	300	130	14.95	4.95
7	120,000	160	300	140	16.80	6.80

As shown in the above tabulation, of the seven television plants, plant No 1 incurred a deficit, while plant No 2 failed to reach the target set by the state. Plants Nos 4, 5, 6 and 7 surpassed the state's profit targets in varying degrees. All seven plants had equivalent objective production conditions. Hence, the disparities in their production results did not arise from differences in the quantity or quality of the production materials or in the size of the work force or in their respective technological grading. They were due to varying degrees of efficiency in the execution of their subjective activities, that is to say, to the disparities in the business and management level of the respective enterprises This being the case, the staff members, particularly the leadership cadres, of the enterprises failing to achieve the profit targets should bear the economic responsibility, because they betrayed the trust of the people of the entire country, failed to do a good job of business operations and management and were unable to make the production materials and labor power fully assert their role in the production process. On the other hand, those enterprises surpassing the planned profit targets of the state should be entitled to the economic rights of the surplus profits. This portion of the surplus profits should be wholly or partly placed at the disposal of the enterprises themselves. This is because the surplus profits were derived from a high level of management and control, and the enterprises were able to provide labor power of a superior quality in the disposition and use of the production materials owned by the whole people.

The distribution of the enterprise profits between the state and the enterprises should not contravene the above-mentioned principles. If profits derived from a large quantity and high quality of production materials were allowed to be placed at the disposal of the state enterprises concerned, then we would be refuting ownership by the whole people of the production materials. We would be placing the workers and employees of these state enterprises privileged with the disposition and use of advanced technological equipment in a particularly advantageous position with regard to the possession relations of production materials. This would be disadvantageous to the unity of the working class. On the other hand, if we were to place at the unified disposal of the state the surplus profits derived from a higher level of management and control, we would in reality be refuting the principle of socialist material benefits and would be refuting the socialist state enterprises' status of being relatively independent commodity producers. This would bring about the ideology of "eating from a communal pot" and would defeat the socialist enthusiasm of the workers and employees, which would be highly detrimental to the development of socialist production with faster, greater, better and more economical results.

Understanding Must Be Complete

The decisionmaking power of socialist state enterprises applies not only to financial administration but also to other spheres, such as personnel management, administration of material resources, production, supply of raw materials and marketing of goods. In all these spheres, to what extent decisionmaking power should be extended will have to be determined according to the nature of the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and the special features of the commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people, plus adherence to the governing principle of being advantageous to the development of socialist production. Generally speaking, commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people illustrate that each and every state enterprise is, relatively speaking, an independent producer of commodities and has certain decisionmaking powers in the different phases of enterprise management, such as those with regard to personnel, finance, goods and materials, supplies, production and marketing. Only in this way can there be sufficient grounds for the full display of positivism in the management and administration of enterprises, so that commodity production can fulfill the needs of society. Nevertheless, it is only relatively speaking that state enterprises are independent producers of commodities, unlike collectively owned enterprises, which are completely independent producers of commodities. For this reason, expanding decisionmaking power in the management and control of state enterprises does not hamper the state in exercising the essential centralized and unified leadership over the state-operated economy. Production of the state enterprises will of necessity be regulated by the state plan, and regulation by the state plan will be coordinated with regulation by market conditions, although regulation by the state plan should always take precedence. The smooth development of socialist modernized construction requires a correct understanding of the peculiar features of commodity relations within the socialist sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people. It requires the correct handling of the relations between the state and the enterprises and avoidance of one-sidedness in understanding and concrete actions.

Looking at the history of the development of socialism, we will see that mankind's treatment of the necessity for and importance of commodity relations within the sector of socialist economic relations, particularly with reference to the necessity for commodity relations within the socialist sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people, grew from early refutation to gradual recognition and from low esteem to gradual recognition of their importance. In our country, as a result of our having for a long time refuted the principle of material interests under socialism and failing to recognize the difference between ownership by the whole people under socialism and ownership by the whole people under communism, fundamentally the current tendency is the failure to grasp clearly or assess sufficiently the necessity for and importance of commodity relations within the sector of the economy under ownership of the whole people. Reflecting such modes of thought in their ideas on reforming the economic control system, people view the expansion of the decisionmaking power of state enterprises with trepidation, fearing that the basic-level enterprises have too much power and too much money and may get out of hand. They cherish the idea of retaining as much as possible the old custom of having a centralized and unified leadership relying on the issuance of administrative decrees to attend to economic matters.

This is an illustration of the failure to completely eradicate the effects of "leftist" ideology in economic matters as well as of the continued existence of an ossified way of thinking.

Yet, on the other hand, some comrades consider the law of value as the most important law in the realm of socialist economy. They even refute the existence of a basic economic law under socialism or a law governing the planned development of the national economy. State enterprises, which actually hold the economic position of relatively independent commodity producers, are considered by them to be entirely independent commodity producers. With this concept as the starting point in talking about the reform of our country's economic control system and when touching on the problem of the decisionmaking power of state enterprises, they are inclined to demand that state enterprises be exempted from administrative control by the state. They are even of the opinion that the essential centralized and unified control of state enterprises by the state can only produce negative effects. In my opinion, this is not justified.

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CERTAIN QUESTIONS ON FINANCE, CREDIT AND BALANCED SUPPLY OF COMMODITIES (CONTINUED)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 16-22

[Article by Duan Yun [3008 7119]]

[Text] V. Amount of Circulating Funds Should Be Suitably Reduced as Conditions Permit; Their Turnover Should Be Accelerated

In recent years many enterprises have kept materials too long in stock and retained for their own use huge circulating funds, while, on the other hand, the capital construction funds of the state were insufficient, unable to meet current needs. Would it be possible to decrease the amount of circulating funds or not to allow any and use the savings to augment capital construction investments? As for the circulating funds currently in the hands of enterprises, would it be possible to decrease them and use the savings for capital construction, making a provision that whoever decreases their circulating funds would be entitled to use a portion of them? This is a problem worth probing.

The socialist accumulations of our country are derived from two sources, namely, fixed assets and circulating assets. Fixed assets comprise plant buildings, equipment, ships and vehicles, roads and various kinds of buildings, being primarily the products of capital construction investments. Circulating assets comprise items in the process of production and circulation, such as raw materials, fuel, semifinished products, products in the process of being manufactured and commodities awaiting marketing, acquired in whole or in part by means of circulating funds through various channels. Circulating funds are a necessary and indispensable item for production and circulation. A plant, after completion of capital construction and having acquired the power of production, must have in its possession a set amount of raw materials and fuel before it can start production. Similarly, a commercial store or shop, after having been built or having acquired its premises and warehouse, must have merchandise before it can start business. The above examples indicate the prerequisites for production and business operations. Accumulations of fixed assets and accumulations of circulating assets must be maintained at an adequate proportion to each other. When capital construction investments are being planned, suitable arrangements must be made for circulating funds. This is an objective demand of production and circulation. We should not be concerned with only the former and neglect the latter.

As stated before, under current conditions the circulating funds of enterprises come mainly from two sources: (1) financial appropriations from the state; and (2) bank loans. The amount of the former is fixed by the state. It represents an uncompensated appropriation to an enterprise and is placed at the disposal of the enterprise. It is considered to be the enterprise's own funds and is also known as fixed circulating funds. As for the latter, they are loans from the bank granted according to plans. They must be repaid on schedule and bear interest at a fixed rate. They are known as borrowed funds of the enterprise and are also known as funds in excess of fixed circulating funds.

Why should an enterprise have fixed circulating funds appropriated from the state treasury? This is because an enterprise must maintain a definite scale of production and circulation and must insure that both production and circulation are not interrupted. Hence, it must have on hand funds to be spent on raw materials, fuel, semifinished products and manufactured goods, as well as commodities awaiting to be marketed. The funds must be retained by the enterprise for long-term use and through the entire process of production and circulation and are absolutely necessary. The so-called fixed circulating funds are the minimum amount of funds fixed by the state for an enterprise on the basis of its normal production and circulation needs and in accordance with the guidelines that the enterprise must accelerate the turnover of funds and practice economy in their use. Generally speaking, an enterprise cannot depend on bank loans to make up this portion of the funds. The governing principle of bank loans is that they are to meet seasonal and temporary needs, they are for short-term turnover only, they must be repaid and the enterprise cannot keep the loan funds for a prolonged period or not repay the loans. More recently the state has decided in principle and is planning to turn over all financial appropriations for fixed circulating funds to the banks, which in turn will issue them to enterprises in the form of loans at a fixed interest rate. It is known that this measure will be in operation experimentally in a number of localities, industries and trades. The advantages are that, like loans issued for purposes of capital construction, this helps strengthen economic accounting on the part of the enterprise, effects economy in the use of funds, facilitates supervision by the banks and improves the management and control of the enterprise. This is one of the items in the current program to reform the economic structure.

If fixed circulating funds are to be made up of loans from banks, then we must watch closely to insure that due arrangements are made in the budget for circulating funds. When the budget is being drawn up at the beginning of the year, allowance must be made for the circulating funds to be appropriated by the state treasury. Subsequently, in the course of execution of the budget, transfers must be made on time by the state treasury in accordance with the plan in order to provide the bank with funds for the loans and to insure that the enterprises will get their fixed circulating funds. When demanding that capital construction be speeded up or that more capital construction investments be made, people frequently turn to the circulating funds, wishing that there be fewer transfers of such funds or none at all. If from now on the banks have unified control over the granting of loans to serve as circulating funds, then it will be more difficult to differentiate between the two kinds of circulating funds. This indeed will become an outstanding problem. As a matter of fact, there are recorded occurrences of this in history. In 1958 a system was put into effect whereby all circulating funds had to be made up of bank loans. For some time afterward the state treasury did not make any, or made very few, appropriations of funds to the enterprises to serve as circulating funds. What circulating funds the enterprises had were almost entirely made up of bank loans. Within 3 years' time, during which other irrelevant factors also crept in and exerted their influence, industrial and commercial bank loans suddenly increased by more than two times, and as a result the loan and credit equilibrium was disrupted. The issuance of banknotes was increased, commodity prices skyrocketed and there was a tense situation in market supplies. Many of our comrades perhaps recall this occurrence.

At present many problems are encountered in the enterprises' utilization of circulating funds. In general there is a massive increase in the sum total of circulating funds, but their rate of turnover is slowing down. Looking over past historical records, we find that, if 1979 is compared with 1957, the gross value of industrial and agricultural output has increased by 4 times, while total circulating funds have increased by 6.5 times. In 1957 the total amount of circulating funds of state enterprises was roughly equivalent to one-third the gross value of industrial and agricultural output. By 1979 the ratio had increased to nearly 50 percent. If the amount of circulating funds currently in the possession of enterprises is too large, then it means that large quantities of material resources are being held up in the process of production or capital construction or circulation and that they are prevented from playing their full role. Actually, the potential herein is enormous. Effective measures must be taken to reduce the total figure of circulating funds.

However, the problem of the enterprises holding up their circulating funds is a rather complicated one. It needs to be analyzed in a concrete manner and must be handled as the various conditions demand.

First, the industries are keeping in their possession too large an amount of circulating funds. In this connection, the heavy industries, particularly the machine building industry, are the worst offenders. They must be subjected to really serious rectification hereafter. Thus, it is found that for every 100 yuan of sales made by the industrial enterprises the amount of circulating funds in the possession of these enterprises was 23 yuan in 1957 but had increased to 33 yuan in 1979. In 1957 the industries' circulating funds registered a turnover rate of 4.4 times. In 1979 it dropped to only 3 times. The rate of increase of the circulating funds in the possession of the heavy industries was a particularly rapid one. The ratio of their circulating funds to the total circulating funds of industry as a whole was 68 percent in 1957 but went up to 80 percent in 1979. This far surpassed the ratio of increase of the gross value of production of the heavy industries in the gross value of industrial output as a whole. As for the machine building industries, in 1979, for every sale of goods valued at 100 yuan, the amount of circulating funds held up by the industries was over 70 yuan. The holding up of a large amount of circulating funds indicates that the production process is long and that the turnover rate is slow. It indicates that the enterprise has an unnecessary stockpile of goods and that many of such goods are not suitable for sale. Provided that production is progressing normally without any hitch, we must reduce as far as possible all excess funds and excess material resources. This will facilitate an economic use of funds and help to ease the tense situation in the supply of certain materials. The key to reducing the excess circulating funds and excess materials lies in improving planning, strengthening the comprehensive balancing of all factors and the ability of plans to anticipate events, and strengthening the continuity of production. It lies in improving management and control and in the control departments at various levels, as well as in the production enterprises' giving priority consideration to such matters as the quality, variety and specifications of the products and in their changing the past one-sided method of stressing value, quantity and production speed. It also lies in categorically changing the method of supply of materials, in performing well the task of coordinating the supply of materials, production and marketing and in educating people to no longer keep excess materials and goods in stock. The goods presently stockpiled in warehouses of enterprises should be disposed of by various means, such as selling them or allocating them to others who may find them useful. Efforts should be made to change them or to use them for other purposes, such as making lower grades of goods. In short, "dead things should be changed into live things" and useless articles into useful articles. At present the state is readjusting the national economy. It is studying the reform of the economic control system and readjusting or reshuffling the markets according to prelaid plans. This is an opportune time for performing the above-mentioned tasks.

Second, the use and holding up of circulating funds by commercial organs have also increased. Among commercial enterprises (not including grain departments), the amount of circulating funds kept in their hands rose from 38 yuan in 1957 to 44 yuan in 1979 for every 100 yuan of sales. In commercial warehouses the prolonged stockpiling of certain unattractive goods or unsalable commodities or commodities of substandard quality or commodities of a seasonable nature has stifled the chances of subsequent sales of such goods with the passage of time. At the same time, certain odd kinds of goods really should not be stockpiled in large quantities. Moreover, in commercial circulation, as a result of the many transitional stages and the manifold and complicated structure of the wholesale and retail organs, commodities are often stockpiled, sometimes unnecessarily, at every stage. This holds up liquid funds and adds to expenses. Problems of this kind need to be studied and solved urgently. We must determinedly lessen the quantity of commodities irrationally stockpiled and must seek to release or reduce the amount of funds that have been held up.

In comparison, the circulating funds of commercial organs and the circulating funds of industrial enterprises embody special points which are different from each other. The circulating funds of industrial enterprises are intended to insure that the enterprises themselves have sufficient funds for normal production, and there is no need for the storage or stockpiling of any articles or materials beyond normal requirement. But the circulating funds of commercial enterprises are intended to insure that society's requirements for commodities can be met and that there is a normal supply of commodities in the cities and the countryside and that commodity prices are kept stable. Basically speaking, the use of circulating funds by socialist commerce resembles the storage of commodities for the state. Many commodities have a bearing on the national economy and on the people's livelihood and must be plentifully stocked. Many commodities are purchased in the busy or peak season but are marketed throughout the year and hence must be well stocked in warehouses. Some commodities go through stages of production, purchasing and marketing all at the same time. They must maintain a definite rate of turnover and must not be frequently out of stock. Besides, our storage of commercial commodities must serve the purpose of a "commodity reservoir" for society. Some comrades pointed out that in a capitalist society the turnover of commerce is very rapid. This probably refers to only a single commercial enterprise. The general situation in a capitalist society is that there is a surplus of commodities. The volume of commodities which are stored in warehouses must be enormous. Basically, the commodities are stocked either in one enterprise or in another. Otherwise, how is it possible that at a telephone call nearly any kind of commodity can be readily delivered? Speaking of the society as a whole, many commodities, from their initial production until they finally reach the consumer, may have been bought and sold many, many times and may have changed hands frequently, but in reality this denotes that a very large turnover has been completed. Our socialist commerce has the responsibility of supplying society with commodities. It will not do if we do not have definite warehouse facilities. Generally speaking, the supply of many of our commodities cannot meet the demand. And besides, in our country as a whole a massive amount of social purchasing power is still in the hands of the people, possibly temporarily kept in the banks, and has not yet made its appearance. Our country is so big and our population so large that there is no fear of our not being able to sell or dispose of a small quantity of commodities. Therefore, if commercial circulating funds could be reduced, then this applies to only that portion of the circulating funds which should be reduced and is not applicable generally, or without any differentiation. We must remember the bitter lesson of the debacle in commerce in 1953. Nor should we forget the instances of commodities being out of stock and of the panic buying of goods everywhere during the early sixties.

Third, as regards the source of circulating funds, the portion made up of loans from banks should be suitably reduced, but the portion derived from remittances from the treasury should be suitably increased if found insufficient. Over the past years the amount of bank loans issued to cover circulating funds has increased noticeably, while state appropriations serving the same purpose have decreased relatively. In 1953, of the circulating funds of industrial enterprises, bank loans made up 16.7 percent, while state appropriations made up 83.3 percent. In 1979, bank loans went up to 34.6 percent, while state appropriations were reduced to 65.4 percent. It has happened that, when the state treasury failed to transfer the full amount of the circulating funds, many enterprises ultimately had to approach the bank for loans to make up the difference, after various recourses taken had failed. From now on, after having cleared up the stockpiled goods of industrial and commercial enterprises, we should gradually recall a portion of the bank loans and use the money for other needy purposes. Meanwhile, funds that should come from the state should be so transferred from the state treasury. In the case of enterprises newly entering into production, the amount of funds they need should be duly transferred to them. In the case of those enterprises already in existence which have not yet received in full their fixed portion of funds from the treasury, the balance due should be made up gradually. Hereafter, if the fixed circulating funds are to be replaced by bank loans, the amount of funds that should be appropriated should be transferred first to the banks to serve as a source for the bank loans. Naturally, if the bank has plentiful loan and credit funds, it may also be possible, following careful calculation, to suitably reduce the amount of transfers from the state. Moreover, following the projected changes in the financial and currency structure, such as reducing the centralized receipts of the state, a topic which people are currently discussing, the enterprises will have more funds for deposit in the banks, and the source of the loan and credit funds of the bank will thus be enlarged. In short, in extending loans banks must have a source for the derivation of funds. They cannot rely merely on the issuance of more banknotes.

As for the reduced portion of the circulating funds, can it be used directly for capital construction? Is it possible that any enterprise that has reduced the amount of its circulating funds is entitled to use the reduced portion, or a part thereof, for purposes of capital construction? In general, the answer is in the negative. First, the funds spent on the goods kept long in stock was originally derived from bank loans, and the bank loans were of a short-term and temporary nature, not fit for use on capital construction projects which otherwise would keep them in prolonged usage. In particular, they should not be used for this purpose if in the first place they were intended to help the enterprise balance its accounts. Second, the materials kept long in stock in the warehouse may not necessarily be the kind of materials required for capital construction. Even though part of the materials can be used for capital construction, other materials may still be required, and these may not be procurable. At present the capital construction front is already a long one. The supply of many materials has fallen behind demand. To add new items of capital construction will only increase the tension in materials and equipment and will affect the entire capital construction front as well as investment results. Third, the goods now being overstocked are mostly so-called "longline" goods, or goods that cannot be sold readily. If the enterprise which succeeds in effecting the release of funds it has tied up is permitted to make use of part of the funds released, then inevitably the production capacity of this category of goods will be further expanded, and the "longline" will become longer and longer. This will affect the work of readjusting the national economy and the people's livelihood. As a rule, this should not happen to industrial departments, far less to commercial departments.

In order to practice economy in the use of circulating funds, following the change which stipulates that fixed circulating funds should be made up of bank loans, we may study the feasibility of enforcing various rates of interest, depending on the conditions of use of the circulating funds and the size of the funds held up by the enterprises. This will literally bind together the control of the circulating funds with the profits of the enterprises. As a matter of fact, this is joining together the interests of the enterprise with the interests of the individual workers. In this way it will force the enterprise to strengthen its management and control, to speed up the turnover of funds and, wherever possible, to reduce the amount of circulating funds held up by the enterprise.

As a result of the reduction in the quantity of materials held in stock for a long time and economies in the use of surplus funds, it is possible to correspondingly reduce a portion of the circulating funds. The funds thus reduced should be returned to the bank, which in turn can use them according to plan for the purposes of promoting production, increasing the circulation of capital funds, creating more wealth for the state and further increasing the financial receipts of the state. With the demand for funds lessened and the state's financial receipts augmented, it is entirely possible and necessary for the state, after making an overall balancing of all factors, to increase certain capital construction investments when the time comes for formulating the national economic plan, the national budget and the loan and credit plans. In checking up on materials held long in stock we can, under special conditions, make use of those materials which are good for use in capital construction, which do not require additional investments and which are not tied up by loans from other departments. For example: If there are available materials and equipment, steel rails, railroad ties and idle labor which draws pay just the same, it should then be permissible to utilize these materials and equipment to start some capital construction projects, provided no additional investments are required. However, in any case we should not without reason remit fewer or no circulating funds to the enterprises and use the money instead for the purpose of expanding capital construction. We should not use the decreased portion of circulating funds directly for capital construction projects, nor should we permit any enterprise which succeeds in reducing its circulating funds to use the money, or a part thereof, at its discretion.

More recently, with the implementation of the two-level system of financial control, some localities have devoted all their available financial power to capital construction. As for the circulating funds which should be remitted from the treasury, including those for the newly established enterprises, the localities would not transfer any at all, or would transfer only a portion, and let the enterprises cover the rest entirely by bank loans. Despite the increase in the number of local enterprises over the past 2 years and the continual expansion of the production scale, the amount of circulating funds from local financial remittances dropped sharply compared with past years. In some localities the enterprises were even required to return a portion of the circulating funds, and the proceeds were then used for some capital construction projects. As for the portion of circulating funds not yet transferred to them, the enterprises were encouraged to cover them by bank loans. In some localities the enterprises were even required to take up certain capital construction work and to finance such work with their circulating funds, so that they ended up with more loans from the bank. There are many such instances of circulating funds being elbowed aside so that capital construction could be expanded. This development must be closely watched.

VI. To Expand Capital Construction Investments We Must Study the Market's Supply and Demand Relations

Some people believe that in our socialist state settlement of the transfer and allocation of production materials can be affected by the transfer of accounts. For example, the acquisition of materials and equipment required for capital construction can be settled simply by the transfer of accounts in the finance and accounts departments. No cash payment is involved; hence there is no effect on money circulation in the market. Therefore, when planning capital construction, would it be possible to not consider the money problem at all and to not consider the supply and demand relations of the market?

Settlement by transfer of accounts and cash receipts and payments are two forms of settlement with money as the medium in the course of exchange and distribution. All exchanges of commodities and transfers of materials and goods must use money as the medium in pricing and payment. The difference is that in cash transactions the buyers and sellers pay money on the one hand and take delivery of goods on the other, directly making a cash settlement. Settlement by transfer of accounts is done through the bank, whereby a sum is deducted from the buyer's deposits and a corresponding amount added to the seller's deposits. In this way, settlement is effected by transferring the amount involved in the transaction from the account of one party to the account of the other party. This method is also known as a noncash settlement. The advantages in making a settlement by transfer of accounts are that it avoids the need to carry around a large sum of money, avoids the need to count the money and requires no safekeeping. This helps speed up the turnover of funds and facilitates the state's supervision of the economic activities of the parties concerned. In capitalist society, checks and credit cards are in frequent use. This is also one way of effecting settlement by means of transfer of accounts. In settlement by transfer of accounts the prerequisite is that the payer must have deposits in the bank or already has a loan from the bank. Without a source of funds, settlement by transfer of accounts cannot be carried out. Thus, for it to exist there must be a receipt or a money payment.

The production of materials such as equipment required in capital construction and the production of materials for consumption do not proceed in isolation from each other. There must be a mutual exchange between the two. When a transaction for the sale of production materials is concluded, aside from settling the transaction by means of a transfer of accounts, it is necessary to procure a portion of cash for the purpose of paying salaries and wages. In capital construction, purchases of bricks, tiles, sand and stone and payment for services rendered and of salaries and wages all require some cash on hand to pay the workers, employees and peasants so that they may purchase necessities from the market. Similarly, in transactions involving sales of the means of subsistence, it is also necessary, besides acquiring some cash receipts to pay wages and service expenses, to resort to settlement by transfer of accounts for the purchase of production materials such as raw materials and fuel. This is to say that the production and exchange of production materials do not completely go through the process of settlement by transfer of accounts. At the same time, transactions involving settlement by transfer of accounts apply not only to production materials but also to the means of subsistence. In this way, in the course of the exchange of these two categories of products extending from the realm of production to the realm of consumption, currency or money frequently changes its mode of usage, sometimes as the medium of transfer of accounts and sometimes in actual monetary form in cash transactions. It certainly cannot be said that the acquisition of the materials and equipment for capital construction and the entire process of the production and exchange of production materials have no connection at all with the turnover of money.

Labor creates value. The value of any product is made up of two parts. One of them is the materialized labor consumed in the course of production, including converted or transferred value derived from the consumption of raw materials and the wear and tear and depreciation of the machinery and equipment. The other part is made up of the newly created value from labor expended in the course of production by the workers. To go deeper in the analysis, if we trace the source, it will be found that the materialized labor expended in the making of various products is likewise derived from expending labor. Labor having created value, aside from a portion taken out for remittance to the state treasury in the form of profits and taxes to meet social needs and collective spending, the balance is used as compensation for the labor and paid to the workers so that the latter may use it to meet their daily needs and those of their families and maintain their good health which is needed to continue production. Irrespective of whatever form of settlement and whether it be the purchase of production materials or the purchase of the means of subsistence, all financial payments and capital construction investments must ultimately have a portion converted into money receipts for the urban and rural residents to be, in turn, converted into the purchasing power of society for use in the market to purchase commodities.

Capital construction plays an important role in increasing fixed assets and expanding productive power. We must do the utmost to increase capital construction investments based on the feasibility and needs in order to accelerate the progress of modernization and construction. This has an important bearing on the future of our country and on the long-term and fundamental interests of the people of the whole country, but in formulating the national economic plan we must take into consideration the balancing of supply and demand in the market. The scale of the construction arranged for must be suitably adjusted to the supply of commodities in the market. As for how large the capital investments should be, we must consider whether the required funds are available, whether the production materials and equipment required are available, whether so much new purchasing power should be injected into the market and whether the needed means of subsistence can be procured. If the scale of the capital construction is too large and there are many construction projects, then this will result not only in a tense situation in the supply of the production materials but also in too large an increase in the purchasing power of society, which in turn exerts extra pressure on the supply of the means of subsistence. This in turn will adversely affect the stability of the market and the people's livelihood. In the allocation of capital construction investments, attention should be paid to increasing the production of the means of subsistence. Since agriculture and the light industry are the primary sources for the supply of the means of subsistence, the relationship among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry must be handled correctly. The proportions of the investments in agriculture and light industry in the total capital construction investments must be increased. We must insure the coordination and development of production in these two large areas and insure that there is a large increase in the production of the means of subsistence in order that more commodities are available from the market to meet the needs arising from the continuous growth of purchasing power.

Over the past several years the experiences and lessons we have gained on this score have been numerous. Because the capital construction plan surpassed the capacity of the market, the supply of many commodities lagged behind demand. Market stability was affected, as was the smooth progress of production and construction. We must take due note of the internal relations between accumulation and consumption and between the production of materials and those of the means of subsistence. We must make unified planning with due consideration for all concerned and suitably arrange the scale of capital construction. We must correctly handle the internal proportionate relationships of capital construction and insure that the national economy will firmly progress in a planned manner and following a course of proportionate development. This may appear to be a little too slow. In fact, it is not slow but is fast.

VII. We Must Arrange in a Planned Manner the Relations Between Commodities and Money in the Market

Would it be feasible to contend that in formulating the national economic plan it is not necessary to seek the balancing of supply and demand in the market? It is argued that the relations of supply and demand in the market are largely flexible and that, even though there is disparity in the market's supply and demand, ultimately in the execution of the plan a state of balance will be reached naturally. In other words, when we plan the various kinds of fiscal expenditures and construction projects, is it possible not to consider the reciprocal relations between commodity and currency circulation and to ignore the need for balancing commodity supply and the purchasing power of society?

As already stated above, all economic activities are indivisible from currency movements. In the end, the purchasing power of society must be entirely exchanged for commodities. Under the condition that commodity production still exists in a socialist society, money and commodities circulate separately along different channels and in their own individual forms but are mutually joined together and adjusted to each other. The amount of currency required in the market is determined by the scale and speed of commodity circulation. Generally speaking, on condition that the speed of commodity circulation remains unchanged, the larger the volume of commodities in circulation, the larger the currency volume required. On the other hand, the larger the currency volume in circulation, the more the commodities required. Only when currency circulation and commodity circulation adjust to each other can the entire circulation process progress in a normal manner and can there be stability in commodity prices and the value of money in the market.

Whether the circulation of commodities and the circulation of money in the market are suitably adjusted to each other forms the major problem in the circulation process. It centrally reflects whether the national economy is developing smoothly, whether the proportionate relationships among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and between accumulation and consumption are rational, and whether the planning made for national construction and the people's livelihood is suitable. If there is an inequitable increase in various expenditures, if too much money is thrust into the market, and if the purchasing power of society surpasses the market capacity to supply commodities, then the excess purchasing power will play havoc everywhere. First of all, this will cause a rise in market prices. It will encourage state enterprises and collectively owned enterprises to raise the prices of their products or to do so covertly. If money circulation in the market exceeds normal requirements, doubling the volume of banknotes issued will depress the value of currency by one-half or more than one-half. This is a law confirmed by events in the past and present and in China and abroad. With an abundant amount of banknotes in circulation in the market and a relative decrease in the supply of commodities, the price of commodities goes up while the value of money goes down. People with money in their hands can buy fewer goods than before. Besides, the supply of commodities becomes insufficient, and the kinds and varieties of goods available become fewer. Commodities are frequently out of stock, and even with money in their hands people cannot procure or buy the goods they want. In this way, commodities and currency become disjointed, and the relations between supply and demand are deranged. Eventually the interflow of goods between the cities and the countryside will be adversely affected, which will adversely affect the people's livelihood, the worker-peasant alliance and general stability and unity.

Look at things in a socialist state; a relatively stable currency is not only an important requisite for stability and unity and for betterment of the people's livelihood but also one of the indispensable conditions for implementing a planned economy. Our country is using the function of currency as the yardstick of value to implement business accounting in the enterprises and to institute comprehensive balancing of the national economy. It uses the function of money as a medium of payment to implement the principle of distribution according to work. It employs the function of currency as a circulating medium to promote commodity production, expand commodity circulation and promote mutual help and interexchanges and intraexchanges between rural and urban areas. In the event of an excess flotation of currency in the market, the value of money will fall correspondingly. In such a case, money cannot correctly reflect the value of the products, and if this situation develops, planned control and business accounting will meet with difficulties, distribution according to work will become a false gesture, the exchange of commodities will be impeded and the development of the national economy will be seriously affected.

Preserving a state of balance in the supply of and demand for commodities in the market, stabilizing currency value and stabilizing commodity prices are the guidelines that we have adopted all along. In the early period following the establishment of the republic the state took firm steps to unify the currency system and rigidly control the issuance of banknotes. At the same time, it restored production, energetically mustered all available material resources and suppressed speculative activities. Very soon the serious state of inflation that had been left over by the Kuomintang was rectified and commodity prices were stabilized. During the period of the war to resist the United States and aid Korea the party and the state adopted the policy of simultaneously stabilizing, fighting and constructing but still keeping market stabilization in an important position. As commodities and currency maintained a state of balance and the market was stabilized, advantageous conditions were offered for the smooth conduct of the war and for construction. Subsequent experiences through the years likewise testified that, when the conditions of supply and demand in the market were in a state of balance and both commodity prices and the value of money were stabilized, economic construction would progress smoothly, and that when the contrary was the case economic construction would be impeded. People may still remember conditions in the economically difficult period of the 1960's. At that time the state was forced to take emergency and determined measures to readjust the economy. The readjustment was absolutely necessary. It yielded enormous results, but the price paid was also enormous. In economic construction it is necessary to pay frequent attention to achieving market stability. Once stability is achieved, then we shall be treading on firm ground and can do a solid job of construction, without fear of undue repercussions.

Therefore, in formulating the national economic plan we must watch closely the production and circulation targets of the various departments and the conditions of fiscal receipts and disbursements and of credit and loan receipts and payments. We must take careful stock of the monetary receipts and payments of the urban and rural population and of the available supply of commodities. We should examine and balance again and again all the factors concerned and endeavor as much as possible to achieve a balance between the purchasing power of society and the available supply of commodities. We should closely link the different sectors of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. In planning various undertakings and enforcing various kinds of measures we should consider whether the quantity of money put into the projects and the available supply of commodities in the market are mutually balanced. In taking up construction projects or measures to increase production, or in readjusting wages and salaries or readjusting commodity prices, we must first estimate the amount of money to be so expended. We must examine what potential demand the spending of this amount of money will have on the supply of commodities. We must make all currency disbursements be duly compensated by a corresponding availability of commodities. We must achieve the aim of making the various targets harmonized and coordinated with each other and avoid their being mutually contradictory or mutually disjointed. In the event that there is an excess amount of money in the market, and when the amount of money in circulation surpasses what is needed for commodity circulation, timely measures must be taken to withdraw part of the money in circulation and, wherever possible, to gradually recall the excess banknotes in the market. We must then open wide the gates of production, increase the supply of commodities and step up the purchase and marketing of goods. We must also massively develop the service trades and the cultural and art professions and thus increase currency withdrawal by means of the noncommodity trades. We must on all sides rigidly control currency disbursements, adequately retrench financial expenditures and depress the purchasing power of organizations and groups in society. We must earnestly seek an increase in savings and deposits and tightly control various kinds of loans and credits.

Last year the deficit in our national finance was rather enormous. Still there were no serious effects on market supplies. The reasons were: First, production was increased, and the state had control of more material resources. Second, there was an increase in people's savings and in the bank deposits of the enterprises, organs and groups, both of which served to increase the sources of supply of funds for credit and loans. Third, during this period the banks granted loans strictly according to plan, paid attention to currency withdrawal and rigidly controlled the injection of money into the market. All these measures helped to modulate the adverse effects of the fiscal deficit and, to a certain degree, helped to regulate the balance of commodities and currency in the market. These conditions illustrate the importance of giving all-round consideration to all factors concerned and of comprehensively arranging and planning the balancing and coordination of finance, credit and loan and material resources. Even though the conditions of market supply still appear to be good, we should not reach the conclusion that a deficit in the national budget is but a small matter. Nor should we think that banks can ignore the fact that there is a fiscal deficit and instead grant even more loans or inject more money into the market.

Socialist planned economy requires that money and currency be subjected to planned control and be regulated and that money circulation should likewise be put under planned control. Only under a socialist regime can there exist conditions for the better performance of such tasks. Over the past few years, when the fiscal plan was formulated in the early part of the year, the disbursements planned were much too large, with the result that purchasing power increased too fast and there was a disparity between commodity availability and purchasing power. As the year progressed the state took various measures to withdraw currency in circulation and to control the further injection of money into the market. It took steps to increase the output of the light and textile industries, increase the importation of commodities from abroad, promote and expand savings in the cities and the countryside, and at the same time rigidly control the purchasing power of social groups. Consequently, in certain years the object of achieving a basic balance of commodity supply and purchasing power was achieved. In other years the aim of achieving an ultimate balance could not be achieved. Currency flotation was then in excess of normal requirement, and there was an excess circulation of money in the market. The results were: First, the prices of certain commodities in the market went up, which caused the withdrawal of a portion of the purchasing power. Second, a portion of the excess money in circulation remained in the hands of the residents, which meant difficulties in the ensuing years. As a matter of fact, excess money in people's hands must ultimately be used to purchase commodities. A deficit is always a deficit, and a deficit this year must be made good next year. If there is a deficit for a number of years in succession, then there is a snowball effect: the deficit keeps getting larger and larger. There is little flexibility in the markets' supply and demand. No deficit can be automatically balanced in the subsequent execution of a fiscal plan.

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KANG SHENG'S THEORY OF 'DEVELOPMENT' AND MODERN SUPERSTITION

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[Article by Ma Zhongyang [7456 0112 2254]]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism is a developing science. Its founders always regarded it as a theory of development and a guide for action. They were against regarding it as a static and rigid dogma. However, in his prattlings about the development of Marxism by Comrade Mao Zedong, Kang Sheng--the "theoretical authority" who controlled China's theoretical circles for a long time--willfully distorted things in order to sell his anti-Marxist contraband. His so-called "development" appeared to be an embellishment but was actually an insult. Under the cover of discussing this "development," he made false charges against others in order to build himself up. His theory of "development" was the spiritual prop of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and was the ideological basis for promoting modern superstition. Thus, unless this fallacy of Kang Sheng is done away with, it will be impossible to restore the true colors of Mao Zedong Thought.

I. Development or Vulgarization?

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Marxism must necessarily advance; it must develop along with practice and cannot stand still. It would become lifeless if it were stagnant and stereotyped." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 417) The history of the past 100 years or more since the introduction of Marxist theory shows that all great Marxists who fought for it made some contributions in their own special ways. However, when we appraise their contributions, we must base ourselves on the social practice of their times and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. Subjective assertions, exaggerations or disparagement made with ulterior motives are fundamentally wrong. They cannot withstand scrutiny.

At a meeting in August 1966, Kang Sheng said that he had been talking about Comrade Mao Zedong's "all-round development" of the three components of Marxism since 1957. Can the stuff cooked up by Kang Sheng be called "development"? No, it was just another outpouring of his shameless braggadocio. However, he did begin to spread his theory of "development" in 1957, and the trotting out of his theory more or less coincided with our party's turn toward a more tortuous course during the socialist period. Apparently, the trotting out of Kang Sheng's theory of "development" was the result of long years of spying and scheming. In 1956, when our socialist cause had reached an important turning point and the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been basically completed, our party convened its eighth national congress. At that congress our party declared that class struggle had basically come to an end and decided to shift its work focus to economic construction. At the same time, it also called on us to uphold the mass line, strengthen democratic centralism, oppose subjectivism and bureaucratism, strengthen collective leadership, guard against the personality cult and so on. Unfortunately, our party leaders began to lower their guard in the face of victory. At that time a handful of bourgeois rightists launched an offensive against us, and our sizing up of the situation of the antirightist struggle did not quite tally with the facts.

We made the mistake of magnifying the scope of class struggle and failed to rectify it in time. This was undeniably a grave error. Kang Sheng made use of the problems which existed in our party leadership to carry out sabotage and create confusion. As soon as he emerged from his long convalescence, he poked his nose into the theoretical circles. Taking advantage of his position and power as deputy chief of the CCP Central Committee's cultural and education group, he did his utmost to strike up a tune that ran counter to the line of the eighth national party congress. The theory of "development" was an important weapon with which he attacked the guidelines of the eighth national party congress. He not only talked glibly about "all-round development" but prattled about "surpassing in an all-round way." His claptrap outbursts have rarely been paralleled in the history of our party as far as their duration, frequency, scope and divergence from the truth are concerned.

With Comrade Mao Zedong as their outstanding representative, the proletarian revolutionaries of China combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution in their protracted revolutionary practice and won victory in a big but backward country accounting for a quarter of the world's population. This was a victory for Marxism-Leninism of the Chinese type, that is, Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought has indeed added a new weapon to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. This is an objective truth apparent to all and also reflects gloriously on our party. An important task before our theoretical workers is to realistically appraise how Mao Zedong Thought has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism.

How did Kang Sheng expound his notion of "development"?

Kang Sheng repeatedly professed that times had changed and that "the old set of theories" was "no longer able to explain things clearly." He said at a meeting on 2 December 1959: "Mao Zedong Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of a new historical period wherein the world has split into the imperialist and socialist camps and when socialist revolution and construction have entered a new stage of development." In his opinion, the interpretation of Mao Zedong Thought made by our party at its seventh national congress was an "old set of theories" which was "no longer able to explain things clearly." He thought only his "new" interpretation conformed to the so-called needs of the times. It was precisely this "new" interpretation of his that served as the basis for Lin Biao's definition of Mao Zedong Thought. In December 1966, Lin Biao declared: "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism at a time when imperialism is heading toward total collapse and socialism is heading toward worldwide victory." In a sense, this is Lin Biao's "development" of Kang Sheng's view.

It should be pointed out that both definitions of Mao Zedong Thought made by Kang Sheng and Lin Biao fundamentally negated the fact that we were still living in an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This was their analysis and appraisal of worldwide developments. Hearing their definitions, people would naturally ask: Is time subordinate to definition or is definition subordinate to time? Objective historical development shows that both definitions made by Kang Sheng and Lin Biao were ridiculous. The time they referred to no longer existed. Therefore, their definitions of "Mao Zedong Thought" were also untenable.

In a speech delivered in May 1966, Kang Sheng said: "To be more precise, Mao Zedong Thought should be called Mao Zedongism. It has developed Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way and has surpassed Marxism-Leninism. It is the pinnacle of contemporary Marxism-Leninism." "Why do we say that Mao Zedong Thought is the pinnacle of contemporary Marxism-Leninism? We can divide the past 100 years or more into three periods: 1) The period of Marxism--an era of capitalism in which socialism had not yet emerged; 2) the period of Leninism--an era when imperialism was on the decline; and 3) the period of Mao Zedong Thought or Mao Zedongism, in which Mao Zedong Thought has enriched and surpassed Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way." He decked himself out as a superman with exceptional insight, as if he was the only person who recognized Comrade Mao Zedong's "development" and act of "surpassing," and the people in their millions were either fools or the common herd who simply did not recognize or acknowledge this "development." Thus, after talking about "surpassing" the three components, he went on to ask in an overbearing tone: "How can we say there is no surpassing? How can we say it is not the pinnacle, not the highest embodiment of Marxism-Leninism?" However, he was vague about this development and surpassing. It was impossible to get any answer from him. He was neither discussing a theoretical issue nor telling us about the development of Mao Zedong Thought. He was clearly proclaiming a dogma which demanded only blind faith but no analysis.

Kang Sheng tried to fool people with his tale about "the pinnacle" and "the highest and ultimate criterion." Actually, this was "shopworn stuff" which had already been thoroughly discredited by the authors of Marxist classics.

In exposing the spiritualist charlatans, who were devout religious believers, Marx and Engels pointed out in their book "German Ideology": "In the opinion of the idealists, a movement to change the world only exists in the mind of a certain person who is chosen by God." "The entire development of history is reduced to an abstract theory which the process of historical development has formed in the 'minds' of 'all contemporary philosophers and theoreticians'.... There must be a sacred mind worthy of being called the pinnacle, the brunt of the minds of all these philosophers and theologists. This pinnacle, this keen mind, is the unity of thinking of all slow-witted minds. It is the savior." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 3, pp 630, 631) Using a change in time as an excuse, Kang Sheng referred to Comrade Mao Zedong as the "pinnacle," which was actually a synonym for "savior" and was used by the founders of Marxism to expose and sharply criticize the idealists. In so doing he was obviously not exploring the truth about the development of Marxist theory, but was molding public opinion for modern superstition.

Fallacies like "the highest and ultimate criterion" have long been thoroughly refuted in Marxist writings. Lenin said: "On the most complex questions of science in general, and of historical science in particular, Duhring scattered words right and left: ultimate, final and eternal truth. Engels jeered at him. Of course there are eternal truths, Engels said, but it is unwise to use high-sounding words in connection with simple things. If we want to advance materialism, we must drop this trite play with the words 'eternal truth.'" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 132) What is the difference berween Duhring's ultimate and eternal truth and Kang Sheng's notion of "the highest and ultimate criterion," which sounded like God's will? If Kang Sheng did not intend to sling mud at Comrade Mao Zedong, why did he use such vulgar words in connection with him?

"The three milestones" which Kang Sheng made a fetish of were also preposterous notions that ran counter to Marxism. If we divide historical periods in the order of several great men, it is tantamount to openly admitting that history is created, not by the masses of the people, but by heroes. Actually, Marxism is the crystallization of the experience gained by the millions and millions of oppressed and exploited people in revolutionary struggles. Marxists have always held that "the theoretical conclusions of the communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 264)

It is obvious that, although Kang Sheng claimed that he was talking about Comrade Mao Zedong's "development" of Marxism, he was actually doing his utmost to trample upon and vilify Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in Mao Zedong's name. This was his real intention in prattling about "development."

II. Science or Theology?

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist. He was a man, not a god. Mao Zedong Thought is a component of Marxism; it is science, not theology. Kang Sheng obviously had ulterior motives when he inflated Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought until they were beyond recognition and placed them above the founders of Marxism and their scientific system.

Kang Sheng said at a meeting in August 1966: "Comrade Mao Zedong has brought up and solved a series of important problems of our time, problems which were never encountered, raised or solved by Marx, Engels or Lenin," thus surpassing these three components of Marxism. "The surpassing of these three components alone is not the full account of Comrade Mao Zedong's development of Marxism-Leninism. Our chairman's theory about people's war and the people's army, his theory about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and his teaching on party building have greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and surpassed Marxism-Leninism." In Kang Sheng's eyes, Mao Zedong Thought was not a component of Marxism. Quite to the contrary, Marxism was a component, a very small component, of Mao Zedong Thought. Why? Because each of the three components of Marxism was surpassed by Mao Zedong Thought. In what way was each of these components surpassed? Kang Sheng said: Philosophically, Mao Zedong "has greatly developed the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge." He said: Mao Zedong "criticized Engels' three formulas, saying that mutual qualitative transformation is wrong; that the negation of negation is wrong; and that things are negated and then affirmed, the core of which is the unity of opposites. The three formulas cannot be juxtaposed. Lenin emphasized the unity of opposites without criticizing Engels. Stalin invented his own four principles. Our chairman negated all these and summed up his theory as the unity of opposites, or one dividing into two. Our chairman was the first one to advance this theory. He has greatly developed and surpassed Marxism-Leninism."

Why did Kang Sheng say this? His purpose was obvious: to do all he could to debase Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin under the pretext of praising Comrade Mao Zedong and to sound his own trumpet by these despicable means. Was it right for Engels to sum up dialectics in three laws? First, we must consider whether or not such laws conform to the objective law of the development of things. Subjective dialectics is the reflection of objective dialectics. As Engels pointed out: "Nature is the test of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this test with very rich and daily increasing materials, and thus has shown that in the last resort nature works dialectically and not metaphysically." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 25) Second, the three laws of dialectics are universal principles of Marxism. Marxists have always treated important theoretical issues of this kind with great prudence. Based on the vast amount of data furnished by objective dialectics, we should raise questions and put forward criticism, make corrections and amendments, or advance new theories on this basis. This is the inquisitive approach of Marxists; it is also an objective process of enriching and developing Marxism. Marxists have always opposed dogmatism and the ossification of thinking. At the same time, Marxists are also against oversimplified negations and crude subjective assertions. Kang Sheng's lack of reasoning, his way of proclaiming who was right and who was wrong as if he were the judge, and his presumptuous patriarchal work style are the result of the malignant inflation of this careerist's lust for power.

Kang Sheng uttered the nonsense that mutual qualitative transformation and the negation of negation were wrong. He negated two of Engels' three laws without explaining why they were wrong. Engels had comprehensively and profoundly proved the laws of mutual qualitative transformation and the negation of negation, holding that these two universal laws have played an extremely extensive role in the development of nature, history and thinking. Kang Sheng said they are wrong but did not present sufficient facts to show why they were wrong. Neither did he produce sufficient evidence to prove Engels' mistakes. This was obviously not a scientific attitude, still less a development of Marxism.

Comrade Mao Zedong did develop Marxism to some extent. This is an objective fact. However, this development did not entail solving problems which had never been encountered, raised or solved by Marx, Engels or Lenin, as Kang Sheng believed was the case. It entailed solving individual problems under different historical conditions by proceeding from different realities. Marxism is a scientific system. Marxists have always regarded it as a great cause and have contributed their specialties, their very best, to make it the common spiritual wealth of the advanced human race. Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of people's war, his theory of encircling the cities from the countryside, his teaching on party building and so on all constitute such spiritual wealth. Kang Sheng approached this question with an entirely different attitude. He regarded Marxism as a joint stock company in which dividends are paid and merits recorded according to how much a person has invested and how many shares he holds.

Are we against surpassing? No. It is normal for later generations to surpass their predecessors and pupils to surpass their teachers. What Kang Sheng referred to when he talked about "surpassing" were theoretical errors and fabrications. His utterances were fundamentally opposed to Marxism. How can we arbitrarily equate his fiction created out of sophistry with Marxism?

Mao Zedong Thought combines the universal principles of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. It conforms to objective reality and is accepted by the whole party. It has not gone behond the bounds of Marxism, still less has it surpassed the three components of Marxism to cover other aspects, as Kang Sheng exaggerated. Nonsensical drivel does not constitute science. Science means honest, solid knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong admonished the whole party to prohibit adulation and beware of flattery from the bourgeoisie. He said: "We must not be conceited even a hundred years from now. We must never be cocky." When people said he was being modest, he said: "It is not out of modesty.... With science, modesty or immodesty is not the issue." "We must believe in science and nothing else, that is to say, we must not have blind faith in anything. What is right is right and what is wrong is wrong.... To believe otherwise is blind faith. We must do away with blind faith. We should believe in what is correct and not in what is incorrect, be it ancient or modern. Not only that, we should criticize what is incorrect. This alone is the scientific approach." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 131) On the question of how we should treat the founders of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Zedong specifically pointed out: "We must not place Chinese comrades on a par with Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. Our relationship to them is one of pupils to teachers, and that is how it should be. Observance of this regulation is true modesty." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 97) Kang Sheng knew about these teachings, but what he did was just the opposite. He reversed Mao Zedong's relationship to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In particular, he casually declared the theoretical concepts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to be "errors" and flattered Mao Zedong regardless of the consequences. His attitude was not one of seeking truth from facts. This gives people a feeling that what he preached was not science, but some kind of moribund theology.

III. Theoretical Authority or Theoretical Ruffian?

Mao Zedong Thought was originally the crystallization of the experience of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the Chinese revolution and was dearly loved by the Chinese people. However, after Kang Sheng's meddling, it lost its original features and became something supernatural and forbidding—a big stick in the hands of Kang Sheng. He held a cannon in one hand and a big stick in the other. Anyone who accepted his teachings was revolutionary, anyone who rejected them was counterrevolutionary.

Kang Sheng vilified Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun as the "four big clans." He fabricated four "charges" against these four comrades: "1) Objecting to the idea that the chairman is a great leader, the leader of the people throughout the world; 2) objecting to the idea that Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way, that he is the pinnacle of contemporary Marxism-Leninism and is the highest embodiment of Marxism-Leninism; 3) totally opposing the study and dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought, especially the dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought to the whole world; and 4) vilifying the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as oversimplification, vulgarization and labeling." These were the "models" for elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle irresponsibly trotted out by Kang Sheng at the beginning of the 10-year disaster. None of these four "charges" tallied with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They were the downright despotic thoughts of Kang Sheng and Lin Biao. They also bore a close resemblance to the laws and regulations followed by the Inquisition in expelling heretics in the Middle Ages. Kang Sheng really deserved to be called the "adviser" to and "teacher" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At a cadre meeting on 2 December 1959, he said: Those who oppose Mao Zedong Thought can be classified into two types. Some voice their opposition overtly, others "voice their opposition covertly," saying that we must "respect Marx" and "must not surpass Marx." What kind of "Mao Zedong Thought" was this? What had this "Mao Zedong Thought" to do with Marxism? Was it a revolutionary theory or a butcher's knife with which Kang Sheng cruelly injured or killed revolutionary comrades?

Kang Sheng became well known throughout the party and country for seizing upon others' faults, putting labels on people and wielding a big stick. He once said in May 1966: "All questions of revolution are questions of political power. Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. This saying is one of the highest and most enduring of concepts. Whether one is for or against this saying is the acid test for distinguishing between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries." Actually, this was not the acid test. Kang Sheng regarded each interpretation he made of Comrade Mao Zedong's sayings as the acid test between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries. He then went a step further and regarded each of his own remarks as the acid test. Hadn't someone in the Central Party School declared that he would "closely follow" "each and every instruction" given by Kang Sheng? Many revolutionary comrades were branded "active counterrevolutionaries" because they did not raise a hue and cry according to the tone set by Kang Sheng. That was how large numbers of frameups and unjust cases came about. What was meant by Lin Biao's "power of suppression" and Zhang Chunqiao's "all-round dictatorship"? We can obtain a concrete explanation from the frantic persecutor Kang Sheng and from the large numbers of frameups and unjust cases attributable to him.

The method used by Kang Sheng in pushing his theory of "development" was: Prosperity to those who obey me and ruin to those who defy me. Among those who obeyed him were people who prospered at first but met their doom in the end because his interests changed with time. He decked himself out as the embodiment of the correct line and falsely accused those comrades who resolutely upheld the correct line of practicing revisionism. For example, he said that, in the decade since he took over the Central Party School in 1957, 10 two-line struggles had been waged. "One was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and one was Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois revisionist line." He naturally stood for the former line. Who stood for the latter line then? Liu Shaoqi and others, he said. Who were the ones who directly fought against him? There were the successive principals of the Central Party School under his leadership, such as Yang Xianzhen. In his speech he also mentioned the names of many leading comrades of the Central Committee and comrades of the Central Party School. This entire speech was sheer fabrication. Kang Sheng said that the Central Party School had more than 10 layers of "big, deep and thick" lids to cover up the truth about class struggle. He made himself out to be the lone hero who upheld the correct line and used this monstrous lie to deceive young people. He waged a punitive attack against the Central Party School as though it were "a struggle stronghold of opposition to Mao Zedong Thought." All middle-level cadres and key members of the teaching staff of the party school who did not go along with his fallacies were mercilessly persecuted and struggled against. No one escaped. Kang Sheng once said that the provincial and municipal party schools throughout the country were "all no good." For this reason, these party schools got treatment similar to that given the Central Party School. Thus, all party schools throughout the country were regarded as "black strongholds" and targets to be "smashed." This was what he did to the party schools and to the whole theoretical circle. Where the Kang plague spread, everyone suffered. As a veteran theoretician said: "Everyone turns pale at the mention of Kang. If you are doomed, you are doomed." People can clearly see how Kang Sheng's power and influence malignantly swelled as the theoretical contingent received a crushing blow.

Marxism tolerates no personality cults, and Marx, Engels and Lenin all detected personality cults. Kang Sheng, however, refuted this view: "The slogan of opposing so-called personality cults is improper and unscientific, even wrong. The reason is that this slogan does not analyze the relationships among classes, political parties and leaders and between an individual and the masses according to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and the class standpoint." He had the effrontery to claim that so-called personality cults are aimed at "defending and developing Marxism-Leninism." It was under the cover of this "development" that Kang Sheng laid the idological foundation for modern superstition and paved the way for Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's god-making movement. Today we Marxists indeed have a grave task before us, and that is to defend Marxism. This requires us to eliminate the "theoretical pollution" caused by Kang Sheng and clear the way for the true development of Marxism in our country.

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LOOK AT 'ONESELF' DIALECTICALLY

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[Article by Ma Junchi [7456 0193 0796]]

[Text] The fifth issue of the magazine ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN published a letter by Comrade Pan Xiao [3382 2556] in which he put forward his views and doubts as to how the problem of "self" should be understood. This has aroused much interest among youths. I, too, am a young student. This makes us one in the quest for truth and in the search for the meaning of life. Then, how should one treat the problem of "self" so that one can establish a revolutionary outlook and be of use to the construction of the four modernizations?

History has shown that only Marxist philosophy can really clear up the enigma that surrounds the concept of "self" and provide a solution. Here I attempt to make a general analysis of several aspects of the problem of "self" on the basis of the fundamental precepts of Marxist philosophy.

"Looking After One's Own Interest" and "Giving Up One's Own Interest"

Marx and Engels pointed out that "it is not consciousness that determines being but being that determines consciousness." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 30) No matter in which society, one's consciousness is always a reflection of one's being. Each one of us is a component of real life. All of us have various objective needs for our material and cultural life. It is only natural for everyone to look after his own interest and be consciously self-seeking. The consciousness of "self" is not only natural; it is also a product of social being. Various social relations, particularly economic and class relations, will have far-reaching and determining effects on people's consciousness. In a society founded on the system of private ownership which is characterized by conflicting interests, a "self-seeking" mentality is only natural. In our socialist society founded on public ownership of the means of production, everyone has certain contradictions with others, with the collective and with society. These contradictions will be reflected in people's thinking and conceptually become conflicts between the inclination to "look after one's own interest" and the inclination to "look after other people's interests."

The inclination to "look after one's own interest" in our thinking has its objective foundation. Does this mean that man is essentially selfish? Is it a common trait of mankind to "consciously look after oneself"? No, certainly not.

Marx pointed out that "human nature is not something which the individual has in the abstract. In reality, it is the sum total of social relations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 18) Since different periods have different social relations, people have different characters.

In ancient times the low level of productivity preconditioned a social relation founded on primitive public ownership. This kind of social relation was still unable to give rise to a self-seeking social consciousness. As a result, the inclinations "to look after one's own interest" and to "look after other people's interests" were fused together. Later on the system of private ownership gradually emerged as a result of a surplus of products. This gave rise to social groups with conflicting interests. This kind of historic change in social economic relations brought far-reaching changes in social consciousness and ethical concepts. These constituted the foundation of the concept of private ownership and "exclusionist" and "self-oriented" mentality. The saying "Everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost" enjoyed perennial and widespread popularity in feudal society. This testifies to the general concept of private ownership among the people. However, proceeding from their class interest, the feudal rulers were trying their best to deny the existence of the mentality of "looking after one's own interest." They propagated the hypocritical doctrine of "upholding nature's law and eliminating man's desire." (A quotation from Zhu Xi [2612 3588]) With the emergence and development of capitalist relations of production, the capitalist philosophers cast aside the soft-colored veil covering the traditional exploitative relations. On the basis of their own class' position on human nature, they argued that human beings are selfish and self-seeking animals. It was argued that man by nature was selfish, self-seeking and exclusionist. From then on, a self-seeking mentality became more clearcut. The capitalist theory on human nature stressing "everyone for himself and God for us all" became very popular for a time. It is not difficult to see that the self-seeking mentality does not represent "human nature." Rather, it is the nature of the exploiting class, and it emerged only after the appearance of class society. Therefore, with the abolition of the exploiting class, such a mentality inevitably will be replaced by the newly emerged proletarian mentality. By the fourth decade of the 19th century, scientific communism emerged as time required. It denoted the historical trend toward the "restoration" of human nature, thus sounding the death toll of the capitalist theory of human nature.

The socialist system is the historical negation of private ownership. Meanwhile, it represents the abandonment of the human nature of all exploiting classes in the past. A brandnew socialist economic relationship inevitably will give rise to a brandnew mentality which is in conformity with nature's laws. This will put an end to the historical conflict between the inclination to "look after one's own interest" and the inclination to "look after other people's interests." Marx and Engels pointed out that "the communist neither uses egoism to oppose self-sacrifice nor uses self-sacrifice to oppose egoism. Theoretically, he neither follows an emotional approach nor does he adopt an exaggerated philosophical approach in understanding such a pair of opposites. Instead, he aims at discovering the material bases of this pair of opposites. This pair of opposites will naturally disappear with the disappearance of their material bases." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 275) The socialist public ownership of the means of production has bound the interests of the people together. The interest of the individual is closely tied up with that of the collective, the state and society. The disappearance of the exploiting class has further eliminated the conflicts of fundamental interests among people. This has helped bring one's own interest, other people's interests, the collective interests and society's interests into a historic unity and unanimity. Such a change in social relations has laid the foundation for enhancing communist ethics, which puts the interests of the collective and the society above everything else. Such communist ethics will thoroughly change the "human nature" of the old society. Heroes of our time, such as Lei Feng [7191 7364], Jiao Yulu [3502 5940 4389] and Ou Yanghai [2962 7122 3189], are products of such a material base. Although there are only a very few in society, they are essentially representative of our great age. They manifest the inevitable trend toward the "restoration" of human nature. Of course, we dare not say that these heroes do not have "self" in their thinking. We do not intend to say that their thinking is absolutely pure. Being part of society, they inevitably came into contact with other people, the collective and society. As a result, they would have thought about "themselves" and how to handle their relations with other people, the collective and society. Proletarian heroes are not absolutely "selfless" and "self-giving" "saints." They are simply men who are wholeheartedly devoted to their public duties and who place the public interest above their own. However, it must be pointed out: First, the "self" in their thinking has undergone a qualitative change and has become a "self" which is fully merged with the interests of the people. This is qualitatively different from the selfishness of the capitalists' "self." Second, the "self" in their thinking does not play a dominant and determining role in their actions. On the contrary, it is in a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, they "look after their own interest" only on condition that it will safeguard the public interest and the interests of other people. Third, they consciously carried out ideological struggles aimed at overcoming selfishness and fostering a public spiritedness. Their "self" is constantly overshadowed by public interest. They look after their own interest only as long as it is within the bounds of communist, and especially socialist, morality. At least they have a clearcut stand on setting the priority of their interest, thus consciously placing the public interest before their own and putting other people before themselves. In this way, the manner in which a communist "looks after his own interest" is in principle different from that of a capitalist. Therefore, it is justifiable to say that our heroes are people who consciously combine the inclination to "look after one's own interest" and the inclination to "look after other people's interests" into an organic entity, thus uniting the two dialectically. This has helped create the most perfect communist human nature. In so saying we by no means belittle the ideological level of the heroes. On the contrary, we are trying to expose realistically the internal contradictions within them. This aims at revealing an ideal and realistic path for the younger generation and the masses to learn from the heroes in order to remold their thinking and establish a revolutionary outlook on life.

"Attach Much Importance to Oneself" and "Taking Oneself Lightly"

In our discussion on the outlook on life, two opposing trends on the value of one's existence are discernable. One is to raise the value of "oneself" to an unrealistic extent and to place undue emphasis on "one's own interest." Another is to deny one's own value fundamentally and to deny that there is any value in life. This is undue denial of one's own value.

Is there any value in one's existence? Yes, of course. However, such value can only be objective and concrete rather than subjective and abstract. For the existence and development of their own class, the capitalists have put forward the slogan that "everyone is born equal." This has placed one's own value in an inalienable position. It seems as though the whole society can progress on its own if everyone tries his best to raise the value of his own existence. Does one's value really have such extraordinary power? Certainly not. Commonsense tells us that society is composed of many individuals. However, it is not a simple aggregate of individuals. Rather, it is an organic entity which is highly intricate and diverse and has many mutual connections and constraints. In fact, in a class society or a society which still has classes, due to the differences in class status, social status and world view, it is impossible for people to work out a common goal for the promotion of one's own value. Some of these efforts are identical, some have certain points in common while some are mutually exclusive. Is it not true that the raising of the "self" worth of the proletariat and the laborer means the lowering of the "self" worth of the capitalists and exploiters? Even in the present conditions of our society, people are working at cross-purposes to improve their "self" worth. In fact, social progress does not depend on the improvement of the individuals' "self" worth. On the contrary, improvement of individual "self" worth should be based on the continuous progress of society. In a society founded on private ownership of the means of production, it is generally impossible for the laboring people to improve their own "self" worth. In our present system of public ownership of the means of production, the improvement of one's "self" worth still depends very much on one's subjective effort. However, in the final analysis it is determined by social development, historical conditions and objective needs. At most, one is just a "member" or a "cell" of the whole society. If divorced from the "organism" of society, other "members" and "cells," one simply cannot exist and will become worthless. From the standpoint of historical materialism, it is the people and historical laws, rather than the individual, that determines the trend of history. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tried in vain to raise their "self" worth to an inalienable position. However, the dialectics of history caused them to move in the opposite direction.

It is of course wrong to place excessive emphasis on one's self-importance. It is equally wrong to belittle oneself out of hand. At present some youths cannot put up with certain social evils, while at the same time they are unable to rectify them. They cannot face up to the hardships and frustrations of life. The "high hopes" they have been looking forward to have been dashed. As a result, they have lost heart in life and in the future. They feel that life is worthless and meaningless. Consequently, they have turned from the extreme of attaching too much importance to themselves to the extreme of blindly belittling themselves, to the extent that some of them have committed suicide. This illustrates that, as far as the problem of "self" is concerned, the dialectical unity between "overestimating oneself" and "belittling oneself" should be correctly understood.

It must be said that I, as an objectively existing object, am myself a contradiction. I am at the same time "unimportant" and "important." From the perspective of the greatness of the universe, the vastness of the world, the inevitability of history and the laws of society, any individual is but one drop of water in an ocean. All are unimportant and have only subsidiary significance. One would certainly run into trouble if one simply did everything according to one's subjective will. However, "I" am after all a member of society and part of the force that changes the world. The light and warmth that an individual can contribute is very limited. However, the limitless amount of light and warmth within society can be converged into an endless conflagration that can consume the evils of society and create a bright future. Was not the darkness of old China consumed by such a conflagration? From this we can see that "I" am also "important." One should not take "oneself" too lightly. There is a famous saying by the Tang poet Li Bai that "everyone who is born has his uses." This saying is very meaningful when examined closely. Everyone in the world will somehow make his unique contribution. Therefore, every comrade should build up his own ambition, hold fast to the correct political orientation and improve his professional skills. Everyone should prove his own "self" worth in positive social service and in contributing to the four modernizations.

It cannot be denied that there is still a darker side of our society. Many with real talent are being suppressed or stifled. There are still many areas which leave much to be desired. Consequently, there are many young, ambitious and capable individuals temporarily under adverse conditions. However, it must be appreciated that ours is, after all, a socialist country. The party and the government attach much importance to talent and to the value of man. In fact, we are taking every possible measure to rectify social evils. It is certain that, with the improvement of various systems and social development, the objective value of various kinds of talent will be realistically recognized and rationally utilized. Furthermore, it might not be a bad thing for an ambitious young man to face some difficulties and adversities. Many successful young men have worked their way through difficulties and frustrations. Everyone is energetic and talented during his youth. As long as one aims in the right direction and is willing to work hard, it is absolutely possible to perfect a useful talent for the construction of the four modernizations and to make one's life really worth living. Therefore, there are no grounds for a negative and pessimistic view of oneself. Of course, I do not mean that everything is sunny for our youth and that there are no dark clouds. In fact, many of the social evils are rational and legal. What I mean is that social evils do exist. Simply blaming other people will not help. Neither is committing suicide to show one's objection an effective means of struggle. The only correct way is to have a thorough understanding of the historical roots and objective conditions behind these social evils. Only thus can we grasp their law of development and struggle against them by closely following the party's leadership and relying on the collective wisdom and strength of the people and on the superiority and power of the socialist system and proletarian dictatorship. In this way we can gradually transform the world and society. This is the proper attitude a young man should adopt.

The "Old Self" and the "New Self"

Marx pointed out that "history is nothing but the continuous transformation of human nature." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 174) Today the continuous transformation of human nature is just a process by which man transforms his world view and his "old self" is superseded by his "new self."

The socialist system of our country already has a history of more than 20 years. Generally speaking, the mentality of the people has undergone and is still undergoing many far-reaching changes. The ideological outlook of the whole society has been greatly changed. However, due to the constraints of the economic conditions, the powerful inertia of the old mentality and the 10 years or more of disruption and destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there are still many social evils, such as selfishness, profiting from other people's efforts, seeking private gain at the expense of public interest, harming others to benefit oneself, and so forth. The existence of such social evils is not at all surprising. However, many comrades, particularly young people, fail to understand the objective conditions and historical factors behind these social evils. They try to measure a developing socialist country with an idealized socialist standard. As a result, they are often overwhelmed by what meets the eye and fail to see the big picture. They can only see the darker side of society, even to the point of unconsciously accepting the reactionary teaching of the capitalists that since "man is selfish" "it is only reasonable to be selfish."

Is it true that "what is real is rational and what is rational is real"? In fact, Hegel thought that not everything that exists is unconditionally rational. Only that which is inevitably real is rational. As Engels put it, "In this way, by virtue of Hegel's own dialectics, his proposition is self-contradictory: all that which is real in the realm of human history will become irrational with the lapse of time.... Whatever is rational in man's mind is bound to become reality regardless of how contradictory it might appear." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 212) Although capitalist egoism and various kinds of social evils still exist today, they are withering realities that have lost their inevitability. Although communist ethics is still in its "infancy," it is, after all, a rational reality that possesses an objective inevitability. Nothing can hold back the general trend of its development and expansion. It is based on knowledge of this objective inevitability that we communists continuously transform our "old selves" by building up the "new self," so that a highly developed material culture can be matched by an equally high level of socialist spiritual culture.

We fully understand that, although the general process of the development of the spiritual and ethical aspects is basically determined by the objective process of social development, the two are, after all, qualitatively different processes. Even after the old economic base has been replaced by the new economic relations, the old mentality, which is a reflection of the old base, will not readily disappear to give way to the new mentality. Therefore, no matter whether it is in society or in people's minds, there is bound to be a conflict between old and new ideas. This internal conflict between the old and new mentality within people's minds is also expressed in the continuous transformation and abandonment of the "old self" and the gradual emergence, development and ascertaining of the "new self." When the old mentality and ideology is removed from its original position as the principal aspect of a contradiction and relegated to a secondary and subordinate position, the new mentality and ideology will be transformed into a dominant and determinant position and become the principal aspect of the contradiction. Then the "old self" will lose its original quality and be transformed into a "new self."

In that case, how should the transformation from "old self" to "new self" be effected? According to dialectical materialism, external cause is the condition of change, whereas internal cause is the basis of such changes. That is to say, everyone's ideological renewal and transformation of his world view is dependent on the continuous resolution of the internal ideological conflict between the new and the old. This demands that every communist and revolutionary youth have a thorough understanding of the decadence and irrationality of the old mentality and the inevitability and feasibility of the new mentality's replacing the old. Everyone should follow the objective law of ideological development and transformation and, in order to contribute to the great four modernizations, should positively wage an ideological struggle aimed at placing the public interest before one's own. Furthermore, everyone should consciously combat the old mentality with the aid of the new and replace feudalist and capitalist mentalities with socialist and communist ones. In this way one can gradually but steadily carry out self-remolding and in the end achieve a fundamental transformation of one's world view. Of course, it is not enough to urge the majority to undertake such a transformation on an individual basis. Comrade Mao Zedong rightly pointed out that "here the conditions are important. The opposing sides will not undergo transformation without the necessary conditions." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") It must be pointed out that our socialist economic relations are the fundamental condition for such a transformation. However, this is insufficient. We still need highly developed productive forces, material abundance, the final abolition of the "three great differences," and so forth. Therefore, the acceleration of socialist modernization and the creation of increased social wealth have an ultimate and determining significance in the transformation of human nature according to the communist spirit and the building up of the "new self." In singling out the ultimate determining role of material conditions, Marx did not deny the influence that the superstructure and ideology have on the people. It has been proved by practice that, in order to transform the ideological outlook of a whole society and effect the people's transformation from the "old self" to the "new self," the leadership of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist road and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be upheld. Furthermore, on the basis of these political conditions, persistent and effective ideological and political work should be carried out among party members and the masses. Through this work we can further equip the people with Marxist theory, purge the influence of feudalist ideology and check the encroachment of capitalist ideology, thus helping people to build up a revolutionary world outlook.

The present discussion on the outlook on life has attracted thousands of youths and has moved every heart that yearns for the truth. Youths are earnestly pondering this issue and are involved in enthusiastic debates. Our generation of youths is boldly seeking the truth and is full of hope. We should have the confidence that with the warm affection of the party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought we can have a correct understanding of society and be able to look at "self" dialectically. In this way we can plant the seedlings of our ideal deeply into the soil of reality and march toward our bright future full of confidence.

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SCIENTIFIC CAPACITY IS A SPECIAL PRODUCTIVE FORCE--SECOND DISCOURSE ON THE SCIENTIFIC CAPACITY OF SOCIETY

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[Article by Zhao Hongzhou [6392 4767 1558]]

[Text] The scientific capacity of a society is an internal force accelerating the development of science and technology in a country. It is also a measure of the level of science and technology of a nation. The basic elements of scientific capacity include: The collective research capacity of scientists; the quality of techniques and equipment for scientific experiment; the efficiency of the "research-information" system; the highest standard of the scientific labor structure; and the level of science education of the whole nation. (See "A Tentative Discourse on the Scientific Capacity of Society," RED FLAG, No 4, 1979)

Scientific capacity is a productive force in scientific labor. Scientific capacity is unique compared with other productive forces in that it possesses various peculiarities which are determined by the particular contradictions it contains within itself. This article will start from the concrete process of scientific labor, then proceed to the internal movement of the contradictions within scientific capacity to explain the principle that scientific capacity is a special productive force, in order to establish a correct theoretical basis for the management of science in our country.

I. The Diversity of Means for Scientific Labor

Marx said that scientific labor is part of the universal labor of society. "This labor depends partly on the cooperation of the living and partly on the utilization of the labors of those who have gone before." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 120) The fruit of the "labor of those who have gone before" refers precisely to knowledge provided by books and written records and information from scientific research (hereafter called "books and information" for short). Means of labor utilized in scientific labor include not only material means but also intellectual means, that is, books and information. Actually, once concrete scientific labor commences, the contradiction involving books and information is immediately encountered. This contradiction is present throughout the process of investigation and research.

Books are the synthesis and repository of human scientific knowledge. If a scientist wants to inherit the fruits of labor of his forefathers, he has to look for professional knowledge (including statistics and diagrams) relevant to his subject of study. This activity of searching for professional knowledge on a specific subject is information work, and professional knowledge gathered from this process is information and data. Thus, at the first stage of scientific labor--the stage of investigation and research--people encounter the contradiction involving the comprehensiveness of books and the specialism of information.

It is required of books that the knowledge they store must be reliable and fixed in form. Only thus will information be worth preserving. On the contrary, information deals mainly with knowledge that contemporary people are studying. In other words, information is fluid knowledge. This knowledge is neither conclusive nor definitive, yet is is very valuable. It can be used for reference and to determine the orientation of research. More advanced things can be produced through research on available information. Therefore, the contradiction between books and information finds expression in the gap between the permanence of books and the fluidity of information. In a sense, the so-called process of investigation and research is precisely the revitalization or excitation of fixed knowledge contained in books.

Books are the epitome of the history of science. They accumulate the scientific knowledge of different historical periods and serve the scientists and masses of different periods. Thus, books are of historical value. On the other hand, information possesses the quality of actuality. This forms a sharp contrast with the historical character of books. In a sense, what is usually termed investigation and research is actually the process of transforming what is historical into something contemporary.

Socialized scientific labor usually involves a great amount of competition. The direction of research and the subject chosen by a researcher, the material and data he collects and the ideas and arguments he arrives at usually involve a certain amount of secrecy before the value of the research project is realized because the researcher has expended a certain amount of labor on it. In particular, the fields of technological science and applied science are very secretive. Books are not secretive. Therefore, the openness of books and secretiveness of information also demonstrate the difference between the two.

Although books and information are different in numerous aspects, their very difference contains elements of identity. There is identity between books and information, and under certain conditions they can transform into each other. Ordinary books contain general knowledge. Anyone can use them. However, once books are used and data and statistics related to a specific topic have been found or useful ideas have been extrapolated, these "books" come to have some qualities of information. Thus, "books" are transformed into "information." On the other hand, if the professional knowledge provided by information has been integrated and fixed, has become systematic and has realized its value, "information" has to be "declassified" and used by all mankind. Thus, "information" also transforms into "books." The fact that books and information transform into each other under certain conditions indicates that they are aspects of the same matter. They are the two forms of existence of the means of scientific labor. Their relationship is one of unity of opposites. The movement of the contradiction between books and information entails the diversity and complexity of the means of scientific labor.

The task of scientific research management at the stage of investigation and research is to penetrate the complexity of the means of scientific labor, grasp the law of motion of books and information and thus take necessary measures to insure that scientists can easily transform books, which are comprehensive, into information, which is specific, turn fixed knowledge into revitalized knowledge and change historical things into contemporary ones. In short, the task is to insure that scientists can easily inherit the fruits of labor of our forefathers and turn the products of past scientific labor into means of present scientific labor.

One problem in the management of scientific research in our country today is that work on books is divorced from information work, and work on books and information is divorced from work on scientific research. Therefore, stressing the importance of work on books and information and building a unified system of books and information and a modernized "book-information" network to make the collection and organization of books and written records ready for search and inquiry and to make the management of information better suited to the needs of scientists is an important matter in the management of scientific research at present.

II. High Degree of Creativity of Scientific Workers

The second characteristic feature of scientific capacity is demonstrated in the high degree of creativity of scientific workers. Material production requires only that the workers master the tools and machines. This is not so in scientific labor. It requires not only that the scientist master the operation of the complex techniques and equipment used in experiments, but also that he master the complex theoretical and mathematical tools and cleverly make use of his creative thinking to manipulate these two classes of tools to engage in creative scientific research.

To conduct scientific research, there must first be a plan, and the equipment required in the experiment must be organized and built. Some plans require too high a level of technology. Thus, they cannot be performed for the time being. Some plans, although they do not have a high technical requirement, involve strict theoretical and mathematical requirements. The goal of scientific research cannot be met due to the lack of clearcut theoretical thinking. Therefore, scientific research requires both the guidance of theory and ideas and material guarantees. This is the dialectical unity of theoretical means and experimental means.

Through experiments, people accumulate a great amount of experimental data and statistics, and by analysis and deduction from these experiments they come up with empirical formulas. In order to explain natural phenomena, people build models, formulate hypotheses, engage in deductive reasoning and intricate calculations and then describe the law of nature in the form of theorems and laws and build up scientific theories. The validity of a theory is tested by experiments. An experiment to test the validity of a theory is called a "conclusive experiment." A conclusive experiment is a high stage of experiment. It has not only a very specific goal but also a high degree of predictability. It determines the validity of theories and opens up new vistas. A good example of this is the Michelson-Morley experiment, which repudiated the "theory of ether" and laid the groundwork for the birth of the theory of relativity.

Thus, we can see that the process of scientific research is also the process of unity of opposites of two types of means of scientific labor and a process involving the movement of the contradiction between theoretical means and experimental means. The experimental means involve theoretical means, while the theoretical means also involve experimental means. Experiment is inseparable from the guidance of theory, while theory is inseparable from the test of experiment. The two complement each other. Each causes the other while also being an offshoot of the other. They promote each other and facilitate each other's progress.

Precisely because the dialectical unity of theory and experiment is a necessary condition for modern scientific labor, scientific research displays an unbelievably complex process, much more complex than any other form of productive labor, and it requires a great amount of creativity on the part of scientific workers. Moreover, scientific research has to blaze new trails in territories never traversed by our forefathers and to dig for treasures in mines that have never been exploited before. Therefore, this kind of labor also involves a great measure of exploration and uncertainty.

With the development of science and technology, the scientific information people obtain from scientific labor will become much greater in quantity, and experimental and technical equipment will become more and more sophisticated. Therefore, the probability of success in scientific labor becomes greater. However, with the development of human knowledge, the degree of difficulty of scientific discovery becomes higher, and the subject of scientific labor will become more and more complex. Thus, a high degree of creativity is absolutely necessary for scientific workers at all times.

The high degree of creativity of scientific workers makes the management of scientific research very different from production management. Creative intellectual activity is a type of arduous labor under special conditions. It requires a relatively quiet space and a continuous, adequate length of time. It is very common for scientific workers to work continuously for more than 10 hours or scores of hours for a concept, an idea, a formula or a design. In order to avoid interruption in their thinking, scientific workers sometimes forget to sleep and eat and work day and night. "They do not regret that they are losing weight and becoming thin and pallid from their hard work." Because of the uniqueness of their profession, individual differences in physical condition and the intellectual sensitivity of each individual, every scientist has his own work schedule. Some are "used to spending long, blissful nights" and are most effective at night; some are "used to looking at the morning dew and meditating," and their minds work fastest in the morning. Some of them jump with joy when they solve a formula and are "at their best in a bustle," while others cannot accomplish anything unless they work in a totally isolated environment. All these are peculiarities which are not present in productive labor.

Of course, experiment work is usually collective labor. However, this collective labor is also different from collective labor in ordinary productive labor. Experiment work usually follows the progress of the experiment. It is flexible, depending on the pace of the research. Sometimes the work schedule is very tight, sometimes very lax. In order to trace a phenomenon or wait for the right moment, workers performing an experiment usually eat and sleep beside the apparatus. They work nonstop day and night and do not rest on holidays, fighting a battle of endurance for days or months on end. However, once work is done, they have a longer period of rest and recuperation. This style of work is also unknown to productive labor. Therefore, the "8-hour day" is not really practical in scientific labor.

III. The Flexibility of the Structure of Scientific Labor

Scientific labor, like productive labor, must be carried out in good coordination, but the coordination is more complex and changeable. This entails greater flexibility in the labor structure. This is a third point of difference between scientific capacity and other productive forces. This peculiar characteristic is evidently caused by the movement of the contradiction between individual research capability and collective research capability, and this is prominently manifested at the exchange stage in scientific labor.

After the creation stage of scientific labor, the exchange stage begins. In this stage, people usually encounter the contradiction between individual research capability and collective research capability.

The question of whether the fruits of individual labor in scientific research will be recognized by society comes first. In this respect, various forms of exchange must take place; for example: publishing in journals, publishing scientific papers, holding academic symposiums, and others. If individual research capability passes the test of collective research capability (such as the evaluation of colleagues) and of social practice, then individual research capability has opened up new vistas. This will attract many scientists to engage in work in this field, pool their efforts and overcome obstacles. Thus, individual research capability is transformed into collective research capability. However, if the fruits of individual research cannot pass the test of society, individual research capability not only cannot become collective research capability but also cannot even receive the recognition of society.

The question of the interrelation between collective and individual research capability comes next. Collective research capability is formed by cooperative individual research capability. When Marx said that "cooperative labor is the direct cooperation of individuals" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 120), he was referring to this aspect. Cooperation is not the simple addition of individual capabilities but the integration and amplification of individual capabilities. Cooperation is not "one plus one equals two," but "one plus one equals more than two." However, cooperation is predicated on certain conditions, that is, participants in the cooperative effort must have some capacity for independent research and must be good at bringing this capacity into full play. It is only by bringing individual research capability into full play that collective research capability can come into existence. It is only through efficient cooperation among individual researchers or through a good structure for scientific cooperation that individual research capability can become collective research capability.

Once individual research capability finds its "opposite"--collective research capability--in the labor structure, it will be invigorated and become very active, like a fish in water. The cooperation among members of the scientific community contributes to the growth of individual wisdom, while the competition among them stimulates individual enthusiasm. Even when individual research capability goes up a blind alley, collective research capability will be able to readjust and control its orientation and help it to find the right direction immediately and to continue cooperation with others under a unified plan. Throughout the 20th century, collective research capability has become more and more important in the field of scientific research. Among Nobel Prize winners, the percentage of those who conducted cooperative research has gradually gone up. From 1901 to 1925 it was 41 percent. From 1926 to 1950 it was 65 percent, while from 1950 to 1975 it was 79 percent. Thus, we can see that collective and individual research capability complement each other. The idea that stressing collective research capability will adversely affect the performance of individual research capability is mistaken.

The relationship between individual and collective research capability is dialectical. The key to the correct handling of the relationship between the two lies in introducing proper reforms into the structure of scientific labor to allow for greater flexibility. Historically, the structure of scientific labor has undergone several significant changes, from the structure of comprehensive academic societies to that of professional research institutes, and from the structure of professional research institutes to research centers on a national scale. Each change has been effected to readjust the relationship between individual and collective research capability and to mobilize the enthusiasm of scientists to the fullest, while the result of each change has been that the structure of scientific labor has become more flexible.

The flexibility of the modern structure of scientific labor is prominently manifested in the mobility of scientists. This mobility takes the forms of exchange of scientists, exchange of graduate students, students studying under different advisers and teachers accepting students from different schools. The mobility caused by the shifting interests of scientists is most interesting. Such a mobility not only brings individual research capability into full play but also continuously raises the level of collective research capability. Famous physicist Xue Ding made major contributions in quantum mechanics before shifting to the field of molecular biology, thereby laying down the theoretical foundation of quantum biology. This kind of shift of interest is very common in the history of science. Particularly since World War II there has been a rise in the study of borderline subjects. Scientists easily shift their interest to the next related subject. Interest is a very important psychological factor in individual research capability. Any capable management expert knows that the timely transfer of scientists to the field in which they are most interested prevents the waste of creative power. Therefore, scientific mobility is an important measure of whether the structure of scientific labor is good or bad.

The mobility of the structure of scientific labor is also manifested in frequent scientific exchanges. Exchanges take the forms of "luncheons," "teas," "science salons," "academic workshops," short-term "seminars," long-term "professional collaboration," regional academic discussions, annual international meetings on science, and various others. Frequent exchanges enable scientists to keep pace with intellectual developments in the world and to establish connections internationally. Friendly discussions pool scattered individual research capability into a strong international force in science. This creates favorable conditions for the healthy growth of science.

The flexibility of the structure of scientific labor is further manifested in the existence of different schools of thought. Schools of thought are formed naturally in the process of scholarly exchanges, and thus they lead to higher mobility and greater efficiency in scientific research. For instance, the Copenhagen school led by Bohr has members from the five continents of the world and has made achievements in all countries. Their scholarly activities are varied, and the fruits of their theoretical work have influenced all fields. It has become one of the most prestigious schools in the history of modern science. Another example is the Bourbaki school in French mathematics. All of its members are in their prime, are highly talented and have high aspirations. The fact that this school has a rule that members must retire at the age of 50 enables its collective research capability to retain its youth and vigor.

In short, the flexibility of the structure of scientific labor is different from that of production. The greatest fault of our present structure of scientific labor is its rigidity. Even now we do not have channels for mobility of talented people in our country and a formal system of academic exchanges. An immediate change in this situation and the gradual establishment of a system of scientific exchanges (including personnel exchanges, academic exchanges and exchanges of books and information) is therefore an urgent task in the management of science.

IV. The Latent Quality of Science Education

Scientific capacity has its real and direct aspect (such as the scientific community, experimental and technical equipment and books and information) and its indirect and potential aspect (such as scientific education). Science education is work dealing with the cultivation of talent. Today's science education is tomorrow's scientific research. Therefore, in a sense we can consider science education to be latent, future scientific capacity. The reason science education can become future scientific capacity lies in the movement of the contradiction involving science education and scientific research.

We all know that once research work on a certain subject is completed the concrete process of scientific research comes to an end. However, the overall process of human scientific labor does not end there. Thus, between one stage of scientific research and the next there must be a stage called science education. Science education is a link between two concrete processes of scientific research. It is both the summation of the preceding stage and the beginning of the succeeding stage. The fruits of scientific research must be included in teaching materials and passed on to future generations, while the next stage begins with science education (basic education or "reeducation") to insure that a higher research capability is put into new scientific research. Therefore, human scientific labor involves the two inseparable phases of scientific research and science education.

According to the dialectical viewpoint, science education and scientific research are aspects in a unity of opposites. Without scientific research there would be no science education, while without science education there could be no expansion of the scientific community and development of the level of scientific research.

Naturally, science education and scientific research are two different types of work. Scientific research is the creation of scientific knowledge, while science education is the transmission of scientific knowledge. From the viewpoint of cultivating talent, science education is the foundation, while scientific research is the result; from the viewpoint of creation of knowledge, scientific research is the source, while science education is the stream; scientific research raises the level of science, while science education popularizes science. Both science education and scientific research show exclusivity in terms of characteristic features, functions, process, subject, capital and manpower. Thus, they are opposites.

However, there is also unity in their opposition. They are both stages in the process of scientific labor. These two stages are intertwined and interconnected, and they coexist and complement each other. Without either one, the process of scientific labor is halted and scientific capacity undermined. The central task of scientific research is creation, and creative reasoning is usually impossible to communicate through the use of language. Research capability can only be built up by actual experience, that is, by learning gradually in the process of scientific experiment and while being an assistant to the teacher. Therefore, institutes of higher learning must carry out scientific research in order to groom graduate students and supply fresh blood to the scientific community.

To do this we must establish a unified "science education" system. We must advocate the integration of scientific research and science education and institute the practice of periodic teaching assignments for researchers in institutes of higher learning and research assignments for professors in research institutes.

From the above discussion it is not difficult to see that the basic characteristic feature of scientific capacity is its uniqueness which is due to the existence of four particular contradictions: the diversity of means of scientific labor, the creativity of scientific workers, the flexibility of the structure of scientific labor and the latent quality of science education. Due to the intensification of these four contradictions, any complete process of scientific labor is divided into four stages: investigation and research--creation--exchange--reeducation. Furthermore, the movement of these four contradictions combines the five basic elements of scientific capacity into an organic whole, forming the social structure of scientific labor. Concretely speaking, the unity of opposites between two types of intellectual means of scientific labor connects books with information to form the "book-information" system; the unity of opposites between intellectual and material means of scientific labor (or the unity of opposites between theoretical and experimental means) connects the system of books and information with the system of experimental techniques, forming the concrete system of scientific research; the unity of opposites between individual and collective research capability connects the labor of individual scientists with social scientific labor, forming the social system of scientific research; the unity of opposites between science education and scientific research connects the social system of scientific research with the social system of science education, forming the "science education" system throughout the society. (See Figure 1)

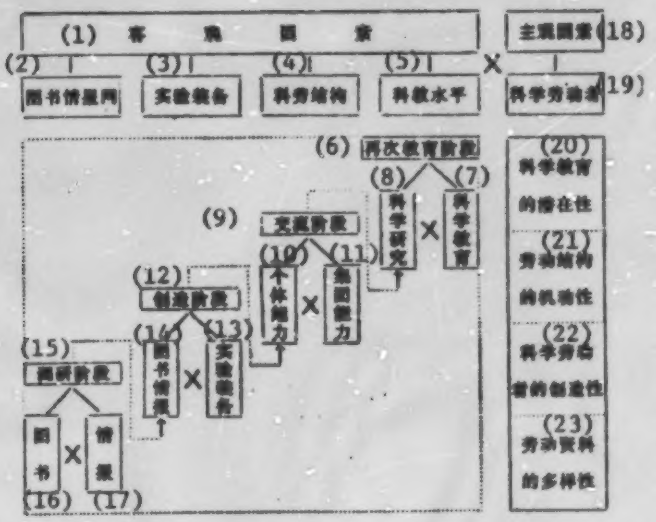


Figure 1. The Basic Contents, Characteristics and Internal Movement of Contradictions of Social Scientific Capacity

Key:

1. Objective elements
2. Books and information sources
3. Experiment equipment
4. Structure of scientific labor
5. Science education standards
6. Reeducation stage
7. Science education
8. Scientific research
9. Exchange stage
10. Individual capacity
11. Collective capacity
12. Creation stage
13. Experiment equipment
14. Books and information
15. Investigation and research stage
16. Books
17. Information
18. Subjective elements
19. Scientific workers
20. Latent quality of science education
21. Flexibility of the structure of scientific labor
22. Creativity of scientific workers
23. Diversity of means of scientific labor

Lastly, the "science education" system in the whole society as the sum total of the objective elements of scientific capacity forms a unity of opposites with the subjective elements (the scientific community).

In this manner, the five major elements of scientific capacity can be summed up in two elements: man and matter. The four contradictions existing in scientific capacity can also be summed up as the contradiction between man and nature. Thus, the social nature of scientific capacity becomes very obvious. Scientific capacity, like production capacity, reflects the relationship between man and nature. Therefore, scientific capacity also belongs to the domain of productive forces. The only difference is that other productive forces make use of relatively simple tools (or machines) to reflect this relationship, while scientific capacity reflects this relationship in a refracted form through complicated techniques. This is also the reason why scientific capacity has four unique qualities. Scientific capacity as a special form of productive capacity is a product of history at specific stages of social developments. Productive capacity is the basis of scientific capacity, while scientific capacity is the cream of productive capacity. Understanding the uniqueness of scientific capacity is a very important question we should pay attention to in the management of scientific research.

CSO: 4004

DO NOT ARBITRARILY INTERFERE WITH LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 39-41

[Article by Sha Tong [3097 4547]]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four" our party has repeatedly stressed its resolution to unswervingly implement the "double hundred" principle. It has also demanded that party leaders at all levels implement democracy in the area of art, adhere to the "principle of the three nots" and earnestly give the people freedom to create and criticize art and literary works as well as the freedom to compete in the creation and to debate the controversies surrounding literary and art works. The party has done this in order to fully mobilize the enthusiasm and creativity of literary and art workers. It has done this on the basis of the experiences summed up during the past 30 years since the founding of the PRC, and particularly on the basis of the lessons drawn during the 10 years of turmoil when literature and art were severely trampled upon. This has been in line with the law of development of literature and art. Thus, it has won the people's full support and has strengthened and improved party leadership over literature and art work. Since the "double hundred" principle has been earnestly implemented, an unprecedentedly flourishing situation has emerged in literary and art circles.

In a speech at the opening ceremony of the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reiterated an important principle of party leadership over literary and art work: "Do not arbitrarily interfere." However, due to the long-term disruption of the ultraleftist line, party leaders in some areas and departments are still arbitrarily interfering with literary and art work by administrative means. Good literary and art works, well received by the people, have been arbitrarily assessed as bad works; very popular films have been banned; art exhibitions praised by the masses have been canceled.... The publication and distribution of some periodicals and works which have shortcomings or mistakes are being improperly forbidden, even in the form of movements. In these areas the relationship between the party leaders and literary and art workers is neither harmonious nor normal. In one or two places some departments not responsible for literary and art work have also arbitrarily interfered with the work. For example, a leader of the housing administration bureau has unreasonably forbidden the exhibition of a cartoon; a secretary of a production brigade party branch has wantonly deprived a writer of his grain ration. Such arbitrary interference is detrimental to party leadership over literary and art work and to socialist literature and art.

Such things have occurred primarily because some of our comrades do not have a good understanding of the law and characteristics of literary and art creation. Literary and art creation is the means of allowing total individual creativity. It demands that literary and art workers stand on the side of the people and the proletariat, observe the conflicts in life and their development, study and explore life, depict the rich and colorful life with their own particular styles and ways of expression, enthusiastically support progressive new things and boldly expose the old things that block the way. This will enable our cause to advance even more rapidly. Life itself is complicated, particularly in this period which is full of new changes and conflicts. Life is not easy to perceive, understand and express. Even writers and artists with sharp minds cannot always turn their consciousness immediately into successful artistic works. Therefore, while many works which profoundly reflect the characteristics of our times and which are well received by the masses have emerged, it is only natural that some immature works as well as one or two works with wrong tendencies simultaneously emerge. Party leaders should respect the law of literary and art creation and enthusiastically encourage writers and artists to explore. Even if they make mistakes, party leaders should actively and patiently provide them with guidance and help them acquire a better understanding to advance better and faster instead of dealing with them by simple and crude methods.

In this regard, the best method is to unswervingly implement the "double hundred" principle, carry forward democracy in the area of art and allow people to distinguish between right and wrong, develop correct things and overcome wrong ones through free discussion and the test of practice. We believe in the power of Marxism, socialism and the masses. The "double hundred" principle was proposed on the basis of this faith. Therefore, to allow erroneous things to emerge and to allow people to come in contact with them is nothing to be afraid of. Comrade Mao Zedong explained this very clearly when he put forth this "double hundred" principle. However, it has not been correctly interpreted and implemented. Some comrades have always regarded the emergence of questionable and erroneous works as a great disaster. They have also forbidden the literary and art departments under their leadership to create any works that may be controversial or erroneous. They have been used to knocking down at one stroke by administrative methods those things they regard as erroneous. They have prohibited the publication of works that may arouse doubts or create controversies and lead to discussions of differing opinions. This practice cannot resolve the conflicts, but will worsen them and dampen the enthusiasm of literary and art workers. We have had enough of such lessons.

Of course, a leader can express his views on a specific work. However, just as Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "The remarks made by these leaders should be treated in the same way as the opinions of readers and the audience." Some comrades are still not accustomed to carrying forward socialist democracy and implementing the "double hundred" principle in their leadership over literary and art work. They enjoy old things such as the feudal patriarchal system, the practice of "what I say goes" and determining the destiny of a work by personal likes and dislikes. Actually, art should be approved by the people. Ranks are not necessarily in proportion to the level of mastery of truth. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a leader's opinion wrong. Did we not have a large number of good works erroneously regarded as "great poisonous weeds"? This was perhaps the result of good intentions to safeguard the socialist cause at that time. However, it had grave consequences. Later the central government stipulated that no party or government leaders at any levels are allowed to arbitrarily level unjustified political charges against any literary and art work or its author. Whoever repeats such practice, which has been proved to be very harmful, will be rejected by the party and people.

We should not force people to follow erroneous ideas by administrative methods. Nor should we force writers to follow us even if our ideas are correct. Comrade Chen Yi said: "We hope that the writers will not reject others' opinions. They should listen to differing opinions, both favorable and unfavorable ones. After that the writers should decide by themselves how and whether they will correct their mistakes. There should be no compulsion." Comrade Chen Yi was able to put forward such correct ideas because he himself had democratic ideas and because he himself was a poet who knew the law of literary and art creation and the joys and pains of writing. To work out the plot of a literary work or an artistic image, a writer needs a long period of time to accumulate his experience in daily life. He can neither change his works to conform to a certain speech nor express other people's opinions in his own works within a short time. Those who regard this as showing no respect for the leaders are ignorant of the basic law of creation of literary and art works.

There has been excessive interference by administrative means. This has much to do with the ossification and semiossification of some leaders' minds, which have not been emancipated. Some comrades resent the party's line and principles formulated during the third plenary session and have an erroneous understanding of the excellent situation of literature and art. A very few people oppose, or even interfere with, literary and art works which reveal unhealthy tendencies because these works may also reveal their own shortcomings. Therefore, party committees at all levels should help these comrades to correct their ideological line and to work according to party policies.

The goal of improving party leadership is to strengthen it. Party leaders must always treat literary and art workers as equals. They must also clearly express what they advocate and what they oppose. The present revolutionary situation demands that literature and art keep pace with the progress of the times, reflect life, new struggles and progressive things and produce more works that inspire the people. This means that writers and artists should equip themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, go deep into real life and maintain close ties with the masses, who are giving full play to their abilities in the new struggles. Party leaders should do thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological work, help the writers and artists overcome their practical difficulties, create favorable conditions for them and help them consciously work hard in the correct direction.

Comradely, reasonable and realistic criticism which allows countercriticism is not contradictory to but necessary and indispensable in strengthening and improving party leadership. Without criticism there will be no progress. If we allow erroneous things to spread unchecked or find support among the people, instead of criticizing them and conducting ideological work, because we are afraid to be accused of using big sticks, we are actually abandoning party leadership over literature and art. This will also hinder the development of literature and art.

CSO: 4004

PERSEVERE IN GOING DEEP INTO THE MILITANT LIFE OF THE MASSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 41-42

[Article by Zhou Keqin [0719 0344 5367]]

[Text] Since the publication of the novel entitled "Xu Mao and His Daughters," many readers have written letters asking me to tell them about my writing experience. Therefore, I am going to discuss my experience in plunging into the thick of life. In my twenties I published a short story (a feature story, to be more specific) which received favorable comments. From this I got the wrong impression: writing a novel would not be difficult, but rather would be quite easy. However, the readers and I found that the novels I wrote later were unsatisfactory. I then entered the "depression period" of my writing career.

This period did not last long. A leading comrade in the literary and art circles once talked to me and sincerely pointed out that my first literary work was satisfactory because I had spent much time in accumulating experiences in daily life and in emotional preparation before I wrote it. As I was young and inexperienced, I had to use all I had accumulated for my first book. My second and third stories were nothing but repetitions of the first one, both in ideology and images. I accepted this comrade's advice and earnestly studied "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." I then acquired some understanding of the issues of "standpoint," "attitude" and "serving the people." In addition, I got the deep impression that we should always, unconditionally and wholeheartedly live among the masses.

When I returned to my hometown to do farm work, I lived among the simple and hardworking peasants. They loved and cared for me. Later I became a cadre in the production team, production brigade, commune and district. For 20 years I kept pace with the strides of socialist construction in this area. The road was sometimes smooth and at other times rough and bumpy. This way of life impressed me deeply. I often met with difficulties and sometimes became very upset. However, due to the influence of the peasants' spiritual strength and my faith in the party and in communism, I never lost confidence. What I saw and sensed was the indomitable spirit of the peasants, even in those years when the four evils were running amuck and throwing the state into disorder. During those years the peasants were engaged in arduous manual labor from morning to night, sometimes even suffering from hunger. Yet they managed to supply grain to the state according to the purchase quotas. By doing manual work without complaining they supported our country's socialist construction and helped the people in the cities and the countryside to overcome difficult days. In the face of such a life and struggle, I could not restrain myself from describing them. During this period I acquired some knowledge of agricultural production techniques and agricultural management and administration. I also read books and published some short stories. However, my greatest achievement was my ideological and emotional change. I gradually changed from an intellectual to a farmer who knew that "every grain is the product of toiling," then from a farmer to a Communist Party member who knew some revolutionary truth.

The road of my life has been my literature. Although it has been difficult and long, I acquired much knowledge in a more profound and solid way. I have learned that the deeper I go into life the more experiences I can accumulate and the more sentiments I can cultivate. When we have come to "understand and know the people well," we will not find it difficult to depict their appearances, characteristics, language and manner and to know their family backgrounds, social relations, economic situation and family affairs. However, this is not enough. The most important thing is to examine the peasants' feelings. What are peasants thinking about? What are they pursuing? What are their joys...? We have to observe these things carefully, share their feelings, both their happiness and unhappiness and their anxiety and frustration, and thus fight with them for our common goal.... All this cannot be learned by taking notes during interviews.

Several young writers in their "depression period" recently asked me how I wrote "Xu Mao and His Daughters." They wanted to know the secret of my writing. In fact, I have no secret. I have only lived and fought together with the basic-level cadres and masses and empathized with their thinking and sentiments in order to keep pace with the times and the peasants.

Having lived in the countryside and strived for a common ideal with the peasants for a long time, I feel that the good-natured peasants have good moral character and lofty ideals. Such virtues as diligence, kindness, wisdom, patience, strong character and self-control are common among the peasants. These virtues have been deeply rooted in the soil of history, nurtured by the party and cleansed by the rain. A new spirit is emerging from them--a spirit that combines the traditional virtues with communist morality. These virtuous people are always at my side. I love them, and we are pursuing the same ideal. I have also experienced, despite the differences in degree and forms, the sufferings, frustration, thoughts and struggles which persons like the 4th daughter, Jin Dongshui, Yan Shaochun, Wu Changquan, the 9th daughter and Nong Qing experienced during the 10 years of calamity. The life of the masses is the only source of literary creation. This is very true. When I lived among the masses I did not have to collect materials for writing by visiting people and recording what they said. Nor did I have to ask people to provide me with the plot. The characters automatically emerged in my mind. The beauty of these good-natured peasants inspired me to write. There were many people like Xu Mao. At first they seemed apathetic and selfish. Some of them even openly condemned the "higher authorities." However, the peasants did not do this in the early stage of land reform and cooperative transformation. Why? Did people become bad tempered when they grew old? When I had lived with them for a period of time I began to discover a lamentable fact: our policy had been deviated and we had infringed upon their interests. It was sad to discover this. However, facts were facts. Perhaps we did not notice this problem and the changes that had taken place among the peasants. However, these changes had a great bearing on our society. Should we not seriously reexamine our policies? Only when we have improved party leadership over the peasants can we once again inspire their enthusiasm. It was thus that I portrayed the character of Xu Mao. Without having lived in the countryside for 20 years I could never have done so.

A writer's experience comes from his experiences in the objective world and is an indispensable requirement of writing. Of course, books based on such experiences are better than those based on gossip and fabrication. However, it is wrong to think that an individual's experiences reflect the experiences of all people and the spirit of the times. An individual's experiences cannot represent the masses' experiences. An individual's life is negligible compared with that of the entire society, which has undergone profound changes. Some comrades told me: "You have had rich experience in the countryside and have now become a professional writer. You can stay at home and write some novels." I did not take this advice, because I did not want to put myself in that position. Sometimes when I left the countryside to attend a meeting in the city for 10-15 days I would begin to feel uneasy. As soon as I returned to the rural areas I was back in my element. As life develops very quickly, we should retest and review our past experiences in real life, so that our works will reflect the masses and their lives in a more historical and realistic way, keep pace with the times, put forth the masses' demands, wishes, joys and sorrows and therefore be full of vitality.

When we go deep into life we should adopt a correct attitude toward ourselves and the masses. A writer should always be one of the masses. He should never be superior to them. When the people find that a writer is privileged they will avoid him. His source of writing will then be exhausted. In the end he will be unable to achieve his objective and will have to pack up and leave.

CSO: 4004

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIALISM'S EXPORT OF CAPITAL AFTER WORLD WAR II

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 pp 43-48

[Article by Lu Wei [4151 7279]]

[Text] The export of capital is a major feature of imperialism, and Lenin made an explicit analysis of it 60 years ago. Over the past 60 years, particularly since World War II, imperialism's export of capital has made new progress following the development of the imperialist economy and changes in the international situation. To apply basic Leninist theory in studying this new development is highly necessary for understanding modern imperialism and current trends of world economic development.

(I)

The history of exporting capital dates back to before the period of capitalist monopoly, but its size and role at that time were still limited.

During the stage of monopoly capitalism, the concentration of production and capital greatly speeded up. The contradiction between the rapid development of production and limited domestic markets became more and more acute, and because of monopolies it became more difficult to make new investments and to transfer capital among departments. As a result, the profitable domestic investment market became narrow. Thus, in order to make great profits, huge amounts of "surplus capital" were exported to other countries, particularly to economically backward countries. Thus, the export of capital became an important feature of the monopoly capitalist stage.

Imperialism's export of capital further developed after the war.

First, the amount and pace of exported capital were unprecedented in the history of capitalism. Statistics show that in 1938 the total capital exported by major capitalist countries amounted to more than $50 billion. By 1979 the total of various forms of capital exported had increased to over $600 billion. During the 24 years before the war (1914-1938) the total capital exported only increased by 10-20 percent; but during the 34 years from 1945 to 1979 it increased by more than 4 times, without taking into account the inflation factor.

Second, the trend of the development and the structure of capital exported also changed tremendously. In the past, two-thirds of the capital exported was invested in colonialist, semicolonialist and satellite countries. After the war, three-quarters was invested in advanced capitalist countries, while the other quarter was exported to developing countries and regions. In the structure of capital exported, the major capital exporting countries in the past directly invested in colonialist, semicolonialist and satellite countries, but the capital exported to industrialized countries in Europe took the form of loans. Since the war, private direct investments in developing countries have continued to expand, while various forms of capital export loans have rapidly increased. Including state capital exported, the amount of loans given to developing countries exceeds direct investments. But among advanced countries the ratio of capital exported, which has primarily taken the form of production capital exports, has developed rapidly, particularly direct investments. Investments in the manufacturing industry have become the main form of private direct investment in industrialized countries. Generally speaking, the situation in which imperialist capital exported was traditionally invested in agriculture, mining and public utility undertakings has also changed. The total volume of investments in the manufacturing industry has exceeded that in oil and extraction industries; investments in the money market, commerce and insurance have also rapidly increased. Of course, in some countries export capital is still mainly invested in oil and mining industries.

Third, multinational companies have become the pillar of private export capital. The number of such companies in major capitalist countries was already nearing 10,000 in 1973, with their subsidiaries amounting to around 40,000. The net production value of these companies made up about one-fifth of the total gross national product of the entire capitalist world, surpassing the total export value of all the advanced capitalist countries. With strong economic power, multinational companies have basically monopolized private direct investments in advanced capitalist countries. Most capital export is undertaken by such major companies, even though they are small in number. For example, 250-300 U.S. companies, 165 British companies and 82 German companies make up about 70-80 percent of the private direct investments of their countries. Multinational banks and international monetary institutions have monopolized the international capital credit market.

Fourth, the export of state capital has very important significance. The amount of state capital exported was very limited before the war, and such exports did not occupy an important position in the capital export sector. But since the war, exports of state capital have developed rapidly under the cloak of "aid." For quite a long period after the war, the amount of exported state capital surpassed that of exported private capital. After the mid-1970's, the Western industrialized countries were facing deeper economic difficulties, while international income and expenditures were not in a good state. As a result, exports of state capital declined but still retained the leading position in exported capital of capitalist countries. The state, which represents the monopoly bourgeoisie, has become the most important organ and supporter of imperialist exported capital since the war. As exported state capital is enormous in amount, with concentrated investment objectives carried out under the cloak of "aid" and "cooperation," such exports have played a vital role in defending the capitalist system and finding ways for exporting private capital.

Fifth, the United States has become the biggest capital exporting country since the war. Up to the eve of the war in 1938, Britain had the greatest amount of capital exported, but since then the United States has replaced Britain in that position. In the early postwar years, the United States began to monopolize capital exports; even industrially advanced countries in Western Europe could not but depend on U.S. aid. U.S. monopoly capital infiltrated the colonialist spheres of Britain, France and Japan. With the realization of economic recovery in Western Europe and the rehabilitation of the defeated countries of Japan and West Germany, the relative economic strength of major capitalist countries constantly changed. The ratio of the total capital exports of those countries also constantly changed. In the 1960's the United States still accounted for more than 50 percent of the total private direct investments of the capitalist world. This figure gradually dropped to over 40 percent in the 1970's. Britain ranked second, followed by West Germany and Japan. Up to now the United States remains the biggest capital exporter of the capitalist world.

(II)

The new development of export capital after the war was caused primarily by a series of major changes between the productive forces and the relations of production in imperialist countries. Such changes were expressed mainly in the upsurge of technical revolution and the highly developed state monopoly capitalism. As a result, the process of production and the internationalization of capital constantly changed, control by international monopoly capital was strengthened and competition in the international market became more acute. At the same time, changes in the international political situation after the war also had a great effect on the development of export capital.

The rapid development of the internationalization of production after the war provided a material base for the rapid growth of export capital, while the internationalization of production objectively met the development needs of capitalist productivity. Under the influence of the technical revolution, production developed rapidly during the 1950's and 1960's. This situation demanded that production be rapidly expanded and the distribution of labor carried out in a meticulous way. Specialization in production and production coordination developed rapidly both at home and abroad. Thus, there emerged the highest stage of capitalist socialization in production. The internationalization of production was followed by the internationalization of capital to further develop capital export. The most rapidly developed production sector in internationalized production was the manufacturing industry, particularly the newly emerging industrial departments. With highly organic capital structures, such industries used the most advanced technology and carried out their production in advanced countries with strong technical power, advanced financial markets and huge markets for their products, while in developing countries the production was carried out with highly developed capitalism. As a result, huge amounts of capital were exported to developing countries and concentratedly invested in the manufacturing industry.

The export of capital has been able to develop rapidly based on the premise of the concentration and monopoly of capital. Because of the rapid development of capitalist production and the state's support for monopoly organizations, from the second half of the 1950's to the early 1970's an upsurge of mergers and acquisitions of enterprises and banks emerged to quicken capital accumulation. After the war the financial system also began to accumulate dispersed capital and find other sources for export capital. Monopoly capital in various countries was accumulated to such an extent that, although the production sector of the countries concerned was constantly expanded and the national economy grew rapidly for quite a long period after the war, such huge amounts of capital still failed to find a more profitable investment market. Therefore, with the expansion of the accumulation of monopoly capital, the competition for investment markets was becoming more and more sharp. Since the second half of the 1970's the development of expanded capitalist reproduction has begun to slow, while the demand for domestic investments has begun to weaken. As a result, more capital has had to be exported.

The extensive establishment and rapid development of multinational companies after the war accelerated capital exports. With strong financial and material power, such companies monopolized the most advanced technology and were able to estimate the world's economic situation in aspects such as production, sales, technology, sources of raw materials and accumulation of capital to determine their global strategy and the size and direction of their profitable investments. They were able to considerably increase investments abroad and set up different production links in various countries to save production costs and make maximum profits. Their development promoted capital exports and had a vital influence in deciding the location and direction of their capital.

Acute competition in the international market has stimulated capital exports. As the contradiction between the capitalist expansion of production and the demands of laborers with spending capability has become more acute, and as the unbalanced development of the capitalist economy has sharpened, competition in the international market has become more and more acute since the war. In order to overcome tariff barriers and occupy the markets of other countries, monopoly organizations have directly set up factories in consuming areas. That is why, following the founding of the Common Market in 1958, the amount of U.S. private and direct investments increased tremendously. U.S. investments in its six member countries increased 1.6 times from 1950 to 1957 and 11.9 times from 1957 to 1974.

State monopoly capitalism further developed after the war to widely interfere in domestic economic activities and step up its interference in the economic dealings of other countries. As mentioned above, state monopoly capital exports have become an important part of imperialist capital exports. Imperialist countries have also encouraged private capital exports and defended their investment markets. For example, they have provided information to their private monopoly capital, supplied loans, acted as guarantors for investments and signed agreements with the governments importing capital guaranteeing investments and making foreign investments tax free. Such measures have created conditions and made things convenient for private capital exports. As a result, private capital exports have dramatically increased.

The upsurge of national independence movements also had a tremendous effect on capital exports. Such movements made it no longer possible to directly exercise colonialist control, while military occupations lost the support of the people. Hence, economic purchases became a major form. That is why state capital exports increased tremendously after the war. In addition, because the political situation in some developing countries and regions was unstable and because of nationalization measures, part of the private capital was transferred to advanced countries.

(III)

Capital exports have a dual role in the economic development of the exporting countries.

First, capital exports are an important factor for promoting the growth of the imperialist economy. This can be seen from the rise in capital accumulation, increases in cheap raw materials and fuel and the expansion of markets.

Western industrialized countries made tremendous profits from abroad through capital exports to speed up their capital accumulation and strengthen the economic power of their monopoly capital. The average annual profit of U.S. private direct investments was 14.4 percent from 1970 to 1976; some were as high as 20 percent. The average British profit from foreign investments from 1970 to 1975 was 15.7 percent, much higher than the profits from domestic investments and higher than bank interest rates in Western countries. From 1950 to 1976 the profits of U.S. private foreign investments were 1.68 times the investment volume; the figure for Britain from 1970 to 1975 was 1.95 times. Most income of multinational companies comes from abroad. In 1973 more than 50 percent of the total income of the 25 largest U.S. multinational companies came from other countries. Part of such income was reinvested in the foreign countries concerned, while the rest was remitted home.

Western monopoly capital also controls raw materials and fuel resources through capital exports. After the war the advanced capitalist countries headed by the United States plundered enormous amounts of cheap oil and important industrial raw materials from abroad, particularly from developing countries. Such materials guaranteed the rapid development of the capitalist economy from the 1950's to the early 1970's.

Capital exports are a way to encourage commodity exports. After the war, both state capital exports and private capital exports played such a role. When the governments of various countries were providing "aid," it was generally stipulated that the loans must be used to purchase commodities from the countries that provided the loans and that export credit must directly serve commodity exports. Private and direct foreign investments also promoted exports of equipment, spare parts, semifinished products and industrial raw materials. Capital exports also expanded the international markets for the commodities of the capital exporting countries to realize surplus value and stimulate the growth of their economies. This point is clearly shown in the countries that rely heavily on foreign trade, such as Japan and West Germany.

On the other hand, capital exports have also played a negative role in the economic development of the capital exporting countries. Lenin said: "To a certain extent, capital exports will cause stagnation in the development of the capital exporting countries." When the economy of capitalist countries was in its "golden age" of development after the war, the economies of some countries and some industrial departments was nevertheless largely stagnant. The British economy wavered for quite a long period after the war, because it used excessive capital in foreign investments to affect domestic investments. The development of old U.S. industrial departments (such as the steel and textile industries) has gradually weakened because of capital exports. In pursuit of high profits abroad, U.S. monopoly capital has been eager in investing abroad, thus slowing down the renewal of the equipment of some domestic industrial departments (one-quarter of U.S. steel companies are using outdated equipment) and the use of new technology. As a result, the growth of labor productivity slowed down, and the competitive position of products apparently weakened, seriously affecting the development of such departments.

Capital exports also made the imperialist economy more dependent on other countries. As mentioned above, most of the profits of many multinational companies come from overseas. The ratio of the primary products imported by the United States in 1959 made up 9.3 percent of the domestic consumption volume, which increased to 17.5 percent in 1975. The figures for six West European countries were, respectively, 28 and 42.6 percent; for Britain, 41.8 and 60.7 percent; and for Japan, 23.8 and 51.2 percent, all increasing by big margins. To a great extent the rapid economic development of the major imperialist countries after the war depended primarily on the supply of low-priced oil from other countries. And once an oil crisis breaks out, the development of their economies is seriously affected.

The parasitic and degenerate features of imperialism have been particularly expressed in the rapid decline of countries with the most powerful capital. Such a country was Britain before World War II, and so was the United States after the war. After the war the United States became the biggest capital exporting country, only to put a heavy burden on its own back. It was because of massive capital exports that the U.S. dollar rapidly spread to every corner of the world. In order to defend the economic interest of U.S. monopoly capital throughout the world, the U.S. Government has had to pursue a global strategy. And for this purpose it has had to increase military expenditures at home and abroad and consume massive manpower, finances and material. This has been the reason for the lower growth and increased difficulties of the U.S. economy.

(IV)

The new development of capital exports after the war has deeply affected international economic and political relations.

As most capital exports after the war were carried out among advanced countries and such exports were closely related to the internationalization of production, those countries have become more interdependent and integrated economically; they have infiltrated each other with their capital, which has become extremely intertwined. The contradictions and struggles among the monopoly capital of the advanced countries has become more acute and complicated. But, on the other hand, because of their common interest and interdependence, their unified trend has become apparent, and the situation is different from that existing before the war.

In the early postwar years the United States gave enormous "aid" to Western Europe and Japan through the "Marshall Plan" and the so-called "relief for occupied regions and aid funds for economic rehabilitation." In addition, enormous amounts of U.S. private capital were also exported. As a result, to a certain extent the United States controlled those countries economically and politically. But with their economy rehabilitated and developed, these countries tried to get rid of U.S. control. The French, British and Japanese governments intervened when multinational companies took over local enterprises. The EEC played an important role in competing with U.S. capital and in defending the development of private capital of its member countries. In the 1960's a number of private enterprises in Europe were merged to strengthen their power against the multinational companies with U.S. capital. Furthermore, Western European countries and Japan were also active in exporting capital to the United States. With the rapid growth of such investments, the total foreign capital in the United States has already reached $40 billion, three-quarters of which is Western European and Japanese capital. The wars of investments, tariff barriers, trade and currency caused by capital exports are becoming more acute among advanced countries.

The unity of advanced countries appeared in Western Europe in the early postwar years. And the forms of unity developed from "joint control of coal and steel" to the establishment of the EEC. The contents of this unity include the abolition of tariff barriers among member countries, the unification of exchange rates and agricultural policy, the establishment of the European monetary system, collectively signed agreements with some developing countries and the further political development of establishing the Council of Europe. At the same time, the trend toward unity between the United States and other developed countries also increased. The enormous U.S. aid in the early postwar years objectively promoted the rapid economic recovery of the European countries and Japan. The growth of the economic power of Western European countries and the formation of their dependent relations with the United States became a foundation for the establishment and consolidation of the NATO military alliance. But over the past few years the United States and other developed countries have met with a series of serious economic problems such as inflation, the energy crisis, upheavals of the international monetary market and an economic recession. As the capital of each country has become a part of the domestic economy of other countries, the economic situation of a country affects the interests of the monopoly capital of other countries to some extent. Therefore, the governments of various countries representing the monopoly bourgeoisie often hold meetings to regulate the economy. Over the past 5 years, annual summit conferences of seven countries have been held as an important measure in this respect. Of course, such difficult economic problems cannot be basically resolved merely by several meetings. But such forms of coordination show that, while they are struggling against each other, the advanced capitalist countries cannot but resort to the method of unity and coordination to regulate and ease their contradictions.

The effect of export capital on the relations between the developed and the developing countries is different from what it was before the war. The war was followed by the political independence of the former colonies and semicolonies. In this situation, imperialist monopoly capital relied primarily on economic expansion and infiltration through various methods to export its capital to the developing countries so as to continue to obtain raw materials and fuel, exploit cheap labor, shift pollution to the developing countries and establish and expand its spheres of influence. On the other hand, the developing countries, which needed capital and had technical problems, also had to import and make use of foreign capital and technology. Therefore, the governments of many developing countries have, through various tax and credit policies, encouraged foreign capital to invest in departments and sectors of their national economies so that they can selectively import advanced technology. But in general these developing countries restricted the scope of investments and the degree of exploitation by foreign capital. In addition, these governments may resort to legal and economic actions against foreign enterprises that violate relevant laws, so these enterprises cannot do as they please. Therefore, foreign monopoly capital has two roles in developing the economies of the developing countries.

On the one hand, the developing countries can utilize and restrict the capital exported by the developed countries to promote the growth of their economies, because to a certain extent the imported foreign capital can make up for the shortage of construction funds of the developing countries. For example, between 1972 and 1977, foreign capital made up three-quarters of the net investments of Singapore. In Brazil, which has a relatively high domestic accumulation rate, foreign capital made up 10-15 percent of development investments in 1977. The import of foreign capital is usually coupled with imports of advanced technology that promotes the development of new industrial departments. For example, Singapore was primarily a reexporting country in the past, but through imports of enormous amounts of foreign capital the ratio of the manufacturing industry made up 28 percent of the national economy in 1978 as against 7 percent in 1960. The country is now producing TV sets, oil-drilling equipment, ships and precision machinery. Most new industrial departments in Brazil such as the steel, car, shipbuilding, petrochemical, electronics and aircraft industries have been developed through the introduction of advanced technology and equipment by foreign capital. Many developing countries have encouraged foreign capital to invest in their export departments to strengthen the competitive position of their export commodities and increase the volume of exports. To some extent, imports of foreign capital have also provided more employment opportunities to the developing countries.

But on the other hand, imports of foreign capital have also had a negative effect on the national economies of the developing countries, because the basic purpose of advanced Western countries in exporting capital is to exploit and control the developing countries. Although economic and administrative measures taken by the developing countries have helped reduce and limit this effect, it cannot be completely eradicated. The primary expression of this negative role is the plundering of staggering profits from the developing countries by Western monopoly capital. The profit rate achieved by the United States from its investments in the developing countries is often 80-90 percent higher than that in advanced countries and in some years has exceeded 100 percent. In some developing countries with relatively more foreign capital, the profits remitted home by advanced countries have surpassed the volume of their capital exported to those countries in the same year. In addition, through the export of capital, Western monopoly capital has continued to control some countries and departments to varying degrees. Generally, the countries with particularly weak economic foundations find it difficult to resist the control of foreign capital, while their new departments with advanced technology are under the tight control of foreign capital. Through production investments and loans, Western monopoly capital has also plundered large amounts of industrial raw materials and fuel--particularly various strategic resources almost entirely lacking in advanced countries--from the developing countries, where they have also dumped their industrial products. Enormous amounts of imported foreign capital and the deterioration of international trade conditions have placed the developing countries heavily in debt, which has currently reached as high as $366 billion. The debts owed by some countries have already exceeded their ability to repay. Thus, when they pay off their debts they simultaneously go into debt again. Imperialist countries often take advantage of the economic difficulties of the developing countries to interfere financially and politically or to control such countries politically through "aid" and "cooperation." Some big multinational companies have become states within states in the developing countries, directly influencing the policies of the countries in which they are situated. The exports of capital have also widened the gap between poor and rich within the developing countries, shifted serious pollution to those countries and expanded the influence of Western decadent "civilization," bringing more socioeconomic problems to the developing countries.

In short, the new development of imperialist capital export since the war reflects the deepening of the basic contradictions in imperialism. Such a development has also deepened the contradictions among monopoly organizations of the imperialist countries and between imperialist countries and developing countries, making capitalist contradictions even more complicated. Such a new development has had an important influence on the world's economic and political development. Hence, it is necessary for us to analyze and study the changes in this new development for what they are.

CSO: 4004

CADRES MUST FOCUS ON THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS IN THEIR STUDIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 p 49

[Letter from reader Li Zhengsu [2621 2973 0582]]

[Text] In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "Our cadres, and particularly the leading cadres at all levels, must strive to acquire the necessary scientific knowledge and skills. It is impossible to give competent leadership to modernization efforts if one does not study hard and acquire scientific knowledge." Since the party's work focus has been shifted to the modernization, there has been an urgent need to create an atmosphere of study. At present some cadres lack knowledge of modern science and technology. Thus, they hinder the progress of the four modernizations. To help cadres, particularly leading cadres, to rapidly adapt to the new situation and to work in accordance with the laws of science is an urgent problem of strategic significance.

What should be done to help cadres study? I suggest that the departments concerned carefully study this problem. Cadres should proceed from reality in their studies and focus their attention on the organization, leadership and scientific management of the four modernizations. First, we should focus on the popularization of the knowledge of natural dialectics, which will help us acquire an elementary understanding of the progress, development, structure and laws of modern science and technology and master the methodology of science. Second, we should compile an "introduction to science and technology" which will be easy to read. This book should help cadres understand that to assume leadership over large-scale modernized production they must master the laws of nature. They must understand and transform nature according to its original features in order to achieve their objectives and win victory in their struggle. Third, we should compile more books on the management of various trades and professions for popular circulation. Fourth, we should compile books on practical linguistics and logic for self-study in order to raise the academic level and writing ability of cadres. Fifth, we should edit and publish books on applied mathematics, such as "optimum seeking method," "operational research," "statistics" and "principles and application of electronic computers." We should also give some guidance talks to help cadres acquire some basic mathematical knowledge in scientific management. Sixth, we should use the current situation to compile books on socialist politics and economics to help cadres master socialist economic law at the present stage. Seventh, cadres should learn some technical terms in foreign languages if possible.

Eighth, we should compile books on the fundamentals of some specific professions to suit the needs of various trades and professions. For most cadres the question is how and what they should learn, rather than whether they should learn. Therefore, I hope the departments concerned will rapidly provide the cadres with materials to study. Otherwise the general calls will be fruitless.

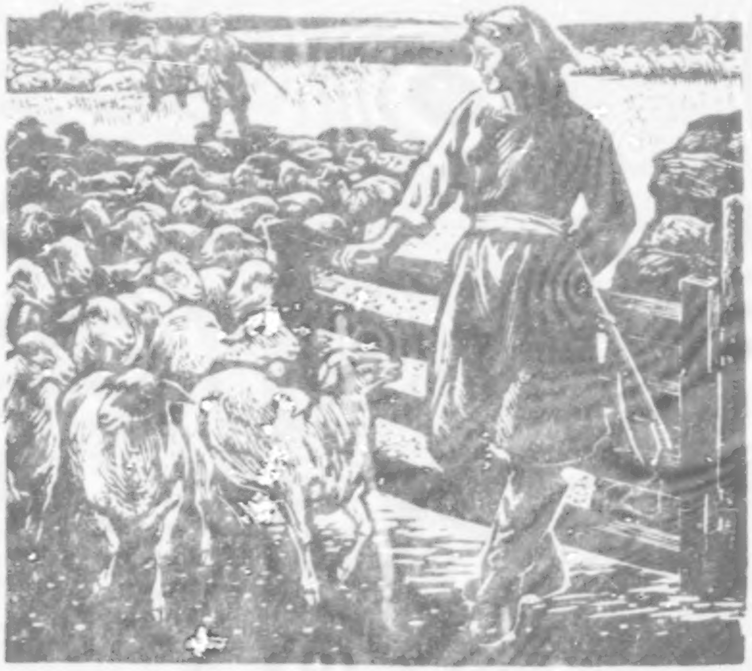
To build a contingent of cadres who firmly follow the socialist road and possess professional knowledge and skills is a prerequisite for realizing the four modernizations. Of course, leading cadres should study politics and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They should also study their professional areas and acquire some professional knowledge. Both leading cadres and ordinary cadres should pay attention to the demands of the four modernizations in their studies and conduct their studies in a planned way with emphasis on the right points.

CSO: 4004

HERDING SHEEP BACK TO FOLD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Tan Quanshu [6223 5425 2579]]



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16 December 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 19, 1 October 1980

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 19, 1 October 1980

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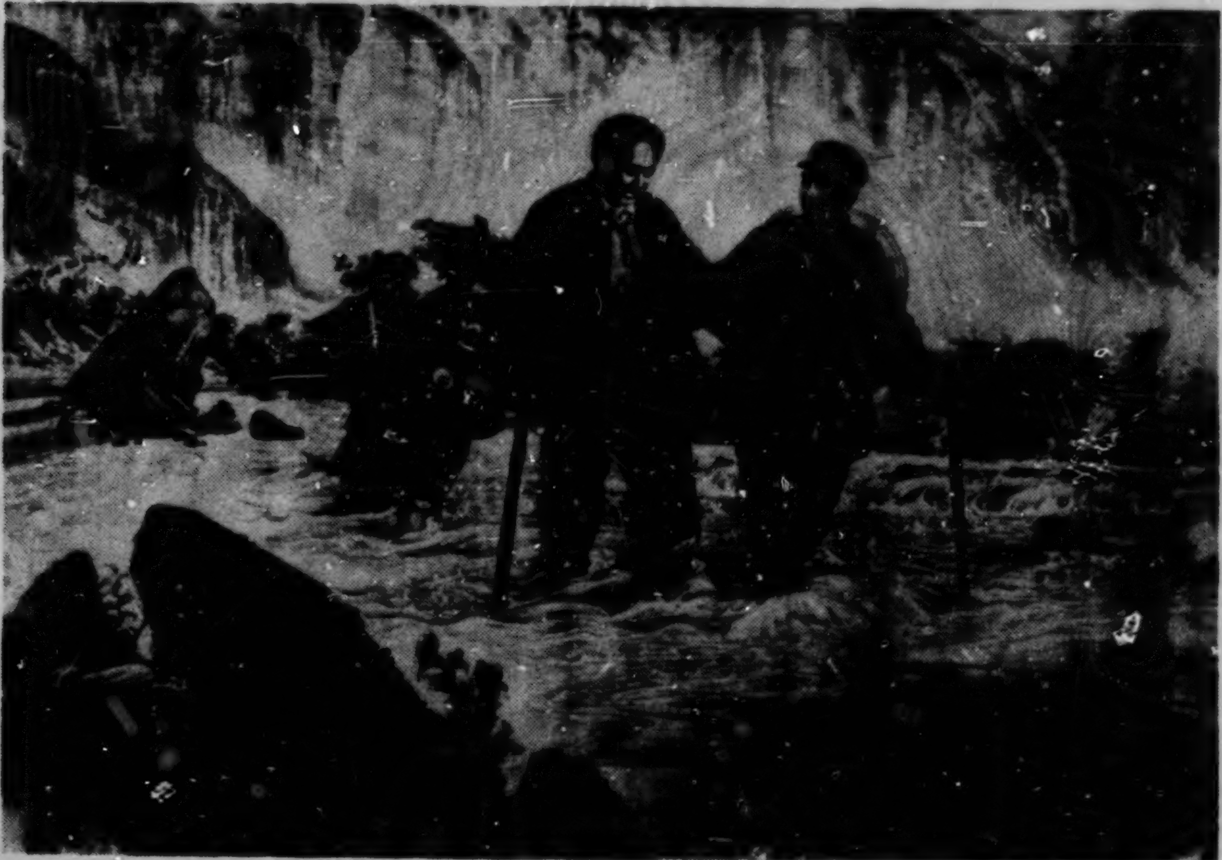
COURSE OF ACTION—COMRADES MAO ZEDONG AND ZHOU ENLAI COMBATING IN NORTH SHAANXI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 inside front cover

[Painting by Liu Wenxi [0491 2429 6007]]



CSO: 4004

AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF VETERAN CADRES--MORE ON BECOMING A PROMOTER OF REFORM OF THE CADRE RANKS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 2-5

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Selecting and promoting a large number of cadres who support the party line, persist in the socialist road, possess professional knowledge and organizational and leadership ability and are youthful and energetic to positions of leadership in various sectors is an important policy adopted by our party on the question of cadres. It is also a very important principle of the party in its cadre work during the new period. To strive to implement this principle is an urgent task confronting the whole party and an important political responsibility history has entrusted to our veteran cadres.

The implementation of this important principle is required by the four modernizations and by the times. At present, leadership at various levels is characterized by a high average age, while there is a scarcity of people who have professional and management knowledge. This is becoming more and more incompatible with the task of building modernization which confronts our country. The four modernizations will be hopeless if this problem is not solved. Our country is now at a juncture in history when we are carrying forward the cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Long-term efforts are required to build our country into a modern socialist power. It is only through lowering the average age of the leadership and intellectualizing and professionalizing the leadership that we can maintain the long-term continuity and stability of our line, principles and policies. At present, not only is there a need for this, but the possibility exists of solving this problem. After 4 years of bringing order out of chaos, the party has formulated an explicit ideological and political line, creating the basic conditions for solving this problem. At the same time, we have a large number of cadres, relatively young and energetic and relatively well equipped with modern knowledge in science, culture and professional and management knowhow, who have been assigned to the various fronts. The real problem is that we have not rationally utilized their skills and made arrangements for their placement and have not promoted those among them whose performance has been outstanding. Our party raised the problem of grooming, selecting and promoting successors as early as 1964. However, due to the 10 years of turmoil, cadre work in our party was greatly undermined, hampering a proper solution to this problem. Sixteen years have passed since then. Almost a whole generation of people has been lost. Therefore, the solution to this problem is a very urgent matter today. This is an urgent requirement that exists objectively in the cause of building modernization in the country and is not an impulsive question raised by any individual.

In the implementation of this important principle and policy, what kind of political responsibility do the veteran cadres have? Their responsibility is to do a good job of discovering, selecting, promoting, supporting and helping the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres.

At present, the first thing is to be good at discovering, selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres and even breaking rules to promote exceptional cadres. Since the Central Committee raised this question, work in this aspect has been slow on a national scale. To change this situation, one important matter is to make a realistic analysis and assessment of the basic conditions of our middle-aged and young cadres. The middle-aged and young cadres we are referring to mainly pertain to the several millions of graduates from universities, middle schools and technical schools who have engaged in practical work for many years and those middle-aged and young cadres who have raised their scientific and cultural level and mastered certain professional skills through self-study while doing practical work. What are their basic conditions? First, they were trained and educated by our party after the liberation. Second, most of them have undergone long-term political tempering and tests. Third, they have accumulated certain practical experiences during their long years of work, and many of them possess certain organizational and leadership abilities. This shows that the conditions are present for selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. On the other hand, our veteran cadres have rich experiences in discerning, selecting and training cadres. If only we emancipate our minds, break away from old conventions, be bold in reforming outdated organizational and personnel systems and correctly grasp the party's qualifications for cadres, we are entirely capable of doing this work well.

However, some comrades think that middle-aged and young cadres have been greatly influenced by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and they have some misgivings about these cadres. We must admit there is some basis for such misgivings, because the leadership groups in some areas, departments and units have still not been reorganized. Some remnant factional elements might take advantage of our selection and promotion of middle-aged and young cadres to promote members of their factions. We must not underestimate the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." On this point we must keep a clear head. Regarding those who rose to their positions by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in staging rebellion, those who are seriously affected by factionalism and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting must definitely not be promoted. Not a single one of them should be promoted. Even those who have sneaked into the leadership group must be resolutely dismissed. However, we must also realize that those who followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in doing evil constitute only a very small minority. The great majority of our comrades are good or relatively good. In those "unprecedented" years the influence of the ultraleftist line spread throughout the party. It is not surprising that young people were more seriously affected. We should also see that at that time cadres who were better qualified in terms of professional knowledge were attacked and criticized under the charges of being "the stinking ninth category" or "taking the white and expert road." These people support the leadership of the party, fervently love the cause of socialism, study and research hard and have a strong sense of responsibility to our cause. These characteristics are incompatible with the ultraleftist line. They detect the methods of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," a great majority of them have enthusiastically plunged into building the four modernizations and have achieved heartening results. "To test jade, one has to burn it for 3 full days; to test someone's ability, one has to wait and observe for 7 years." These cadres have passed the test of long years of tempering and trials. Particularly after the stiff test of the more than 10 years beginning from just before the 10 years of turmoil and ending with the period after those 10 years, many of them have proved to be pillars of building the four modernizations. One can rest easy in promoting outstanding cadres among them to leadership groups in accordance with the party's standards on cadres.

Other comrades feel they cannot trust middle-aged and young cadres because they lack leadership experience and cannot assume the heavy responsibility of leadership. We all know that experience in leadership work can only be gained from the practice of leadership work. The reason why middle-aged and young cadres lack experience in leadership work is that for a long time they have not been promoted to leadership posts and have not engaged in practicing leadership work. Furthermore, to be honest, the building of modernization is a new problem. Not only middle-aged and young cadres, but also veteran cadres lack experience in this area. Both types of cadres are capable of committing some errors and have actually committed quite a few. The thing is to learn lessons and sum up experiences from past mistakes. At the same time, we must also see that middle-aged and young cadres not only have some professional skills but also have accumulated experience in practical work in their respective posts and have observed the existing problems in our leadership work. At present, a large number of middle-aged and young cadres have already become the backbone force on various work fronts. Many of them are responsible for leadership work at the basic level and possess certain organizational and leadership abilities. They know the conditions of the masses relatively well and are well acquainted with actual conditions, sensitive to the latest developments and less restrained by outdated rules and evil practices and rigid conventions. These qualities are very important in implementing the party's line, particularly in effecting reforms in various aspects.

Experience in many localities has shown that, as long as we emancipate our minds, break with old conventions regarding the promotion of cadres, broaden our vision and correct our methods, a new generation of talented people will immediately appear before our eyes. Of course, we must be cautious in promoting cadres, but there is no need to make everything so mysterious. Since last year the Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that we must firmly promote a large number of cadres who persist in the party's line, possess professional knowledge and ability and are young and energetic to positions of responsibility in order to replenish and strengthen the leadership of the party and government. As long as we follow these three qualifications set by the Central Committee, undertake careful investigation and study and widely gather the opinion of the masses, we will be sure of being able to discover, select and promote a large number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. Taking this opportunity while the veteran cadres are still alive to find a good solution to this problem will be the basic way to remove our doubts. If we do not seize the chance to do this work now and wait till the veteran comrades have departed before doing anything to solve this problem, it will be even more difficult. From the veteran cadres' point of view, this would be an error of historic proportions. That should really make us anxious!

While doing the work of discovering, selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres well, our veteran cadres must also have a strong sense of responsibility in supporting and helping middle-aged and young cadres. Support means backing them up and encouraging them to be bold in doing their work. When they encounter difficulties, veteran cadres must give them help. When they suffer unjust criticisms and insults, veteran cadres must protect them. At the same time, veteran cadres must sincerely and patiently acquaint them with the situation, help them master the procedures and help them familiarize themselves with work methods. They must also help them to study well and raise their theoretical level and their ability to carry out policy and work. They must help them sum up experiences, bring their strong points into full play and overcome their weak points. In short, they must do the job of passing on experience, giving help and setting a good example and help the middle-aged and young cadres to grow rapidly.

At present, the important political responsibility of the veteran cadres is to assist the party organizations to select and promote a large number of middle-aged and young cadres to assume the responsibilities of leadership and to take up positions of leadership in order to enable them to take up the burden of leadership work at all levels, acquire the skills to manage important affairs of the party and the state, lead the masses to build an enterprise through arduous labor, push the cause of the party forward and accomplish the historical mission of the four modernizations. This is a very arduous yet honorable task. The accomplishment of this task would be a tremendous contribution on the part of the veteran cadres to the party and to the people.

There is one trend of thought which holds that promoting middle-aged and young cadres to positions of leadership and having the veteran cadres recede to the second or third line seems as if one is doing away with the veteran cadres. This is not true. Our party has always regarded the veteran cadres as valuable treasures and wants them to play their role even better. Our veteran cadres embody the fine tradition and work style of the party, have rich working experience and enjoy high prestige. They can play their roles well in discovering, selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres and doing the job of passing on experience, giving help and setting a good example. This is the great expectation that the party and the people place in the veteran cadres and the honorable responsibility entrusted to them by history. Therefore, in the long term it is more meaningful for the veteran cadres to gradually recede to the second and third line than for them to stay on in the first line. It is only with the support and help of the veteran cadres that a new generation of talented people can emerge, that successors to the party's cause can be groomed and that there can be a guarantee for the continuity and stability of the party's line, principles and policies. Our veteran cadres must regard the work of training, selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres as an important matter concerning the future of the party and the state. They must stand higher and see further and strive to accomplish this important task.

Some comrades think that although they are not young they are still strong. They can still hold down their jobs for a while. We must admit that this really is true in the case of some veteran cadres who are still relatively healthy. However, the law of nature exempts no one. Our veteran cadres are old and weak, after all. Although some of them can still hold on in the frontline for a while, to have them do heavy work for a long time and work day and night as during earlier years would be more and more difficult. We must not be satisfied with holding on for a while at present. We must seriously consider the question of who will take on the tasks in 5 or 10 years. This is the question history is asking us to answer. To allow veteran cadres to recede to the second or third line is an important and farsighted decision. When the veteran cadres recede to the second and third line, they are free from heavy daily duties and can concentrate their energy on contemplating important affairs of the party and the state, acting as advisers and passing on experience, giving help and setting an example for the middle-aged and young cadres. This is also an important contribution to the party and the people. Of course, if they are still capable (in the case of veteran cadres, we refer mainly to their physical strength and energy), the higher their position, the more of a contribution they can make. But if they are no longer capable, there is the possibility that the higher their position, the greater the damage they will do. On the other hand, although some comrades are in a low position, or even do not hold any position at all, they have made great contributions. In real life there are many examples of these two types. Therefore, we must think more about how to increase the political responsibility we assume rather than whether we hold a high position or not.

Some comrades ask: How can one struggle for the cause of communism throughout one's life if one is to recede to the second or third line? It is only natural that this question should be asked. Many of our veteran cadres resolved to sacrifice everything, including their lives, and to struggle for communism throughout their lives the day they joined the revolution. They never considered and the party organization never suggested that one day they might have to recede to the second or third line. Therefore, now that they are encountering this problem, they are psychologically unprepared. Actually, receding to the second or third line is not in contradiction with struggling for communism throughout one's life. The reason why some comrades feel that there is a contradiction is that they confuse struggling for communism throughout one's life with occupying a leadership position throughout one's life. To struggle for communism throughout our lives is our ambition and our conviction. This means that we vow to adhere to our chosen course and remain revolutionary to the end. Every Communist Party member, no matter what position he occupies and whether or not he holds any position, as long as he stands firm on this ambition and conviction, will still be very concerned about the interests of the party and the people. He will fight to the last breath. Even if he does not hold a certain position, he will still concern himself with the relevant affairs and take the initiative to report the situation and propose suggestions to the party. To carry out one's responsibility thoroughly is to struggle for the cause of communism. As for the position one holds and the duties one is assigned, they must be determined by the requirements of the revolution. We must give serious thought to the idea that the heavy task of the four modernizations in a district or a department requires the leaders to take charge of organization and direction. If the leader is full of enthusiasm but does not have enough energy, it will undermine the work. This runs directly counter to the pledge to struggle for communism throughout one's life and the ambition to uphold the interests of the party at all times.

At present, many of the veteran cadres have voluntarily asked to be relegated to the second and third lines in consideration of the basic and long-term interests of the party and the people. They are farsighted and focus on history as a whole rather than on their personal interests. They would like to do the work of selecting, promoting and training middle-aged and young cadres well and exert efforts to accomplish the great political task the party has entrusted to them. As Comrade An Ziwen said while he was still alive: "When we see that good cadres who are young and energetic have assumed responsibility, we are witnessing the progress and development of the cause of the party. This is equivalent to seeing the achievement of the four modernizations." This fully expresses the common wish of the veteran cadres and the noble spiritual realm and breadth of vision of a communist.

CSO: 4004

UPHOLD COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP, OPPOSE THE PATRIARCHAL WORKSTYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 6-10

[Article by Song Bai [1345 2672]]

[Text] Upholding collective leadership and opposing the patriarchal workstyle is very important in inner-party political life. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" has stipulated: "Within the party committees, the principle that the minority is subordinated to the majority must be strictly observed in deciding issues. The relationship between the secretary and the members of the party committee is not one between superior and inferior; the secretary is on equal footing with other members of the party committee. The secretary or the first secretary should be good at synthesizing the committee members' opinions and is not allowed to make a habit of 'what I say goes' or behave in a patriarchal manner." However, for many years a patriarchal workstyle has actually existed to varying degrees and has exerted a very bad influence on inner-party political life and also had serious repercussions on the political life of the nation.

The patriarchal system was the product of the small producers economy. The economy of feudal society was a scattered and individual agricultural economy comprising the family or household as a production unit. Apart from paying rent to the landlord, it also had to have a responsible member, a head of the family or patriarch. In the household the patriarch was the master, and all the land and food grain was controlled by him. The patriarch had the right to deal with the wealth and property of the household. His words carried great weight in the household, and all the other family members had to obey him. The feudal patriarchal system was suited to the small producers economy, and it became the basis of feudal rule. To consolidate the feudal system, feudal rulers placed special emphasis on loyalty and filial piety, or loyalty to the emperor and filial piety toward one's parents. In feudal society "the state had its own law" and "the family had its own domestic discipline." People who violated "state law" were punished by the ruling class, and family members who violated "family discipline" were punished by the patriarch. Feudal emperors believed that they "received their mandate from heaven" and were "an integral part of the state." They were actually the big patriarchs of the nation. Officers of various classes appointed by the emperor became "paternalistic officials" of the people and were actually patriarchs at various levels. It was because of the important role played by the patriarchal system in consolidating feudal rule that all feudal rulers of the past strengthened the feudal patriarchal system.

As a result of the long history of feudal rule in China, feudal ideas permeated all sectors of society, and our party was also affected by the feudal patriarchal system. In the nearly 60 years since the founding of our party there have been two periods when the patriarchal workstyle was particularly serious. One was the decade or so before the Zunyi Conference, and the other was the 10 years of catastrophe during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Of the two, the latter was the more serious.

After the founding of our party, Chen Duxiu was elected secretary general. Most of the cadres in the party were his students and juniors, and party cadres generally addressed him as "old man" out of respect. Chen considered himself to be the patriarch, and there was a total lack of democracy. His words were final in the party, and there was no collective leadership to speak of. The "Letter From the Central Committee to All Party Members on the 'August 7' Meeting" correctly pointed out: "It was nothing other than a patriarchal social system within the party. All decisions had to come from the leader in the upper levels of the party. Moreover, not only did the view of the 'chief' have to be obeyed, but it always had to be regarded as indisputable and in any case always correct. Under this kind of implementation, the democratic rights of the party became a completely meaningless phrase." Comrade Cai Hesen in "History of Opportunism in the Party" pointed out that the mistake of the leadership organs of the party at this time was that "the inner-party life of the masses had not yet fully developed. Not only were there no party discussions, but there were also no elections." "The relationship between the leadership organs and the masses became very unhealthy. Not only were there obstacles, but there was also incompatibility. The masses became completely divorced from the party, and the leadership organs of the party completely abandoned the masses. They practiced iron organization and discipline like princes in the privacy of their palaces without fear of interference. The more they did, the less they thought of the party, the masses and their work. Iron discipline became an instrument of torture for intimidating the party members, whereas the leading members at the higher level could enjoy all the freedom that transcended this iron organization and discipline." All this explains the seriousness of the patriarchal workstyle in the party at that time and the pernicious influence it created.

Wang Ming and Zhang Guotao also went in for the feudal patriarchal system. Zhang Guotao used to be Chen Duxiu's right-hand man. Later his personal ambition grew enormously, and he acted arbitrarily and behaved like a warlord and local despot in the area under his leadership. When Wang Ming usurped the leadership of the party Central Committee, there was no democracy to speak of. He adopted the method of "putting labels" on and "bludgeoning" comrades who expressed dissenting views in the party and even resorted to hostile means to carry out "brutal struggle" and "merciless atttacks" against them. Wang Ming and Zhang Guotao were even more despicable than Chen Duxiu, for they adopted the erroneous policy of purging counterrevolutionaries, physically exterminating many fine comrades who raised dissenting views and creating greater losses to the party.

After the Zunyi Conference and especially after the Yanan rectification movement, we exposed and criticized the mistake of Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line, rectified the party's workstyle, promoted the unity of the whole party and laid the foundations for victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the war of liberation. After the nationwide liberation our inner-party political life was normal. Because we upheld the development of democracy both inside and outside the party, various undertakings developed in a flourishing manner, and we scored great victories in economic rehabilitation and socialist transformation. However the leading members of our party became arrogant in the face of victory, were not as modest or prudent and did not pay as much attention to the principle of democratic centralism as before. In party discussions and decisions on major issues they often paid no attention to the development of democracy, did not listen to dissenting views and did not follow the principle of the minority submitting to the majority or decision by ballot, but let one man or a handful of people make the decision. Our party first made the mistake of magnifying the struggle against the rightists and again made the mistake in the Great Leap Forward of setting high targets, giving orders blindly, making inflated and exaggerated reports and achieving the transition to communism prematurely. However, our party not only failed to promptly sum up the experiences and lessons of these mistakes, but instead became more and more disinclined to listen to dissenting views. This again resulted in the criticism of a number of fine comrades who dared to submit written and verbal statements in the movement "against right opportunism." These were the circumstances under which, on the one hand, people like Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda publicized a personality cult, played the leader up as a genius, worshipped him as a deity and caused him to be further divorced from the masses, and, on the other hand, the development of a patriarchal workstyle stifled the democratic atmosphere both inside and outside the party, causing the situation of ten thousand horses standing mute to appear. In view of the lessons learned from political movements in the past, many comrades, out of fear, kept out. The patriarchal workstyle could be said to have reached its peak during the "Great Cultural Revolution." The leader was pushed to the most exalted position of a deity, and the personality cult completely dominated the minds of the people. This abnormal condition in the party was again utilized by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques to create 10 years of catastrophe. Relying on the power of a single individual, they usurped the supreme power of the party and the state, notified all party organs to suspend their activities and brought the whole party apparatus to a standstill. High-ranking party cadres, including the chairman of the country and a marshal of the armed forces, were dismissed and disposed of at will. "Down with everything" and "all-out civil war" developed throughout the country. Evildoers were in power, good people suffered and thousands of innocent families were implicated. The above-mentioned phenomenon was in complete violation of the principles of Marxism and the organizational principles of the party, and it disrupted the style of the party's internal and external relations and brought great misfortune upon the people of the whole country.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and particularly after the 3d, 4th and 5th plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee, a correct political line has been formulated, and the fine tradition and workstyle of the party have been carried forward. Recently the Central Committee again issued a resolution on "giving less publicity to the individual." This will play a very important role in correcting the personality cult and combating the patriarchal workstyle. However, the pernicious influence of the feudal patriarchal system still exists in varying degrees among the leadership cadres at various levels, and there still are advocates of the patriarchal system in many localities and units.

These people take no notice of party organization and the collective system and take even less notice of the masses. They regard themselves as heroes who have conquered the country and who have accomplished all manner of meritorious services and are a cut above other people. The main manifestations of these people in leadership work are:

1. They place themselves above the collective and organization and practice "what I say goes." The party committees in some localities and units are like empty shells, and the final verdict on matters, whether large or small, must come from the secretary. The collective decision of the party committee can be overruled at will by the secretary. Things collectively decided by the party committee must still be approved by the secretary before they can be carried out. Some of the leadership cadres have unlimited power, and they completely change the collective leadership of the party into individual leadership. It is no longer a case of the minority submitting to the majority but of the majority submitting to the individual. However, this individual is often divorced from the masses and from reality, yet he still decides on important issues and gives orders as usual. As a result, the greater his authority, the greater will be the damage to the party.

2. They build up their own influence and form their own small circles. For the sake of making arbitrary decisions, some leadership cadres use their personal likes and dislikes as the basis for the employment and promotion of cadres and try in every possible way to gather around themselves their own former subordinates and cronies, form their own leading body and set up their own miniature court. Some go in for family ties and connections, so that "when a man gets to the top, all his friends and relations get there with him." Wives and children, aunts and sisters-in-law are allowed to join the party or hold office regardless of their talent or moral character. In some places there is even a party committee within the party committee and a standing committee within the standing committee, and mutual relations between members of the party committee become the relations of factions.

3. They attach paramount importance to personal dignity and refuse to heed opposing views. Some leadership cadres insist on absolute obedience and cannot tolerate any difference of opinion. They punish anyone who causes them the slightest displeasure, look for an excuse to make them targets of public criticism or secretly make things difficult for them when there is an opportunity. Consequently, the mutual relationship between the upper level and lower level and between the secretary and the committee members becomes that of a cat and mouse or that between a king and his ministers or between father and son.

The feudal patriarchal workstyle is incompatible with the character of our party and state. It is the antithesis of collective leadership and democratic centralism and must be resolutely overcome. Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat and a unified combat collective organized on the basis of democratic centralism. This determines that our party is not a feudal kingdom and cannot allow the feudal patriarchal system to have legal standing in our party. The political power of our country is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the system of government of our country is democratic centralism. Socialist democracy is the intrinsic quality of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to provide the greatest democracy for the people. This is why we cannot have the patriarchal system and one man alone having the say in the political life of our country. In our country, leadership cadres and ordinary cadres alike carry out specific work, and the mutual relationship between them is one of comradely equality. There should be no distinctions as to high or low rank, and everyone should enjoy all the privileges he is entitled to and perform all his designated obligations on an equal basis. The reason the feudal patriarchal system is incompatible with the character of our party and state is that it destroys democratic life both inside and outside the party.

The feudal patriarchal workstyle also basically transposes the relationship between cadres and the masses. Our party cadres, including the leadership cadres, are public servants and service personnel of the people and not overlords of a feudal society "riding herd over the people" for the emperor or patriarchs of the people. Who gives us our authority? It is not hereditary or self-attained, neither is it given by the leadership organs at the upper level but is given by the people. Our authority is derived from the trust and mandate of the people. Basically speaking, even the leadership cadres of higher leadership organs exercise authority bestowed upon them by the people. Without the support of the people, we can do nothing. Therefore, not only must we be responsible to the higher leadership organs, but we must also be responsible to the people. We must serve the people wholeheartedly and, in the manner of "head lowered, like a willing ox I serve the children," do things for the people and work for their interests. We must work like "beasts of burden" for the people and must not in the manner of the feudal society treat the people like "beasts of burden." We must do our work well, for this is our duty. If not, we can be criticized and even dismissed by the people. Losses due to dereliction of duty must also be punished by law. This is the right of the people. Engels in his introduction to "The Civil War in France" brought up the question of how to prevent the transformation of servants of society into masters of society and spoke highly of the principle and measures adopted by the Paris Commune. Today we must also implement this principle and these measures.

It has been a long time since we overthrew the reactionary rule and land ownership system of feudalism. Why does the feudal patriarchal system continue to exist and proliferate within our party?

First, when our party was founded in China, a large number of small producers joined the ranks of the party. Our country does not have a bourgeois democratic tradition, but instead has inherited a great many feudal vestiges. China was formerly "a country in which small-scale production and the patriarchal system prevail" ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War"), and "the evil feudal practice of arbitrary dictation is deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even the ordinary party members." ("The Struggle in Jinggangshan") Also, our party leaders have not descended from heaven but have grown up in the semifeudal and semicolonial society and are affected to varying degrees by feudal ideas. In addition, due to a lack of understanding, our party has done very little regarding the elimination of the feudal ideological influence. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the patriarchal clan system, class system and desire for privileges still exist in varying degrees in the political life of our party.

Second, our party was founded in secrecy and for a long time carried out work under urban white terror and rural guerrilla warfare conditions. The bases were scattered and in a state of siege, and each area had to fight independently. Under these circumstances, some leading members regarded the areas and departments under their leadership as their own independent kingdom, personally took credit for the victory of the party organization and the masses, and also placed more emphasis on centralization and less on developing democracy, more on issuing individual orders and less on taking a consensus of the views of the masses. This kind of influence has been comparatively thoroughgoing and is detrimental to some of our comrades' efforts to combat the patriarchal workstyle.

Furthermore, influenced by the tradition of the Cominterm period when the leader of the party's work in every country enjoyed highly concentrated power, we have for a long time exaggerated the role of the individual and thought that leadership is not a collective body but an individual. This individual is again regarded as a genius who has a keen insight into matters and who is omnipotent. This concentration of power in an individual in fact constitutes a system of lifetime tenure for the leader. When this leader goes, another must be produced to continue this kind of lifetime tenure system. This runs counter to the basic tenets of historical materialism and propagates a personality cult. Stalin elevated the personality cult to a new high, but we went even further than Stalin during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Propagation of the personality cult has further fostered the patriarchal system.

However, some people think that opposing the feudal patriarchal system will affect party leadership. This misgiving is completely unfounded.

"Don't we want to centralize power on major issues?" When he discussed strengthening the leadership of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Centralize power on major issues, decentralize power on minor issues." However, it is very difficult in practice to distinguish between what calls for centralized power and what calls for decentralized power. Invariably there is no distinction between party and government administration, and everything is run by the party committee. Some comrades have transformed "centralize power on major issues" into "personal dictate" and "monopoly of power." Power is firmly controlled by an individual, and even the party organization becomes an instrument at his beck and call. This kind of "centralization of power on major issues" will certainly create a feudal patriarchal system and bureaucracy and damage collective leadership, the democratic life of the party and the cause of the party and people.

"Don't we want the secretary to be a good squad leader?" Comrade Mao Zedong in "Work Methods for Party Committees" pointed out: "The secretary of a party committee must be good at being a 'squad leader.'" However, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "Here we speak only by way of analogy." He also emphasized: "The relation between the secretary and the committee members is one in which the minority must obey the majority, so it is different from the relation between a squad leader and his men." Some of the comrades have forgotten this "difference" and changed the relation between the secretary and the committee members into one between the leader and those who are led and between the commander and those who carry out orders. In this way, the "squad leader" actually becomes a "patriarch."

"Don't we want the secretary in command?" This slogan of "the secretary in command" is applicable only in the sense of the secretary of the party committee assuming responsibility for certain work in the division of labor, but it is actually impracticable for the secretary to be in command of all the work. Moreover, the emphasis on command will often encourage one man to have the final say. According to the principle of democratic centralism, party committees at all levels must implement the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. Important issues must be subject to collective discussion and decisionmaking, and we cannot allow one man to have the final say. In making decisions, the minority must obey the majority, and each secretary should have only one vote. Things decided collectively should be diversely carried out in accordance with the different spheres of responsibility. Once a collective decision has been reached, any committee member, even if he is the first secretary, may change or maintain his view, but he must still resolutely implement the collective decision. The first secretary only assumes primary responsibility in routine work and has no special privilege overriding the committee members. The present reference to the leading functionaries holding positions of primary and secondary responsibility could easily cause some comrades in the party to envisage the seating arrangement of the feudal trade associations. It gives the impression that the leading functionaries holding positions of primary and secondary responsibility are in a higher position than the other party committee members. The formation of this unequal relation is not in keeping with the organizational principle of the party committee. It will affect the implementation of democratic centralism and must therefore be abolished.

In short, we must see that the influence of the feudal patriarchal system is indeed deep-rooted and that a rather protracted struggle is required to eliminate this malady. However, through the effort of the whole party, we will certainly be able to eliminate the influence of feudal ideas, eradicate the influence of the feudal patriarchal system, carry out party building properly and better fulfill the task of our modernization program.

CSO: 4004

LEARN FROM LENIN'S DEMOCRATIC WORKSTYLE

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[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] Lenin's theory on proletarian democracy is an important component of Leninism. Lenin himself was an outstanding model in the practice of proletarian democracy. His democratic workstyle was a fine example among the leaders of the international communist movement and was comparable to that of Marx and Engels. Lenin once said: "Among the people we are, after all, but a drop in the ocean, and we can administer only when we properly express what the people are conscious of." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, pp 269-270) This brilliant idea not only permeates the Leninist theory of democracy but also shone in his revolutionary practice throughout his life.

I

In inner-party political life, Lenin always acted like an ordinary party member. Lenin abhorred all kinds of eulogies which tended to put him against the party organization or set him above the party organization and the broad masses of party members.

On 31 July 1920 the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) passed a resolution which was personally drafted by Lenin. The resolution said: "The Politburo of the Central Committee holds that the two articles written by Gorkiy in COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL No 12, particularly the editorial, were most inappropriate. They were inappropriate because these articles not only lack a communist theme but, on the contrary, contained many anticommunist elements. From now on these kinds of articles must absolutely not be allowed to appear in COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Fifth Edition, Vol 54, p 429) The "anticommunist elements" referred to in the resolution pertained to Gorkiy's article's exaggeration of Lenin's role in the Russian Revolution and failure to mention the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in the revolution. Gorkiy's article greatly exalted the idea of the personality cult in its unique and refined style. Although the articles were filled with Gorkiy's sincere love and respect for Lenin, they ran counter to Marxism and the principles of inner-party democratic life formulated by Lenin. Therefore, they were sharply criticized by Lenin. After that issue of COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL was published, Lenin requested that the magazine be withdrawn from circulation. A long time after this incident, Lenin still talked about this matter. At the meeting in honor of Lenin's 50th birthday held by the ninth party congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Moscow city party committee, the principled stand Lenin took regarding the praises people lavished on him is also well known. Although Lenin's contributions were greater than all others in the history of the Russian proletarian revolution, Lenin's great vigilance and prohibition prevented the emergence of the phenomenon of a personality cult during his lifetime.

During Lenin's time the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet regime faced many stiff tests. During those grave moments, Lenin's thoughts, will and strategy often guided the party in times of confusion, hardship and darkness to find the correct program of action and the road to victory. It can be said that on those questions of principle which had a bearing on the fate of the revolution Lenin made some mistakes. However, Lenin never used his prestige and position to impose his personal opinion on the whole party. Lenin strictly abided by the principle of collective leadership. He always acted as an ordinary party member and tried to influence the comrades around him and the leading organs of the party with the force of truth so that the party would make the right decisions.

In September 1917, in order to urge the Bolsheviks to seize the opportunity to make the decision to stage armed insurrection, Lenin wrote two letters to the Central Committee entitled "The Bolsheviks Must Seize Political Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection." At the meeting of the Central Committee held on 15 September, Lenin's letters were not given adequate attention. The meeting decided to postpone discussion of Lenin's letters, that is to say, postpone discussion of the question of armed insurrection. Lenin then repeatedly presented his views in the publications of the party, clearly pointing out the urgency of an immediate armed insurrection and the grave consequences of a postponement of insurrection, which might entail the total failure of the revolution, in order to make the cadres and members of the Bolshevik Party see the prevailing situation. At the subsequent meeting of the Central Committee on 10 October, Lenin's motion on staging an immediate armed insurrection was finally passed by a vote of 10 to 2. Such was Lenin's style: While insisting on principle, he respected the decision of the majority in the collective leadership. He actively worked to enable his comrades to fully grasp his opinion in order to form a new majority.

On the question of the signing of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Lenin again demonstrated his democratic style. When a majority of the comrades in the party Central Committee rejected Lenin's correct opinion on immediately signing the peace treaty, Lenin abided by the decision of the majority and upheld the party's principle of democratic centralism. At the same time, he exerted great efforts to minimize the losses suffered by the revolution due to the party's refusal to sign the peace treaty. Due to Lenin's efforts, the Central Committee made a decision to prolong the peace negotiations as much as possible and to avoid a breakdown in the negotiations. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets also passed a resolution giving the Soviet Government full power to resolve the problem of war and peace. These two decisions were helpful in preventing the peace negotiations from being sabotaged and in preventing Trotskiy and others from taking adventurist action. On 18 February 1918 the German forces staged an all-out offensive in their attempt to overthrow the Soviet regime. On 21 February Lenin drafted an open letter to the people entitled "The Socialist

Fatherland Is in Danger." This was promulgated as an official call by the Council of People's Commissars. Thousands upon thousands of people responded to the call of the party and the Soviet Government and surged to the frontline of the battlefield. At the same time, Lenin exerted all possible efforts to persuade the party Central Committee to immediately make a decision to sign the peace treaty. Finally, the party Central Committee accepted Lenin's correct proposal.

Lenin maintained this democratic style until his last years. On 6 October 1922 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party passed a resolution on the monopoly system of foreign trade. Lenin considered the monopoly on foreign trade one of the economic lifelines of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, this resolution actually undermined the monopoly on foreign trade. At that time Lenin was very ill and was unable to participate in this plenary meeting. When he later learned what had happened, he wrote a letter to Stalin on 13 October expressing his dissenting opinion about this Central Committee resolution. However, Lenin did not ask the Central Committee to immediately rescind this resolution according to his own completely correct opinion. He suggested that "this problem be reconsidered and restudied" and that the solution of this problem "be postponed for 2 months or to the next session. During this period, comprehensive and verified documents on our trade policy and experience could be gathered." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 339) The reason why Lenin did this was precisely that the resolution was passed by a majority of the Central Committee, and he himself still had to do some in-depth study. Therefore, the solution to this problem had to be discussed by the plenary session of the Central Committee and not decided by any one individual. The Central Committee agreed with Lenin's suggestion.

In order to conduct new discussions, Lenin collected materials on various aspects and exchanged views and talked with comrades who were familiar with foreign trade work. On 18 December the Central Committee held another plenary session. At this meeting Lenin published a long letter, again stating in detail his views on maintaining the monopoly on foreign trade. After discussion, the plenary session passed a resolution on maintaining the monopoly on foreign trade, overruling the erroneous resolution passed in the preceding session.

Lenin not only persisted in his democratic style on important matters of principle, but also paid great attention to avoid placing himself above the collective leadership and carrying on the system of "only one person has the say" in handling daily affairs. After the October Revolution the Council of Peasants and Workers Defense set up a working organ to take charge of everyday affairs in order to help the work of the council. Lenin took charge of that organ. Decisions made by this working organ had to be approved by the Council of Peasants and Workers Defense or the Council of People's Commissars. When Lenin made approvals on behalf of these two organs, he always insisted on asking for the concurrence of all the members of these two bodies. In the process of discussion, when there were dissenting opinions, Lenin would not even sign resolutions which he had been able to pass in the working organ's meetings as long as unanimous opinion had not been reached. The great atmosphere of democracy in the Bolshevik Party established during Lenin's time began precisely with these questions of procedure. These procedures directly served the purpose of institutionalizing democratic life in the party. With the institutionalization of inner-party democratic life, correct conclusions on important matters of principle were then possible through thoroughgoing comradely discussions. With Lenin's leadership by example, proletarian democracy was not confined to the works of the theoreticians and the slogans put forth by the leaders but was implemented in the work of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). Lenin's democratic workstyle was the most important guarantee for bringing collective wisdom into full play.

Lenin was a man, not a god. During the long years of revolutionary struggle he also committed some errors. When he discovered that he had made a mistake, he was always courageous enough to admit and immediately correct it. Comrade Stalin mentioned these two instances: In December 1905, during the All-Russian Congress of Bolsheviks held in Finland, Lenin opposed the boycott of the state Duma. For a time Lenin wanted to use the first state Duma, yet this state Duma was the product of an evil scheme of the Tsarist government. In the committee responsible for drafting the resolution on the stand to take toward the state Duma, of which Lenin was a member, most deputies were in favor of firmly boycotting the Duma. They explained their views on the state Duma. In the end, Lenin admitted his mistake. The congress made a decision on boycotting the Duma. On the eve of the October Revolution in 1917, while discussing the question of the Democratic Conference, Lenin disapproved of the Petrograd council's refusal to dissolve the Democratic Conference and suggested the arrest of its members. Practice showed that Lenin's view was wrong and that the decision not to act according to Lenin's suggestion at that time was correct. After this incident, when Lenin learned about this point, he immediately admitted his mistake.

II

Lenin was not only the leader of the Bolshevik Party but also the leader of the Soviet state. However, in the eyes of the broad masses of cadres and people, Lenin was only a great public servant. Lenin paid great attention to maintaining close contacts with the broad masses of cadres and people. He took care to treat each comrade as an equal--whether they were leading cadres of the party and the state or ordinary people.

Comrade Stalin pointed out: "The vision of a genius, the ability to quickly grasp and see through the inner meaning of events that were about to unfold--this was Lenin's unique quality. This quality enabled him to formulate correct strategies and clear lines of action at turning points of the revolutionary movement." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 1, p 183) The reason why Lenin possessed such an outstanding ability was that he skillfully used Marxist truths in his observations and analyses of the actual practice of the Russian Revolution on the one hand, while on the other he was able to maintain very close ties with the broad masses of cadres and people and heed their views. This enabled him to keep in close touch with the real situation in Russian society. The incident wherein Lenin insisted on the monopoly on foreign trade mentioned above was one example. Even though Lenin was very ill when he was dealing with this matter, he still tried to gather the views of comrades from different sectors by writing letters, collecting materials and organizing specialized committees to examine the materials and verify the conclusions. He not only personally talked with comrades familiar with this aspect, but also mailed materials on this question to many comrades requesting their views. His long letter to the Central Committee was composed only after many comrades had studied and discussed the problem.

In order to maintain close contacts with the broad masses of cadres, Lenin personally instructed that the security system in the Kremlin palace be reformed. During the early period of the Soviet regime, visitors had to go through several checkpoints. They could be detained for very minor reasons. On this question, Lenin wrote several instructions to the chief of housing management of the Kremlin to warn him and express his strong dissatisfaction with his security system, which obstructed his contacts with the cadres. In his note to the head of the security force of the Kremlin on 26 November 1921, Lenin wrote: "I have discovered once again that people who came to see me were stopped by the security guards... Now, let me ask you again to set up a system in which people who come to see me, even those without any kind of pass, may freely call up my secretary and the telephone operator on the third floor exchange from the gate of the Kremlin and the main entrance of the Council of People's Commissars. I am warning you because you have been taking my requests lightly." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Fifth Edition, Vol 54, pp 35-36)

Lenin attached great importance to all letters addressed to him personally or to the Council of People's Commissars, especially letters of complaint. Lenin personally issued instructions to the chief of the office of general affairs of the Council of People's Commissars to report to him within 24 hours any written complaints and to report to him within 48 hours all oral complaints. As to the results on handling these complaints, he also demanded that strict supervision be enforced. Under Lenin's instruction, the Kremlin opened a reception office of the Council of People's Commissars. Comrades working in the reception office had to report on the general situation of work in the office to Lenin every 2 weeks. The system of receiving the masses in Soviet Government organs was thus established under the personal instruction and due to the concern of Lenin.

From October to December 1922, after his wounds had healed, Lenin returned to the Kremlin to work for 2 months. During these 2 months there was not a single day that Lenin did not receive cadres and ordinary people who came to visit him. Sometimes he received as many as 10 or more a day. Even as late as 2 months before he died he was still receiving ordinary workers. His meetings with workers gave him great pleasure during his illness--comrades received by Lenin were also greatly inspired by Lenin's warm concern about them. He showed sincere concern for the ordinary workers and cadres. This was Lenin's very outstanding characteristic.

He treated ordinary working people in the following manner: One time Lenin received a peasant. In the course of the conversation he learned that the peasant's glasses had been damaged. He immediately wrote a short note to the people's commissar for health at that time: "Comrade (Ivan Afanasiyevich Chekunov) is here with me. He is a charming peasant. He propagandizes the principles of communism in his own way. He lost his glasses and spent 15,000 rubles and got a pair of rotten glasses. Is there any way to help him get a pair of good ones? Please help him and have your secretary inform me whether this has been done." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Fifth Edition, Vol 52, pp 83-84)

He treated children in the following manner: In the autumn of 1921 Lenin walked past the gate of a school near the Kremlin palace. He saw children playing with a "football"—made from rags tied with a string. Lenin thought that was interesting, so he started a conversation with the children. The children were complaining that they could not buy a football. Lenin seriously listened to what the children had to say. Although it was difficult to solve the children's problem at that time, the children received a gift from Lenin a few days later—a real football.

He treated cadres in the following manner: Among the collected works of Lenin, short notes similar to the following are frequently found: Comrade so-and-so, please arrange for a rest house near Moscow for comrade so-and-so; comrade so-and-so, your attitude toward "state property" (meaning, the health of cadres) has become obnoxious; Comrade so-and-so lives very far away and has to walk to and from work. We must take care of her.... On 21 May 1922 Lenin wrote the following note to Stalin: Please transmit the following request of mine to the Secretariat of the Central Committee for approval: Allow expert surgeon (F. N. Rozanov) and his son to go to Riga for a vacation in July.

He showed particular concern for comrades-in-arms who had fought at his side. In 1921 Stalin was recuperating in the city of Nalcik in Georgia. Later Stalin cut short his recuperation to participate in the plenary session of the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Lenin personally instructed that a quiet quarter be prepared for Stalin in the Kremlin. Lenin's close comrade-in-arms Sverdlov died of a viral flu. At that time this contagious disease had already claimed many lives. However, during Sverdlov's final moments Lenin took the risk of contracting the disease and, ignoring the warnings of the doctors, went to Sverdlov's room. He stayed for 15 minutes at his bedside. Lenin was such a person. He showed more concern and love for his comrades than for himself. Anyone who had been the subject of Lenin's warm concern would forever cherish his great image—the image of a people's servant.

III

The October Socialist Revolution was a great, epochmaking event in human history. In this mass-scale, complex and intense class battle, which was unprecedented in history, clashes between different ideologies and political thoughts often appeared in the Bolshevik Party. As the leader of the party, Lenin fully carried out democracy in resolving these contradictions. He embodied both the uncompromising party spirit of a great Marxist and the breadth of vision of a proletarian statesman. In his attitude toward comrades who had committed mistakes, this quality was most outstanding. Lenin had always united with and kept close ties with comrades who had committed political errors but had corrected their errors in subsequent revolutionary practice. Lenin's attitude toward comrades who participated in the "God-seekers" group was a touching example.

The year 1905 was a time of political difficulty for the Bolshevik Party. Some intellectuals in the party wavered in their political convictions; they took the opportunist line. Ideologically and philosophically, they presented varied anti-Marxist views. The "God-seekers" was a small group of intellectuals led by Bogdanov who insisted on anti-Marxist viewpoints. The "God-seekers" wanted to integrate Marxism and religion. Lunacharskiy even held that "socialism is a religion" and is the highest form of religion of the future. The words and deeds of the "God-seekers" directly undermined the guiding role of Marxist theory in the proletarian revolutionary movement. Lenin waged a polemical debate with them on this point and safeguarded the purity of Marxism. Later, Lunacharskiy, who had been a leading member of the "God-seekers," abandoned his erroneous political platform and ideological viewpoints. Lenin still had high regard for him. Lenin had always highly respected Lunacharskiy's talents. He regarded him as an unusually brilliant person and a good comrade. Lenin was filled with joy when Lunacharskiy returned to the stand of the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution, Lunacharskiy became the first people's commissar for education and remained such until 1929. During his term of office Lunacharskiy became a brilliant literary theoretician and made outstanding contributions to the propaganda of Marxist literary theory. Gorkiy also had connection with the "God-seekers" for a time. Lenin was very concerned about him politically. On questions of principle, he always clearly presented his views to Gorkiy and criticized Gorkiy's incorrect views to help him stand on the side of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin's attitude toward some comrades who participated in the activities of the "left communists" was also a good example. In early 1918 Lenin was in the minority in the party on the question of the signing of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Opposition to Lenin's correct proposal came mainly from the "left communists" in the party. They were opposed to signing a peace treaty. The Moscow party committee went so far as to pass a motion stating that, "due to distrust in the political line and in members of the Central Committee," it did not trust the Central Committee. Due to the erroneous stand taken by the "left communists" on the question of the treaty, the Bolshevik Party was faced with a great danger. After intense struggle, Lenin's correct line was finally confirmed by the whole party during its emergency seventh party congress. Dzerzhinskiy and Uritskiy subsequently returned to the camp of Lenin's correct line. During the seventh party congress Dzerzhinskiy was elected one of the 10 members of the Central Committee. Uritskiy was also elected an alternate member of the Central Committee. Other comrades who had opposed Lenin or committed political errors continued to remain in leadership posts. Even Bukharin remained a member of the Central Committee of the seventh party congress, and Lomov, one of the leaders who organized the Moscow party committee's opposition to the Central Committee, was later elected a member of the Central Committee.

Lenin's democratic workstyle was characterized by great tolerance. His tolerance extended to people who had taken a political stand against the Bolsheviks but not engaged in activities against the Soviet regime after the October Revolution. Lenin insisted on looking at people from the perspective of an entire historical process. Such was his attitude toward Plekhanov. Plekhanov belonged to the first generation of Russian Marxists. After 1903 he gradually took an anti-Bolshevik political stand and joined the camp of the Mensheviks. However, in his early political activities he had made great contributions to the Russian Revolution. His theoretical works elaborating on Marxism had nurtured a whole generation of Russian Marxists. After Plekhanov died, Lenin personally approved the holding of his funeral and proposed the publication of his philosophical writings. Lenin's assessment of Plekhanov's works was as follows: "Without studying--precisely studying--all the philosophical works by Plekhanov, one cannot become a conscious and true communist, because his works constitute some of the most outstanding works in the entire collection of writings in international Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 453) After Plekhanov parted ways with Lenin politically, he also wrote a series of theoretical works. Lenin still gave these works favorable evaluation, saying that they made splendid elaborations on Marxist philosophy. Semashko, the people's commissar for health after the October Revolution, was Plekhanov's nephew. For a time he often went to visit Plekhanov. Each time he came back from a visit to Plekhanov's place, Lenin, out of concern for Plekhanov, would ask in detail what Plekhanov had said, how his health was and other questions. Martov and Axelrod retired from political life after the October Revolution. Lenin still wanted to see them before he died. He also asked other comrades to inquire about their living conditions.

When talking about the future leaders of the party, Lenin criticized Stalin for being "too rude." He pointed out that as the party's general secretary he ought to be "more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc." He held that "this is a trifle that may acquire a decisive significance." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, p 618) This opinion was consistent with Lenin's democratic style throughout his lifetime. Lenin consistently adopted this attitude toward his comrades, including those comrades who had committed grave mistakes. Due to the fact that Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, carried out a highly democratic workstyle, struggle within the Bolshevik Party was conducted in a democratic atmosphere, and the party was unprecedentedly united and strong. Later, Stalin committed errors during the purges, and this resulted in a long period of abnormal democratic life in the party. One important reason for this was that Stalin deviated from the principles of inner-party democratic life formulated by Lenin. We can also learn a lesson from this. The democratic style of a leading cadre of the party, particularly the leader, as an individual greatly influences the strength and vitality of inner-party democratic life. On the other hand, the establishment of a democratic workstyle in the leaders also depends on the institutionalization of inner-party democratic life, for instance, on the full functioning of the party's supervisory organs. Lenin realized and stressed this during his last years.

The reason Lenin was able to achieve such a democratic workstyle was that he had a deep understanding of history. Lenin had said that the wisdom of thousands upon thousands of creators will create a much greater thing than the vision of the greatest genius. Lenin looked at his relationship with the party and all the working people from the level of historical materialism. Only from this level can one explain: Why was Lenin on guard against eulogies which placed him above the party at all times; how was Lenin able to maintain flesh-and-blood ties with his comrades and the masses; why was Lenin consistently against equating himself with the entire cause of the proletarian revolution; how was Lenin always able to uphold principles while at the same time paying attention to uniting with comrades in the struggles and to oppose the tendency to brand all normal differences of opinion in the course of work as "antiparty" or "counterrevolutionary"? These should all serve as food for thought for us.

It is far from possible to make a comprehensive exposition of Lenin's democratic workstyle in one article. Conducting studies on Lenin's revolutionary practice and studies on his theoretical writings are both important tasks for our theoretical workers. The common goal of these two undertakings is--to enable us to learn lessons from Lenin as a great example and to insure that our party and inner-party democratic life will forever advance on the correct road.

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BRAVELY FIGHT FOR A LOVELY CHINA--ON READING COMRADE FANG ZHIMIN'S 'LOVELY CHINA'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 5, 17-21

[Article by Fang Zhichun [2455 1807 4783]]

[Text] In the spring of 1923 Comrade Fang Zhimin boarded a foreign liner departing Shanghai for Jiangxi. The steamer went upstream, cleaving the waves. Fang Zhimin, a young communist, stood at the bow in a heroic posture, feeling an upsurge of emotion. All of a sudden, shouts and screams emanated from the cargo hold. As he approached the place he saw six or seven hatchetmen, incited by a foreigner, trussing up, beating and insulting three Chinese who could not afford to buy tickets. Seeing this, Fang Zhimen was too angry to control himself. "Fight!" he shouted at the passengers who gathered around, and he rushed at the hatchetmen. However, instead of hitting them he was beaten up. He used to tell me this story at home and said indignantly, "Every man has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country. Our motherland is now at stake. How can we sit still waiting for death!" In 1935, 12 years after this event, when he was put in jail by the KMT reactionaries, Fang Zhimin called this tragedy to mind again and wrote "Lovely China," the immortal work in which he expressed his deep feelings and profound love for the motherland.

Whenever I read this book it reminds me of Fang Zhimin's lifelong devotion to the lovely China; whenever I close it I ponder about how we must fight today for the lovely China.

I

Fang Zhimin was a great communist fighter and an outstanding patriot. The formation and development of his patriotic thought followed a tortuous and complicated course.

At the very beginning Fang Zhimin did not know what imperialism was, nor did he understand how the imperialists had invaded China. Naturally, he knew nothing of patriotism. It was not until he entered the senior class of primary school in the county and enriched his knowledge that he gradually came to understand what patriotism was.

In 1918 a nationwide patriotic campaign was launched to resist Japanese imperialist aggression and its aggressive plan to further subjugate China. This campaign spread to Geyang and aroused Fang Zhimin's patriotism. He took the lead in boycotting Japanese goods and organized patriotic youths to join in the demonstration. As our family was badly off, it was a heavy burden for us to send Zhimin to school and buy such daily necessities imported from abroad as a basin, toothbrush and toothpaste. Although Fang Zhimin realized that he could hardly afford to buy all these things again if they were destroyed, he did not hesitate to do so. In the view of Chinese youths today, such practices as destroying foreign products seem naive. At that time, however, it was an unusual action which should be extolled as patriotism.

As his horizons widened and he gained much more experience, Fang Zhimin noticed that China was flooded with foreign goods; foreigners rode roughshod over China's land; foreign vessels cruised on China's rivers and seas, and Chinese were treated like dogs in China's parks. From the reverse side, all this helped stimulate his patriotism. He often wondered whether Chinese really were inferior to others and ought to be bullied by foreigners. No, was his answer. He would never agree to accept!

Fang Zhimin was a man who took an active part in destroying foreign goods and frowned upon foreigners who bullied Chinese. Was he xenophobic? No, he was not. He said, "Of course we are not xenophobes. Quite a few foreigners are men of high learning and moral integrity. They are sympathetic to the national liberation movement in China and opposed to imperialist aggression and oppression. They are our friends. Only those who came to China to make their fortunes and seek ease and comfort and those missionaries who peddle spiritual opium are really detestable."

It was precisely because Fang Zhimin was not a man who was blindly opposed to everything foreign that he was so eager to learn the good things other countries had to offer. In order to learn a foreign language he went to study in an American missionary school in Jiujiang. The school was commodious and had wonderful surroundings, with the Changjiang behind and Gandang Lake in front. In addition, the school was segregated from the outside world by an enclosing wall and was like a small American society. Pupils learned and spoke English, professing Western religion and practicing Western etiquette. Under such living conditions it was easy to fall into a bad habit of worshiping and having blind faith in things foreign. Fang Zhimin, however, was a staunch patriot, and he was not affected by this small and isolated Westernized society. He did not believe in the Christian religion, nor did he flatter the foreigners. On the contrary, he organized a "non-Christian union." Of course, the school authorities could not put up with him, and some schoolmates gave him well-intentioned advice, saying, "How can we study at the missionary school without showing respect for the foreigners and professing religion? If all goes well, maybe the foreigners will help us go abroad to study."

However, Fang Zhimin did not accept this advice. He did not want to study abroad to enhance his social status. He had a deep love for his own mother--the motherland, from whom he would not depart. He said with great sorrow, "Mother, lovely mother, owing to the oppression and exploitation you suffer, you are in extreme poverty. You are so exhausted that you are turning pale and pallid and losing your beauty! Your son will not give you the cold shoulder." At that time, though China was poverty stricken and disaster ridden, Fang Zhimin still had a profound love for his motherland. What he loved, of course, was not the decayed system but the people and the future of the country. He was convinced that China would have bright prospects which should be eulogized; the Chinese nation had great creative power, and, in the course of the battle, as soon as China managed to shake off the yoke of imperialism, eliminate the hidden traitors or collaborators and attain freedom and liberation, this creative power would be fully brought into play; then China would take on an entirely new look: there would be wonders and remarkable progress everywhere with each passing day; deep sorrow would be replaced by boundless joy, a long face by a smiling one, poverty and suffering by prosperity and happiness, ignorance by wisdom, hatred by love, the sorrow of death by the joy of life, and desolate wasteland by beautiful gardens!

Owing to his boundless loyalty to the motherland, Fang Zhimin could overcome obstruction and never wavered in the struggle. Jiang Kanghu, a member of the Chinese Socialist Party, was also born in Geyang. He expressed admiration for Fang Zhimin's talent. Once, when Jiang returned to his native place, he encouraged Fang Zhimin to go abroad for advanced studies, but Fang Zhimin firmly refused to accept his offer. The headmaster of the Jiujiang missionary school also appreciated Fang's success in his studies. Twice he wrote to Fang Zhimin, who had been expelled from school, saying that if he stopped his anti-Christian activities the school authorities would allow him to return to school and would even send him to the United States for advanced studies. However, Fang Zhimin turned down all the headmaster's suggestions. He loved his motherland so passionately that he gave a vivid description of his state of mind at that time: "The patriotic zeal of a young student is as pure and fascinating as the romantic feeling of a young girl's first love."

The revolutionary content of patriotism varies in different stages of development. In the days of Fang Zhimin it was manifested mainly as follows: fear no sacrifice and fight bravely to overthrow the rule of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism and establish a new regime in which the people become the real masters of the country. After the liberation China became a socialist country. We have entered a new historical period and are now building a modernized and powerful socialist country. The four modernizations have a direct bearing on the future of our country and the destiny of our nation. Today, therefore, what we mean by patriotism is to have a deep love for socialism, for the four modernizations of our motherland, and to devote ourselves to the realization of the four modernizations.

As there still are some defects in our socialist system, and as its superiority has not yet been brought into full play, in the view of some comrades the image of the socialist country is not so fine, and our motherland does not seem so lovely. Some even suspect the superiority of the socialist system. Such views are incorrect. Though there are some defects in our socialist system, after all, it is far superior to all exploiting systems. Though our motherland is still underdeveloped and faces many difficulties, it is the great mother that has fostered the Chinese nation. We should not merely dwell on the defects of the socialist system and fail to see the incomparable superiority of the system; we should not merely see the backwardness of our country today and lose sight of its bright future tomorrow. Now that we have a Marxist political line which is being carried out unswervingly and have developed a lively political situation of stability and unity, the Chinese people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition of struggling hard amid difficulties, are going all out to accomplish the four modernizations, and our motherland is becoming more lovely and splendid. Therefore, we should wholeheartedly love our great mother—the lovely China.

II

Fang Zhimin's loyalty to the motherland was not merely expressed in words but was fully proved in his actions. Once he said excitedly, "Unless you are a dying man or a coward who is willing to be enslaved by foreign powers, nobody can prevent you from standing up and fighting for the sake of your country, let alone a courageous and upright youth like me!" As an ardent and patriotic youth he was very anxious to save the country. He went on to say, "Saving China from danger and destruction and saving our dying mother from the imperialist devils' clutches is a task which brooks no delay." Nevertheless, how could China be saved? In order to seek the answer, Fang Zhimin experimented and explored exhaustively.

Fang Zhimin was born in the countryside and from his childhood lived in the company of poor peasants. He felt much aggrieved at witnessing that life was hell on earth for the vast number of peasants. He expressed admiration for heroes of the greenwood who fought against the rich and helped the poor and wished to learn from them, so that there would no longer be a wide gap between rich and poor in society. When he was young, Fang Zhimin took an active part in organizing patriotic youths to help the poor. Once he led a group of young people and fought fearlessly against Zhang Dagang, the richest man in his native place. However, his first trial ended in failure, for one of his followers was arrested by the county government concerned and had to be ransomed.

Fang Zhimin began to broaden his horizons after he went to study in town. He attributed the backwardness of China and ignorance of the people to the lack of education and illiteracy of the broad masses. Therefore, he was determined to run schools for the common people and tried to save the country by developing education. He applied for a certain amount of educational funds from the authorities concerned and ran the Xiguang evening school for common people. However, the school had to close down, for the northern warlords' authorities concerned did not allow it to popularize new culture. Fang Zhimin had failed again. All this made him realize the following truth: without political power the broad masses had neither money nor manpower; all the school could do was to inculcate its pupils with the ideology of the ruling class. The method of saving the country by developing education was merely an illusion.

His hope of saving the country by popularizing education had been shattered. Was it possible to save the country by developing industry? This was what he wanted to try. He thought that, since China was a backward agricultural country, developing industry was the only way to put an end to the poverty and backwardness of China. So he went to study at the provincial-level Nanchang engineering school and specialized in mechanical engineering. However, as he could not bear the sight of corruption and other scandals, he organized a student movement and was eventually expelled from the school. He failed to learn mechanical engineering, let alone save the country by developing industry.

His attempts had achieved nothing, and the road he had taken had led to a dead end. Fang Zhimin began to find himself in a tight corner. "How will the revolutionaries save the country? Wherein lies the future of our motherland?" He pondered deeply. However, he never lost heart. He used to quote some words from Quyuan, saying, "There is a long, long way to go. I will exhaust every possibility in my determination to find a way of saving the country."

A new exploration started. In 1922 Fang Zhimin received a copy of the XIANQU DAILY (an official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League) from a friend in Shanghai. He found the viewpoints of the paper correct and clearcut and determined to join the Youth League. Thereupon he went to Shanghai and got acquainted with Qu Qiubai, Zhang Tailei and other communists. Zhao Xingnong gave him an introduction to join the Youth League, and he became a member of the Chinese Communist Party the following year. Only by going through many difficulties and setbacks did he manage to discover the only feasible way of saving the country. Amid the clamor that "communism is out of keeping with China's conditions," Fang Zhimin declared with unbounded confidence: "The path of the Russians is the only way to save China!"

The path of the Russians refers to the path of the October Revolution. Fang Zhimin took this as the way to save China. However, how to follow the example of the Russians and put it into practice in northeastern Jiangxi, in all of Jiangxi Province and then in all of China was another matter altogether. There were no ready answers in the classics of Marxism and Leninism. Therefore, Fang Zhimin began to work out the solution through practice.

At the beginning of the revolution, Fang Zhimin tried to imitate what the Russians had done. In the fall of 1926 he led the party committee of northeastern Jiangxi in mobilizing some 20,000 members of the peasant association. Coordinated by military operations of the Northern Expeditionary Army, they succeeded in occupying the county seat of Geyang and establishing a revolutionary regime, the county government administration committee. But as soon as the Northern Expeditionary Army withdrew, the embryonic regime collapsed. As he could not hold his ground in the county town, he moved to the countryside and organized a rebellion in Qigongzheng. Though the rebellion was successful, owing to a shortage of arms and with only a handful of guns, the rebels were unable to resist the enemy's counterattack. Therefore, Fang Zhimin started setting up a communist armed force. Theoretically he knew the importance of armed forces, but in practice he had little knowledge of how to set up an armed force for the party. At the very beginning he tried to build ours by transforming the KMT army. When a company of KMT soldiers revolted in Geyang in 1927, he sent a number of communists to reorganize the troops. However, since the soldiers were a motley crew, they were soon defeated and dispersed. After that he again tried to build a people's armed force by infiltrating the enemy troops and inducing them to join us. Fang Zhimin held discussions with Hulie, an underground communist who was then commander of a guards regiment in Boyang County, and instigated rebellion among the enemy troops. However, his efforts were in vain. Through his bitter experiences, Fang Zhimin realized that it was too difficult to set up a revolutionary armed force by transforming the old army unless the party had its own armed forces and was powerful and strong.

Though he was distressed at his unsuccessful attempts, he never lost hope. He knew that to arouse the broad masses all over the country to take up arms and fight for national liberation and the overthrow of imperialist rule in China was the only way to save China and our mother. In the winter of 1927 Fang Zhimin organized the Gaheng uprising in accordance with the instructions of the party Central Committee with regard to staging an autumn harvest rebellion. It was not until he took the path of seizing power by armed force and establishing revolutionary base areas in the countryside that he found the only correct way to save the country. Comrade Mao Zedong said later on, "The kind of policy adopted by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and also by Fang Zhimin is undoubtedly correct--that is, the policy of establishing base areas; of systematically setting up political power; of deepening the agrarian revolution; and of expanding the people's armed forces."

If he were a youth today, there would be no need for him to inquire as to how to save the country and make revolution. The party Central Committee has pointed the way for us. Today it is a fortunate and glorious task to be a revolutionary and a patriot. However, in the days of Fang Zhimin, when China was ruled by the northern warlords and Chiang Kai-shek, it was dangerous and criminal to engage in revolutionary and patriotic activities. As Fang Zhimin had resolved to fight for the liberation of the Chinese people, he did not give a thought to his personal safety. He said, "I am always ready to give my life to the cause of liberating the Chinese people." Whenever I read these words of Fang Zhimin, which were expressed from the bottom of his heart, I often think of the revolutionary martyrs who sacrificed themselves to save our motherland and how today, when we are devoting ourselves to the four modernizations of our country, there cannot be any personal interest that we will not sacrifice or any personal error that we will not discard.

III

The process of revolution is tortuous and arduous. As soon as Fang Zhimin discovered the right way to rescue the country, he would never have taken the road back or wavered in the struggle. In spite of hardship and deprivation in the protracted struggle, he consistently forged ahead bravely, and especially when the revolution suffered setbacks he fully showed his unswerving loyalty to the great party and the great motherland.

After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, when conditions were very difficult, Fang Zhimin said firmly, "I pin my faith on Marxism and Leninism. Though the great revolution has ended in failure, I will never feel disheartened. This is just a transient phenomenon. The revival and new upsurge of the Chinese revolution is bound to come soon, and capitalism inevitably will meet its doom and be replaced by communism. Counterrevolution is bound to fail, and revolution is bound to triumph eventually. This is the absolute truth."

In 1928 the base areas in northeastern Jiangxi were in extreme difficulty. As they had been regularly subjected by the enemy to "encirclement and suppression," the people's armed forces were forced to withdraw to the mountainous areas and could only operate within a radius of less than 50 li of Mopan Mountain. The situation was critical, and life was very hard there. Fang Zhimin and his comrades-in-arms would have been captured and killed if they had not maintained their guard against the enemy. Even under such circumstances, Fang Zhimin was still imbued with revolutionary optimism. He said, "We are firmly determined to fight through to the end for our ideals and the emancipation of the oppressed classes. Hard as the life is, we are very happy. The harder the conditions become, the more bravely we will fight; the more vigorously we struggle, the happier we feel!"

In 1934 the revolutionary force in the base areas of northeastern Jiangxi suffered a telling blow. In the movement to eliminate counterrevolutionaries, owing to the "left" opportunism of Wang Ming, the scope was wrongly widened, and thus false charges were brought against many revolutionary comrades. Because he protected a number of comrades, Fang Zhimin himself suffered injustice and erroneous treatment. Even under such adverse circumstances he never lost faith in the party, nor did he waver in the struggle for the emancipation of the motherland. He pointed out sharply that the root cause of the frameups and wrong charges resulted from the fact that the principal leader of the party sought autocratic rule and showed no respect for other comrades' advice. He said earnestly, "Self-criticism must be practiced to expose the errors committed in the movement to eliminate counterrevolutionaries, so that we can draw lessons." Though he was falsely charged, he still considered the interests of the party. Apparently, his boundless loyalty could hardly be expressed in words.

In January 1935, when he led the vanguard detachment in marching north to resist the Japanese invaders, it suffered heavy setbacks in southern Anhui, and Fang Zhimin was besieged by the enemy at Longshou Mountain near the borders of Jiangxi, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces. In such a hopeless situation he hid in the forest and felt as if a knife were piercing his heart. Several times he tried to kill himself with his gun, but he thought that a communist should not commit suicide. "Should I feel disheartened and give up the struggle in the face of difficulties?" he murmured. "No. I will go on fighting! If I manage to escape, I will wage a life-and-death struggle against the reactionaries. I am determined not to give up until they are overthrown!"

Though Fang Zhimin was thrown into prison after he was arrested, his will was as strong as iron. The KMT reactionaries could jail a patriotic fighter but could not destroy Fang Zhimin's strong determination to save the country; the enemy could eliminate the body of a fighter but failed to make him lose his faith in the revolution. Fang Zhimin said with pride, "The enemy can only chop off my head, but never can they make me break faith, because what we believe in is universal truth!" The KMT reactionaries used both hard and soft tactics and spared no efforts to induce him to capitulate. However, Fang Zhimin rebuffed them sternly: "A man is disgraced if he breaks or forsakes his political conviction, tears up his previous records of struggle, betrays the lovely China and brutally kills innocent workers and peasants." With great indignation, he went on to say, "All this can be done only by beasts—dogs, swine—or to be more exact, by those who are even more filthy and contemptible than such beasts!"

In June 1935 Fang Zhimin realized that the enemy would soon kill him. As far as his life was concerned, he was doomed. However, he still firmly believed in his political convictions and the way he had chosen for saving the country. On the eve of his execution he behaved with perfect composure, demonstrating the moral integrity of a communist. He said with great emotion, "It is not unusual for a revolutionary to lay down his life. In the process of revolution there is nothing strange in a revolutionary's shedding his blood; and historically there has never been a revolution which occurred without bloodshed. I am really willing to shed the last drop of my blood for the party and the revolution." He told his fellow sufferers excitedly that before the fascist gang shot him or chopped off his head he would shout with great indignation: Long live the national liberation of the Chinese people!

Fang Zhimin died and laid down his life to save the motherland; Fang Zhimin shed the last drop of his blood and repaid his mother's milk with warm blood; and Fang Zhimin lost his life, but the path he took--the path of saving the country, of transforming China, and the path of socialism and communism--has not come to an end. We are now marching along the path of revolution which was blazed by revolutionary martyrs. At that time, to express love for the motherland and save the country, they plunged into the revolutionary war of emancipating the country, and today we should change the face of China by devoting ourselves to the realization of the four modernizations.

Just as in wartime, the socialist revolution and the building of socialism is never smooth sailing. There may be difficulties, setbacks and even retrogression. Over the past 30 years since liberation we have met with 3 years of serious economic reverses and the critical situation caused by the 10-year catastrophe. Though we have smashed the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and removed the greatest obstacles to our progress, it is really very difficult to accomplish the four modernizations in such a country as China, which is heavily populated and economically underdeveloped. Therefore, we should learn from the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, clear away obstacles in our path and fight fearlessly for the realization of socialist modernization in our country. This is the glorious task entrusted to every Communist Party member as well as all the Chinese people. In the struggle over more than half a century, countless numbers of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the lovely China; let us march ahead along their path, carry on the revolutionary cause and fight bravely to build a more lovely China!

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ENCOURAGE STRONG POINTS AND AVOID WEAKNESSES IN DEVELOPING REGIONAL INDUSTRY--A REPORT ON AN INVESTIGATION OF INDUSTRY IN SHASHI MUNICIPALITY, HUBEI PROVINCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 22-26

[Article by Kang Tan [1660 0982], Zong Han [1350 3352] and Fan Qingzhu [5400 1987 2691]]

[Text] How should strong points be encouraged and weaknesses avoided and how should superiority be brought into play in regional industry, especially in the industry of small and medium-sized towns? Shashi Municipality in Hubei Province has been a trailblazer in answering these questions.

Shashi is situated on the banks of the Changjiang and has a population of nearly 210,000. In the past its industrial and agricultural base was weak. In the 30 years since liberation the people of Shashi, under the leadership of the party and working according to local conditions, have built up this municipality into a burgeoning socialist city with light and textile industries as its mainstay and with fairly well coordinated relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry by encouraging strong points and avoiding weaknesses. Between 1949 and 1979 the gross output value of the municipality's industries increased 79 times, and the average per capita contribution of the city to state and regional revenue increased 136 times. Of the gross output value, the light textile industry accounted for 75 percent and heavy industry for 25 percent. As production developed, the people's standards of living correspondingly increased without letup. Last year the employment rate reached 98 percent, the average per capita income was RMB34 per month, and average bank savings per household were more than RMB300. There was an abundance of goods in the markets, the streets were clean and orderly, the people lived and worked in peace and prosperity and the whole place presented an appearance of well-being.

How was Shashi's industry developed? To put it in a few words, it was done by working from actual local conditions, by giving free play to the superiority of natural resources and by setting up a rational industrial structure; by developing products with their own special style and characteristics and by giving free play to strong points in technology; by using all possible methods to increase production capacity; and by transforming weaknesses into strengths.

1. What sort of industries should be carried on in small and medium-sized towns like Shashi? How should the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry be handled? This was not immediately clear at the outset. During the

early period of liberation and in the course of the First Five-Year Plan, Shashi, like other areas, established some factories. Some projects had to be abandoned because of a lack of raw materials and because there was no market for their products, but production in some factories developed very rapidly, because they were able to draw on local materials. As a result of practical experience, the comrades in Shashi came to realize that in developing regional industry it was essential to work from the basis of local natural resources and other economic conditions of the area, to bring superiority into play and to set up a rational industrial structure.

The area in which Shashi is situated—the Changjiang-Han River plain--is well known throughout the country as a cotton-producing area and as a granary, and it has plentiful natural resources for agricultural products. The Jingzhou area's output of grain accounts for one-third of the grain output for the whole of Hubei Province; its cotton output accounts for half of that of the whole province and for a tenth of the whole country's output. Agriculture and sideline production are both at an advanced level, the incomes of the collective economy and of the commune members are high, life is prosperous and purchasing power is also strong. The possession of natural resources and of markets are important conditions for the development of light industry and textiles.

At the same time, several areas of central and southwestern China, especially in Sichuan, Hunan and Guizhou, have traditional trading links with Shashi, and there is a high level of demand in these areas for the city's industrial products. Apart from this, the municipality is on the Changjiang and has water transport links with Sichuan upstream and with Shanghai and Nanjing downstream. The rivers and lakes of the Changjiang and its environs offer Shashi the advantage of wide-ranging communication links with many rural areas and with some economically advanced regions.

Setting out from the above-mentioned conditions, Shashi laid emphasis on construction of light and textile industries, and on the spinning and weaving industries in particular. The investment of capital required for the spinning and weaving industries was small, and they have a quick turnover and a high rate of accumulation of funds. Shashi made full use of these advantages and, starting with small spinning and weaving mills, gradually increased the scope of its enterprises and the variety of its products right up to the present. It has developed altogether 34 enterprises in spinning and weaving, printing and dyeing, knitting fittings for spun and woven goods, spinning and weaving auxiliary activities, and so on. The gross output value of the spinning and weaving industries has advanced from RMB1.6 million in 1949 to RMB540 million in 1979, a more than 300-fold increase.

Shashi also possesses certain reserves of mineral resources, such as oil, salt, quartz, sand and so forth. On the strength of these reserves, the municipality, while still stressing the spinning and weaving industries, has also developed other light industries. The people there have paid special attention to the silicate industry. They have developed the production of the "two kinds of flasks" (that is, flasks for agricultural chemicals and thermos flasks) and of the "two kinds of lamps" (that is, incandescent and fluorescent lamps), and they have also stepped up the production of such items as soap, electric cells and rubber shoes, according to the requirements of the rural areas in the vicinity. Because of the abundance of raw materials and the existence of markets for their products, these industries have become more prosperous almost daily, and their present output value accounts for 25 percent of the gross output value of the whole municipality. These industries, together with the textile industry, make up some 75 percent of the municipality's gross industrial output value and are the mainstay of its industry.

It is clear from practice that this form of industrial structure has many advantages:

First, the supply of raw and processed materials is guaranteed, and the economic results are good. By no means is all of Jingzhou's cotton sent to supply Shashi, nor is it right that the whole of it should be used to supply Shashi. Nevertheless, under the premise that the supply of cotton to other areas be guaranteed, there are many advantages to be gained for the development of industry by making the greatest possible use of local materials and local production. By making use of locally grown cotton, great savings can be made in transportation and storage costs. According to statistics, Shashi's transportation costs for each 50-kg load of cotton are on the average 10 percent lower than those of Wuhan and even lower in comparison with some other areas. There is an adequate supply of raw and processed materials, the spinning and weaving mills operate at full capacity, there is a high rate of work-time utilization, and waste of working time and labor is avoided; all grades of cotton products are locally available, their quality is high, and the stability of product quality can be guaranteed; product grades can be regulated promptly according to the requirements of industrial production, and the variety and grades of products as well as their seasonal supply can be suited to industrial development. Because of this, Shashi's industries have achieved better economic results than other similar industrial enterprises. Below is a comparative table showing the 1979 economic results for the municipalities of Shashi and Wuhan and for Hubei Province:

Region:		Shashi	Hubei	Wuhan
Profit per RMB100 of output value	Absolute value (RMB)	25.6	9.6	10.7
	Comparative (percent)	100	37.5	41.8
Output value per RMB100 of fixed assets	Absolute value (RMB)	255	81	84
	Comparative (percent)	100	31.7	32.9
Circulating funds per RMB100 of output value	Absolute value (RMB)	24.9	50	39
	Comparative (percent)	100	201.8	156.6
Overall level of productivity for all employees of industrial enterprises	Absolute value (RMB)	18,282	9,880	11,106
	Comparative (percent)	100	54.7	60

It can be seen from the above table that the fixed assets used to produce an output of RMB100 in Shashi are 68 percent lower than those for Hubei Province and 67 percent lower than the figure for Wuhan Municipality; that the amount of circulating funds used to produce RMB100 of output value was half that used by Hubei and one-third lower than that used by Wuhan; and that, despite this, the profit achieved by Shashi per RMB100 of output value was 1.6 times greater than that gained by Hubei and 1.4 times that of Wuhan; Shashi's level of productivity was also 45 percent higher than that of Hubei and 40 percent higher than Wuhan's. This is the result of the comprehensive application of the elements described above. The economic results for the spinning and weaving industries are even more outstanding. In 1979 the ratio of profit to output value in Shashi's spinning and weaving industries was almost 5 times that for Hubei; and the output value of these industries in Shashi accounted for 16.7 percent of the provincial output value of the spinning and weaving industries, while the profit they contributed amounted to one-fifth the total profits from the spinning and weaving industries.

Second, the comparative relations within all the various sectors of industry were fairly well coordinated. The foundation of the textile industry is the spinning and weaving of cotton. Because the supply of cotton was guaranteed, textiles gradually expanded (over the last 20 years the number of spindles has increased 25 times and that of looms 150 times), and the demand for dyeing and printing followed, so that the dyeing and printing industry also began to develop. After spinning and weaving and dyeing and printing had developed, fittings, maintenance and dyestuffs were also needed, so the textile equipment industry and the dyestuffs industry began to develop. At present there are four specialized factories producing fittings for textile goods and five factories producing basic industrial chemicals, with an annual output of 800 tons of dyestuffs and over 600 tons of solvents. Following the development of textiles and dyeing and printing, raw materials became available for textile-related products, and, as a consequence, the production of towels, sheets, stockings, readymade clothing, and so on began to develop. Apart from this, a great many street industries sprang up (such as beltmaking and darning and mending).

Is making light and textile industries the mainstay tantamount to not developing heavy industry? No, it is not. In Shashi there are "two advantages and two disadvantages" to the development of heavy industry. The two advantages are: a certain technical capacity exists, and light and textile industries and local agriculture have reached a level of advancement at which they can be called upon to supply the means of production for heavy industry. The two disadvantages are: no iron ore is available, and there is no railroad. Based on these special features and adhering to the policy of encouraging strong points and avoiding weaknesses, Shashi has correspondingly developed goods to support agriculture and products which help to establish completely self-contained local light industries and textile industries. The people there are very circumspect as far as the development of heavy industry is concerned; in each undertaking, much consideration is given to the sources of raw materials, actual requirements and economic results. They were unanimous in their decision not to establish an iron and steel industry, for which there is a lack of locally produced raw materials, and they have not set up a complete industrial system; they have a small steel-rolling mill, but this helps make the light and textile industries self-contained.

Third, this form of industrial structure has promoted the development of agriculture. The industry of small and medium-sized towns must be geared to the needs of the rural areas and must serve agriculture. This is a matter of orientation, and Shashi has adhered to this direction from start to finish. Its textile products in general serve the needs of the local farming communities. The Shashi-produced purple corduroy and "mandarin duck" brand sheets are among the products which are most appreciated by the womenfolk of both Hunan and Hubei and of the local farming areas. Demand always exceeds supply for the broad rubber shoes manufactured by the Shashi rubber factory, which are eminently suited to the needs of the paddy-growing peasants south of the Changjiang. Since Shashi has taken into consideration convenience of both use and purchase by the peasants, the radio sets which are produced there all take a No 1 battery. In order to support agricultural production, and suiting measures to local conditions, Shashi has established factories for the manufacture of synthetic fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, rubber products, diesel engines, and so on. At present the agricultural chemicals manufactured in Shashi account for one-third the total for Hubei, and its production of synthetic fertilizers constitutes one-tenth the total for the Jingzhou region. Almost all of the tires, rubber tubing and bearings for agricultural use in the Jingzhou region are supplied by Shashi.

Because the policy of supporting agriculture has been adhered to, the modernization of agriculture in this area and the development of agricultural production have been very rapid. The Jingzhou region is now one of the most highly mechanized regions in Hubei Province. The proportion of the total cultivated area under mechanical or electrical drainage and irrigation is 95.3 percent, and that for which a stable yield can be assured even in periods of drought or excessive rainfall is 81 percent. In 12 counties or municipalities in 1979, the average per-mu yield for grain crops was 814 jin, for ginned cotton 111 jin and for oil-bearing crops 140 jin or more.

The case of Shashi makes it clear that agriculture is the basis of the national economy and the starting point for developing industry. A town, and especially a small or medium-sized town, will be surrounded by farming communities; it obtains its food and raw materials from the peasants, and most of its products are consumed by the peasants, and this means that in developing production it must not become cut off from the agricultural areas. In starting from actual conditions in the development of industry, the most important thing is to set out from the actual conditions of agriculture. It is impossible to tackle industry only by discussing industry. Once agricultural production has begun to develop, industry has an outlet, and its development must keep pace. That Shashi's industry has developed so quickly is very closely linked to the fact that it has handled its relations with agriculture fairly well and that it has relied closely on agriculture and supported the needs of agriculture.

2. At the same time that it was developing a rational overall plan, Shashi devoted much effort to paying special attention to the variety and quality of its products, and in this respect it did the utmost to bring its own strong points into play.

Seek success through excellence. The fact that there was a surplus of cotton was a favorable condition for Shashi's development of light and textile industries. However, light industrial and textile products must by necessity be numerous and varied, and Shashi was late in developing a great many of these products and its base was weak. How could the town's own particular weaknesses be avoided and its own strong points be encouraged? The people there concentrated especially on the variety of products, continually raised the quality of their goods, revised product designs and strove to introduce innovations in their products; they paid attention to making their products good and cheap and made sure that their own goods were able to hold their own in domestic markets. In these respects there is no more typical example than that of sheets. In the manufacture of sheets, Shashi originally placed the greatest emphasis on copying existing designs or samples furnished by clients; it had no independent designing capacity, its products had no special attractive features and compared poorly with other goods on the market, and in objective terms it was forced to go its own way. People who are prepared to take pains find that their efforts pay off. In expanding they took notice of consumers' suggestions, and, by basing themselves on advanced products from both China and abroad, after 2 years of painstaking research they finally blazed a new trail in design and craftsmanship, creating the distinctive "mandarin duck" brand sheets, which are both practical and attractive and which, moreover, gained a silver medal at last year's national exhibition of industrial products. Only when the quality of products is good, when there is a ready market for them and when, as a result, the development of production is rapid—only under these conditions can superiority be brought fully into play. At present the annual output of sheets has risen from 30,000 units to more than 2 million units and the variety of goods has risen from 3 kinds to more than 70 (with more than 700 different patterns); more than 70 percent of production is exported, and demand exceeds supply both at home and abroad. Take another product as an example. Shashi originally was capable of producing only 1 size of thermos flask, with 6 varieties; this has now advanced to 27 sizes and 185 varieties, and in addition these are made in attractive finishes, have a high heat-retention capacity and have become a famous brand of thermos flask throughout the country. As a result of Shashi's adherence to the practice of striving to attain a higher quality of products and of its development of different patterns and varieties, not only are a great many of its products on sale in every area throughout the country, but 45 kinds have reached distant markets in 68 countries and regions.

Manufacture new products according to market demands. Shashi's frequent analyses of market fluctuations and predictions concerning the requirements of towns and villages are of value in the selection of goods in which there are market shortages, and for the manufacture of which Shashi also possesses the right conditions, and in seizing the right time for starting experimental production. One of the special features of Shashi's industries is that there are a large number of small enterprises. Among 264 enterprises, those with a staff of 500 persons or less account for 97 percent. Production conditions in small enterprises are not compatible with those in large ones, but they do have their own strong points: "A small boat is easy to steer," and if production needs to be increased or decreased, this can be done easily and quickly; there are no millstones around their necks, they can put up with adversity and they possess great enthusiasm. By bringing these special features into play, Shashi has achieved excellent results. Radial drilling machines were originally a product with a nationally coordinated fixed design, and Shashi's small machine tool factory began production in conjunction with this design. At present its annual output stands at 800 units, half of which are exported. Last year this factory introduced improvements in the basic design and produced a universal drill capable of rotating through 360 degrees and a drill with a sliding base. The year before last an engineer from another area designed a new type of light-sensitive film, which was tested in Shashi. The tests proved that this film offered improvements in the speed and quality of aerial cartography, and on the basis of this evidence Shashi initiated production. In the subsequent period of development of the new product there were some failures, either because the product itself did not possess the necessary qualities, or because of blindness in action, but because the setup was only a small one, losses were on a limited scale, and numerous goods received further development as a result.

In the division of labor between towns and villages, the capacities of each are readily apparent. Shashi's industries, for the most part, serve the needs of local agriculture. In recent years the industrial activities of the surrounding counties and communes have been developing very rapidly, and they have gradually assumed responsibility for the processing of many of the agricultural and sideline products which originally was undertaken by Shashi itself. To consider another aspect, there have been changes in market requirements. Continually responsive to changing situations, Shashi has gradually adjusted its product structure, causing a development trend in some products from rough processing toward high-grade processing and from labor-intensive toward technology-intensive manufacture. In this way, work can be delegated to some extent to the counties and communes; this does not lead to the duplication of production but rather makes possible the bringing into play of superiority and the achievement of relatively good economic results. For example, in the textile industry, if the counties manufacture plain white cotton cloth, Shashi consequently puts more emphasis on dyed and printed cloth, synthetic fiber products and knits. For these goods the technological requirements are high, output is large and the profit ratio is also high. Between 1965 and 1979, Shashi's output of plain gray cotton cloth increased by 30 percent, of dyed and printed cloth by 130 percent, of sheets by 35 percent and of knitted underwear by 40 percent, while profits rose by 510 percent.

As for heavy industrial products, Shashi does not go in for those goods which require a lot of iron and steel and which are difficult to transport, but instead concentrates on products which use little material, are lightweight, are easy to transport and for which a definite market exists. The drill manufactured by the machine tool factory weighs only 75 kilograms and is less than 1 meter in height, and labor accounts for 70 percent of its production costs. The quality of this drill is good; it won a gold medal at this year's commodities exhibition. The high-quality hard alloy drill weighs only 1 ton, but its price is up to RMB30,000. The wide-angle lens produced by the optical instruments factory weighs only 1 kilogram, its quality compares well with similar Chinese-made products and its price is a third lower, but its profit ratio is as high as 36 percent. This factory has a staff of only a few hundred persons, but it can still contribute a net income of over RMB2 million a year to the state.

3. There are also weak points in Shashi's industry. There are deficiencies in the base, it had a poor foundation to start with, its equipment is technically backward and it is also not a specially designated area for the investment of state capital. On the one hand, demand for its products is constantly improving; on the other hand, its production conditions are backward. This represents an acute contradiction. How are the people there resolving the problem?

First, they are adhering to the policy of self-reliance, of arduous struggle and of tapping their own latent power. Shashi is a small town, with many small enterprises, and there is mutual understanding between these enterprises. The people of Shashi make use of this point to break down, as far as possible, the barriers between enterprises and to organize coordinated and integrated production based on the need to develop the production forces. Apart from organizing enterprises, general factories or specialized companies according to the principle of specialized coordination and not setting up "big and complete" and "small and complete" enterprises, they are also forging ahead with industrial management and with such features as the integration of those enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people with those under the collective ownership system, as well as the joint management of labor collectives and small neighborhood collectives. Extensive production does not mean starting up new operations but rather making the fullest use of the old factories and old equipment scattered throughout the town, either by taking from those which have too much and giving to those which have too little, or by organizing production by merging several factories. Within the confines of the whole town, technical staff and workers are organized and cooperate according to the needs of scientific research and innovation; the use of private funds has also broken down the barriers between the two systems of ownership, and these funds have been invested wherever they will produce the greatest possible benefit in developing production, but there has been no change in the distribution of funds. As to the relations of subordination, none of the enterprises managed by the various departments has a heavily guarded entrance, and they practice the division of labor, not the segregation of families, carrying out management according to the principles of bringing present production capacity into full play and of promoting the development of production.

By tapping the latent potentials of existing enterprises, it is possible to raise the level of the productive forces without spending any more money, or by spending only a relatively small amount. The results of taking the course of tapping potentials are that capital investment is not large and that production nevertheless develops very rapidly. Shashi at present has 154 light industrial plants, of which the state has invested capital in or given assistance to only 6. The remainder were set up mainly by relying on the tapping of potentials. In the course of the last 30 years, the total capital invested in these factories amounts to RMB520 million, of which 42.2 percent was raised independently, and the state invested only RMB270 million. Shashi's industrial output value for 2 years is RMB1 billion, of which RMB170 million is accumulated surplus; thus 1.5 years' surplus would be sufficient to make good the entire state investment.

Second, they are going all out for technical innovation and are adhering to the practice of standing on their own two feet. Originally there were many manual workers in the factories of this municipality, production efficiency was low and the intensity of labor among workmen was high. Since liberation, by doing everything in their power to meet this urgent need, they have, in a planned and well thought out manner, brought technical innovation within their grasp. Each year, throughout the municipality, as many as 1,000 achievements in technical innovation are recorded. Over the last 10 years or so they have improved the equipment and the craftsmanship of their businesses producing thermos flasks, sheets, soap and locks, raising the mechanization levels of these businesses to about 70 percent, which has had great effect in spurring production development. For example, last year as many as 1,700 technical innovations were made; among these, 149 were fairly important innovations, while 14 were recognized nationally. The increased output value due to technical innovations reached RMB7,250,000, and, moreover, up to 1,000 units of labor were saved.

The direction of industrial development is that of transition from manual labor to mechanization and automation. Nevertheless, in introducing mechanization and automation it is necessary to start from the basis of the actual situation, proceed according to one's own strengths and abilities and do things in order of importance and urgency. If conditions are ripe for the mechanization of certain craft equipment, then a decision should be made for mechanization to take place; if the conditions are temporarily not suitable, or if, after the work has been carried out, it will not be possible to guarantee the quality of the goods produced, then some measures for semimechanization or semiautomation should be taken instead; under some conditions, a certain amount of manual labor is unavoidable. Why is it necessary to continue to make use of manual labor? These are some of the reasons: First, because of limitations in the level of technology and in other fields, it may be impossible for a time to find suitable ways of introducing mechanization and automation, in which case things must temporarily remain as they are. Second, there are some processes and crafts in which, if mechanization were introduced, it would not be at a high enough level for product quality to be assured. Thus, for instance, if the painting of the designs on the casings of thermos flasks is done by a mechanical printing process, the brightness of the colors is not as good as if the job is done by hand; the blowing of the glass liners for smaller sizes of flasks can be done by machine, but if a suitable machine for making the specially large sizes cannot be found, then the only thing to do is to continue to use hand-blowing methods. Third, the batch sizes for some products are small, and they are subject to rapid fluctuations, so that it is not worthwhile to use mechanized production methods. For the printing of patterns on sheets, it pays to use machines if the batch size exceeds 10,000 units; but if only 100 or 200 units are to be printed and if machines are used, even the cost of plate making cannot be recouped (the cost of making a set of silk-screen printing blocks is almost RMB2,000, which is more than the selling price of 100 sheets). This means that in this case it is much more practical to do the job by hand. Lastly, some products of neighborhood industries use only simple manufacturing methods, are made only in small quantities and do not require machine production; the use of manual labor in these areas also helps to expand employment. Between 1974 and 1979 Shashi's work force was augmented by 21,000 workers and staff, and 76.6 percent of this total was absorbed into the collective ownership system and by neighborhood industries. The fixed assets of the enterprises in this municipality which belong to the system of collective ownership account for 18 percent of the fixed assets of all the industries put together, but their total of workers and staff makes up 41 percent of the total number of industrial employees of the town as a whole.

Third, they are carrying out the "doctrine of grasping new ideas" and learning from other areas. Shashi possesses a spirit of striving for improvement and a willingness to learn. The people are constantly searching out the differences between other areas and other units, and wherever they find advanced areas they learn from them. They seize new ideas with enthusiasm, study how to adapt them for use with their own advanced technology, and with all speed apply them in production. Year after year they learn from Changzhou, modestly calling that municipality "the town we are apprenticed to." They learn from Shanghai, from Foshan, Wuhan, Xiangfan, Huangshi and Yichang, as well as from industries at the county level. They believe that small towns like Shashi must study and introduce advanced technology from abroad, but that they must first of all study the technology which is "in their own backyard" and strive to grasp that part of China's own ripe experience of advancement and technology which is appropriate for their own purposes in order to rapidly develop production. Study is not simply imitation or indiscriminate copying; rather it is the close coordination of the actual conditions of a particular area and is based on creative adaptation. It means a willingness to use one's brains, a disregard for failure, and the courage to venture where no man has gone before, to consider problems which no one has previously thought about.

Fourth, the people of Shashi are emphasizing the cultivation and utilization of technical personnel. Apart from employing all possible methods to enlist the support of able and talented people and seeking help from technical personnel and skilled workers of other areas, they are making use of such means as the establishment of technical training schools, spare-time universities and television classes to raise their scientific and technological levels. Last year this small town actually operated more than 100 spare-time schools and technical and cultural study groups for workers and staff, and the ratio of enrollment for both workers and staff reached 20 percent. The electronics industry also set up a state-subsidized, independently run university, with a centralized entrance examination, which is expected to produce 40 graduates next year.

Shashi attaches importance to cultivating and promoting its cadres. The majority of this municipality's cadres are young and fairly experienced and have drive; they understand the business of production and enterprise management. In the industrial system, leading cadres above the level of bureau number 57 persons, of whom 33, or 57 percent, were promoted from the frontline of production; 42, or 70 percent, are experienced. Cadres from the factory level in the textile industry and the first and second light industry bureaus, along with their management personnel, number 367 persons, of whom 205, or 55 percent, were drawn from the first production level; of the 76 cadres in the advanced enterprises of the three organizations, 61 are from the first production level. These cadres are in the prime of life, have practical experience, understand the production process and the workers and have grasped the basic essentials of production. There are few administrative levels in the municipal party committee structure, and the important leading cadres do not direct production while sitting in an office, but often go down to the grassroots level to solve problems.

If strong points are encouraged and weaknesses avoided, inferiority may be transformed into superiority; this, then, is Shashi's theory for industrial development.

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BREEDING BY SPECIALIZED HOUSEHOLDS--A GOOD WAY TO DEVELOP ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

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[Article by Li Yong [2621 0516]]

[Text] By the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's, animals owned collectively in our country were bred by the households of commune members (now called specialized households). This breeding method played an important role in breeding pigs. But this method was criticized and hampered during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, this breeding method has been gradually restored and has begun to develop again. Heilongjiang Province has developed thousands of such specialized households. A prefecture in Changsha, Hunan Province, also has set up more than 1,480 such households. Of the 97 collective pig breeding farms with over 30 pigs each in Yuci Prefecture of Shanxi Province, 66 are run by such households. In Dakui People's Commune, Pengshui Prefecture, Sichuan Province, 24 out of 34 collective pig farms are run by households. This breeding method now has expanded from people's communes and production brigades in rural areas to state farms. While this method had been limited to pig breeding, now it is also used in the breeding of grazing cattle, sheep, rabbits, poultry and bees. Thanks to this method, the products and value of animal husbandry have continued to increase.

Breeding by specialized households is carried out mainly in two forms. The first form is that commune members breed a few poultry during their spare time with the help of their families. But they are mainly engaged in collective production. Another form is that all able-bodied members of a peasant household cooperate with other households in breeding quite a number of poultry, with greater specialization. Usually the second form develops from the first form. These two forms are carried out through contracts between production brigades and specialized households in which the economic responsibility of both sides is defined.

Payment for this breeding method is usually divided into the following five categories:

First, the "four fixed quotas and award" system of responsibility. This category is used by most specialized households that are responsible for breeding pigs in Dakui People's Commune of Pengshui Prefecture, Sichuan Province. The first quota means that each household breeds 10 sows (to produce 80 piglets), 10 stout pigs and 10 hogs; the second quota refers to fodder production, with each household having to produce 4,000-5,000 jin of concentrated fodder and 60,000-80,000 jin of green fodder; the third quota refers to 1,000 yuan annual net income from pig breeding; the fourth quota refers to workpoints. In the fourth quota, when a household fulfills the above-mentioned tasks, it will get workpoints which are 10 to 15 percent above the level of the production brigade to which it belongs. Those who overfulfill pig breeding and fodder tasks will get 40 percent of the award; but those who fail to fulfill their tasks will have their workpoints deducted, after investigations are made as to the cause of their failures.

Second, payment according to production. This category is used by most households specializing in pig breeding in Hunan Province. Contracts are usually signed between the production brigades and the households early each year. The contracts define the number of pigs to be raised for the entire year, the number of pigs to be marketed, the total production costs and the method of producing fodder. An accounting is made at the end of the year, and awards are given to those overfulfilling their tasks by the production brigades taking part in the effort. Usually a household with four to five persons that specializes in pig breeding has one main laborer and two auxiliary laborers. Such a household raises 50 to 70 pigs, of which 5 to 6 are sows. It has to hand over stout pigs (including piglets) weighing a total of 5,000-6,000 jin. For each additional jin of gross weight the household is awarded 1.5 to 2 workspoints and 2-3 jin of grain.

Third, inclusive breeding responsibility. This category is used by female commune member Liu Yixin of the Zhangshuling Production Brigade of Qiyang Prefecture, Hunan Province, in breeding rabbits. In the early part of the year the production brigade handed her 45 mature rabbits, for which she was asked to pay 13 yuan each. The production brigade subsidized her 18 jin of paddy rice, 10 jin of husks, 100 jin of green fodder, and 0.30 yuan for the medical and tools fee for each rabbit. Upon fulfilling the tasks, she would get 3,200 workpoints. She would be awarded if she overfulfilled the tasks but would have to compensate for any drop in production. Rabbit manure and chemical fertilizer that is given as an award and can be sold belongs to the collective. When the account was settled at the end of the year, she received 1,236 yuan, which after deductions for various expenses brought her a net income of 851 yuan. In addition, she received a 266-yuan award, and the production brigade got 585 yuan. An award of 110 dan of manure and 275 jin of chemical fertilizer was given to the collective.

Fourth, distribution of profits. The Xige Production Brigade on the outskirts of Fusun Municipality in Liaoning Province has four chicken breeding groups composed of several households. In 1979 the production brigade handed 4,000 chickens to each group, which had to produce 3 tons of meat and turn in 20 handcarts of manure. The production brigade also supplied 9,000 jin of fodder for each ton of poultry. Each ton of poultry on the average brought an income of 10,800 yuan. Twenty-five percent of the profits was used as payment for labor. Wang Licheng and his wife took in 7,199 chickens last year and produced 11,174 jin of poultry meat and an income of 20,000 yuan. A deduction of 14,000 yuan for expenses left 6,000 yuan in net profit. The couple earned 1,500 yuan.

Fifth, flexible payment according to evaluation of basic workpoints. Commune member Zhang Sipin and his family are breeding collective pigs. At the beginning of the year the production brigade evaluated the basic workpoints according to the labor productivity and skills of each member of the family. At the end of the year the number of workpoints and amount of grain for the family was calculated according to the income from the pigs it had raised. Its basic workpoints in early 1978 were about 10 percent higher than the workpoints awarded to persons of the same labor capacity. In the whole year, the pigs the family raised increased in weight by over 69,000 jin and produced over 30,000 dan of manure. The family handed over more than 8,770 yuan in net profit. By the end of the year the Zhangs had recorded 95,700 workpoints. Thus, the workpoints, income and grain received by the family were, respectively, 17, 31 and 12 percent higher than the average levels in the production brigade.

The method of specialized households has many advantages.

First, it is in the interest of consolidating the collective economy. The fourth production team of the Hongjin Production Brigade of Wuchang Prefecture in Heilongjiang Province began to raise pigs in 1973. But because of inadequate management the production team got into debt for several successive years. In 1976 and 1977 it lost over 920 yuan. At a time when the production team was considering suspending this operation, commune member Wang Fu asked to raise the pigs. They signed a contract, and the situation took a turn for the better. Of the 50 production teams of the Jingang People's Commune in Liaoyuan Municipality, Jilin Province, 25 introduced pig breeding by specialized households in 1979. These households raised 290 mature sows, each of which, on the average, bore 8.3 live piglets as against 5.3 the previous year. Eventually, production costs dropped by over 1,600 yuan. All of these production teams made a profit and drastically increased their income. On the other hand, the other 25 production teams raised 233 mature sows, but the average birth rate of each sow was only 4.5 live piglets, 3.8 fewer piglets than the average of the spcialized production teams, and production costs increased by 83 yuan. Nineteen of these production teams constantly lost money in their operations. The number of production teams engaged in raising pigs in this people's commune has increased from 25 to 41.

Second, it is in the interest of increasing labor productivity. The formation of specialized households is a good way to make use of semi-able-bodied or part-time laborers and auxiliary laborers. It has become a common practice that when a household specializes in breeding animals or poultry, all the members of the family, including semi-able-bodied or part-time laborers and auxiliary laborers, are mobilized. In addition, each household usually makes full use of its spare time.

Third, as such an organizational form of production is one in which the amount of payment is based on the result of the work, it has raised the initiative of the breeders. Commune member Fung Deting of the Anxing Production Brigade of Heze People's Commune in Shandong Province, whose household specializes in breeding pigs, was once busily engaged during a winter season in taking care of a sow that was giving birth. When the first and second piglets were born, he put them under his coat near his chest to protect them from the cold. When more piglets came, his wife brought in a cotton-padded quilt to protect them. As a result, all 10 piglets lived. Another commune member, Wang Xidong of the Xiuwen Production Brigade of Yuci People's Commune in Shanxi Province, used sheep's milk from the only sheep he was raising to feed piglets. Due to his efforts, the survival rate of the piglets greatly increased. He is planning to buy another ewe this year with his award.

Fourth, the advantage of specialized households lies in their smaller investment, quicker returns, low costs and good economic results. The characteristic feature of breeding by specialized households is that this form requires neither a leading team nor organizations. It can be carried out by the masses, with production funds accumulated by themselves. As all the members of a household work together, they can work in close coordination without thinking of personal gains and losses. In addition, they can make full use of scattered fodder. The pig farm of the second branch of the Nankou farm in Beijing is managed by Qi Juilin and the other five members of his family. One of his sons is responsible for breeding stout pigs, two are responsible for breeding sows and the fourth is responsible for processing fodder. His wife is responsible for household duties. He himself helps where he is needed and is responsible for technical guidance. In the second half of the year they cut the amount of labor in half and reduced expenses by over 3,000 yuan and small incidental expenses by more than 1,000 yuan. Yet they increased labor productivity. The production cost for each jin of pig dropped from 1.02 yuan in the first half of the year to 0.64 yuan in the second half.

Fifth, it is in the interest of making full use of traditional experiences to stabilize the rank of pig breeders. Breeding by specialized households enables each household and individual to display his own advantages. They may graze oxen or sheep according to their advantages. In general, specialized households are appointed through selection. The Heshan Production Brigade of Heshan Prefecture in Shanxi Province needed a specialized household to graze 48 cows and demanded that the household be able to keep the birth survival rate at 50 percent, as against the previous 36.6 percent. Five households applied for the job, and after bidding it was won by commune member Zhao Sanyou and his family. He has a decade of experience in grazing oxen behind him, and consequently he managed to improve the birth survival rate to 70 percent. Another commune member, Zhang Xingyong, and his wife, of the Youhao Production Brigade of Weinan Prefecture, Shaanxi Province, have been breeding collective animals for 15 years. Statistics over the past 6 years showed that the pregnancy rate, birth rate and survival rate of the animals under their care were more than 90 percent. The couple is now passing on its experiences to its sons and daughters-in-law. The form of breeding by specialized households helps stabilize the rank of breeders and improves the specialization of breeding.

Sixth, the farm is in line with the cadres' management level. Experiences over the past many years have shown that many collective breeding farms failed to develop; their productivity dropped and they suffered losses. Eventually, such farms became burdens for the people's communes and production brigades. The reason was that the cadres' management level was too low. With the introduction of the specialized households, all breeders are now working with one mind to make the masses have confidence in them and to lighten the burden of the cadres. Leaders of some production teams have said that they are now able to manage breeding farms run by specialized households.

Is breeding by specialized households just an expedient measure or a long-term measure? What is the relationship between this method of breeding and the modernization of animal husbandry? Denmark is a country with modern animal husbandry, and its productivity is much higher than ours. But the size of Danish farms run by households is limited. In 1977, each cattle farm throughout the country had an average of 27.5 cows, a sow farm had an average of 34 sows, a stout pig farm had an average of 147 pigs, a chicken and egg farm had an average of 4,000 hens and a poultry farm had an average of 18,000 chickens. Some production processes are carried out manually. Experience in our country and abroad shows that breeding by specialized households is in line not only with our present production level but also with the need for large-scale production in the future, because this method enhances vitality. On the basis of specialization, this breeding method will increase productivity and develop from specialized households to specialized mass production in keeping with scientific development and production socialization. At present an ordinary specialized household is at least able, by using traditional methods, to raise dozens of pigs and produce several hundred jin of pork. If such households are further organized, with changes in production conditions, unified planning for the supply of breeds and fodder, and technical guidance, then each household will be able to raise hundreds of pigs and produce tens of thousands of jin of pork (some specialized households have already reached this level). It is not difficult for a specialized household with five members to produce 10,000 jin of pork a year and an income of 10,000 yuan. Therefore, if we popularize this method, it will be of great significance in changing the structure of our food supply and in fulfilling the national income target. Can we expect that, following the development of breeding by specialized households and when conditions are ripe, we will take a Chinese-style road to modernization of animal husbandry on the basis of mutual interest? The modernization of our animal husbandry must be realized by combining such households through a planned method which utilizes advanced science and technology.

Leadership is vital in doing a good job of promoting the breeding industry by means of specialized households. The influence of the ultraleftist line is still far from being eliminated and remains the biggest obstacle to our work. Different views on breeding by specialized households have existed since the introduction of this method. The focus of the arguments is: Is this method advanced or backward? Does it represent capitalism or socialism? Will this method be followed by polarization? These questions have been basically solved since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. Yet some people still worry about this method; they are afraid of taking "full responsibility." Consequently, they dare not make bold proposals. Some people who began to use this method early in the year abolished it at the end of the year. Experience over the past two decades and more has proved that the form of breeding by specialized households is a production method that is in line with the current productivity of our country. It is an advanced method because it promotes productivity. It is suitable for rural areas and grazing areas and even more applicable in vast mountainous areas with scarce population. The means of production used in this method are under public ownership, the products are distributed through unified planning, the laborers receive payment according to their job and there is no exploitation. Therefore, this method has nothing to do with capitalism. Individual incomes differ according to the work performed by each laborer. Such a situation is normal, because the difference embodies the principle of distribution according to work. Commune member Qi Juilin and his family of the Nankou farm in Beijing last year received 620 yuan in award and profits in addition to his salary; he won the 620 yuan on the basis of the contract on breeding pigs. Some people then suggested that this contract be canceled. But the leadership decided to stick with it. Some other people, who supported this method, said that even if Qi Juilin brought a golden toy home they must let him do so. To successfully carry out breeding work by specialized households it is imperative that the leadership embrace this method in its ideology, policies, workstyle and management and that it give technical guidance. It must work in a down-to-earth manner and must in no way carry out this breeding method through precipitate action. Many countries in the world do not follow the same pattern in modernizing their animal husbandry, and thus it is in our country, too. Breeding by specialized households is only one method, but not the only one.

CSO: 4004

APPLY SYSTEMS SCIENCE TO ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 30-31

[Article by Ding Hongmu [0002 7703 6206], chief engineer of the Beijing Qinghe woolen textiles factory]

[Text] One of the points I noticed on an inspection tour abroad last year is the development attained by foreign countries in enterprise management. We should learn from their modern technological and managerial methods. Over the last 30 years we have had considerable success in enterprise management, which we should continue to develop and improve and not ignore altogether. However, we should also introduce advanced foreign management theories and technology into our country and learn from them, so as to strengthen, develop and increase the speed of modernization of our enterprise management.

Many fields of work are covered in the modernization of enterprise management. One of the essential aspects is the application of systems science to enterprise management. In systems science the object of study is treated as a system. The core of the theory is the integration, targeting and optimization of the system, which means that it starts with the system's integration, chooses the best methods, procedure and means and reaches the expected target. The main work of the system is to obtain all kinds of information, carry out analysis, calculation and processing, storage and reporting, and then transmit the essential information. The application of systems science to enterprise management means treating an enterprise as a system and as one part of the social system and running it according to the methods of systems science so as to achieve the best enterprise management effect.

An enterprise is a unit which manufactures products with great efficiency. Industrial enterprises include such varied components as scientific research, technological development, labor production, staff welfare, transportation and other aspects of management. They are at once highly varied and complex. If we do not build a set procedure to harmonize and solve the various relations in the enterprise and learn to work systematically, enterprises will not be able to work smoothly and efficiently. Instead there will be disorder and contradictions.

To do well in enterprise management we must do well within the enterprise itself, as well as incorporate it within the social system, then study and solve the influence of social factors. The stages of production include energy consumption, product processing, packaging, and so forth. In the past we only attended to the processing of raw materials into finished products. The means of production, industrial design and technological conditions are concrete. This is called hard technology. Modern enterprise management should go beyond the realm of hard technology and be extended to marketing and market forecasting, which are called soft technology.

In modern enterprise management the practice of only attending to the internal management of enterprises is already outdated. An important element of enterprise management is the study of market feedback from outside the enterprise. Among the many elements of enterprise management, that of market feedback is gaining in importance. In a socialist country competition is inevitable. Whoever tries to stop competition with administrative means will surely hinder production development. Therefore, an enterprise should study not only raw materials and product processing, but also market feedback and the sales situation.

Product processing is concrete, whereas optimized conditions to meet market demand are abstract. This relation receives great attention abroad. For example, in an Italian company there are 5,805 employees in the woolen textiles section, which is 26.7 percent of the entire staff, and 10,599 employees in the garments section, which is 48.8 percent of the entire staff. Of the latter, 1,059 are responsible for putting the products in order and packaging them, which accounts for 10.33 percent of the staff of the whole section. This shows the importance of marketing and packaging. In the past our factory suffered from emphasis on production and a lack of emphasis on marketing. In the reforms in enterprise management held at selected points, we made a great effort to organize groups of technological and marketing personnel to penetrate the market, ascertain consumer needs, establish direct contact between factories and shops, install special windows and establish trial sales outlets. We also convened meetings between factories and sales outlets to review market information and appraise products. Together we judged and selected 140 types of products and 13 types of new products and restored and developed 7 types of traditional products and 7 types of products in short supply. In this way, what is produced is exactly what is demanded. As a result, the consumers are pleased and production development is promoted. In last year's national assessment contest for woolen textile products, two of our factory's products achieved "good grade" status and five achieved "quality" status.

In an enterprise, scientific research-technological personnel on one side and sales-management personnel on the other often have different opinions on certain questions. The management personnel emphasize the affect of production progress and utilization of capital funds, whereas the technological-engineering personnel want to maintain product design and quality. Even on raw materials and dyes there is often discord between the two sides. One of the tasks of modern management is to unify all the aspects of management within systems engineering to reach the common goal. Leaders of enterprises should adjust the relations between all the aspects according to production needs. They should try as far as possible to make the best use of staff resources in order to promote productivity.

Systems science is a composite science of all branches of science and technology. Applied to manabement, systems science is related to engineering technology, quality control techniques, operational research, value engineering, and so forth. To do well in systems science, on the one hand we train professionals in this field and run courses in optimization and comprehensive quality control; on the other hand we collaborate with academic groups in society, colleges and universities, and scientific research departments. We formally recruit experts and scientific research personnel from such units as the Mathematics Department of the Science Institute, the Telecommunications Department of Qinghua University, the Aerodynamics Research Workshop of the Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute, and the Psychological Research Center of the Science Institute to participate in the modernization of enterprise management. This helps greatly in raising the standard of science and technology among enterprise management personnel and strengthening enterprise management itself.

To apply systems science to enterprise management and to raise efficiency and accuracy in collecting and handling information, we need to use modern management equipment according to actual needs. Our factory uses Model 130 electronic calculators, the first step toward making quality control graphs. With the help of the Mathematics Department of the Science Institute, we began to replace complicated experimental data with tables and graphs. We also intend to strengthen modernization in surveying, testing and laboratory testing. There are tens of thousands of data in a modern enterprise. Only with modern means of surveying and testing can the data of a few dozen or a few hundred people in a working day be accurately reflected in a few seconds. Only then can it be digested and organized and can instructions be issued to initiate dozens of procedures to raise the efficiency of work.

(Comrade Ding Hongmu died recently of illness after writing this article.)

CSO: 4004

STIRRING UP TROUBLE AT BEIJING UNIVERSITY AND BRINGING DISASTER UPON THE WHOLE COUNTRY—THE EVIL AIM OF LIN BIAO, JIANG QING, KANG SHENG, CHEN BODA AND COMPANY IN ACCUSING LIU SHAOQI OF 'FORMULATING AND PUSHING A BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 32-36

[Article by the propaganda department of the party committee of Beijing University]

[Text] In the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, fell victim to sordid and false political charges and was subjected to a brutal personal attack. It was under the pretext of criticizing Comrade Liu Shaoqi's so-called crimes of "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line" that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company openly accused and persecuted him. What were their pretexts for making such an accusation against Comrade Liu Shaoqi? At a meeting held on 16 October 1966, Chen Boda gave a definition of the "bourgeois reactionary line," saying that "sending a large number of work teams to suppress revolutionary students means committing errors of line" and that the "erroneous line characterized by sending a large number of work teams to suppress the masses and hit out at the revolutionary activists is also a bourgeois reactionary line." Actually, Chen Boda's clamor about repudiating "Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois reactionary line" was nothing but a dirty political trick deliberately played by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to usurp party leadership and state power! They decided to spearhead the attack from Beijing University. Let us now expose their tricks and bring their crimes to light in accordance with the events that occurred at Beijing University during the initial stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

In May 1966 the vast historical tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in our country entered its initial stage. At that time, Kang Sheng, with ulterior motives, sent a "theoretical investigation group from the central authorities" headed by his wife to Beijing University. He personally gave the investigation group confidential instructions, saying: "Kindle the flames in Beijing University and spread the fire to the upper levels." After entering the university, this investigation group plotted behind closed doors and kindled the flames at the grassroots level. It talked twice with a veteran comrade who was a member of the party committee of Beijing University, inducing him to join Nie Yuanzi in "exposing Lu Ping" and to frame the party committee of Beijing University. However, this veteran comrade rejected the sinister design. Nie Yuanzi took the lead in putting up the "first big-character poster" on 25 May at the instigation of the investigation group. This big-character poster was written at the suggestion of Kang Sheng's wife. It directly attacked Song Shuo, deputy director of the university affairs department of the Beijing municipal party committee; Lu Ping, secretary of the party committee of Beijing University; and Peng Peiyun, deputy secretary of the party committee of Beijing University. It groundlessly accused the party committee of Beijing University of practicing revisionism, clamored for "resolute, thorough, complete and total eradication" of all Khrushchev-type counterrevolutionary revisionists and focused its attack on Comrade Liu Shaoqi. By shattering the party organizations of Beijing University, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company tried to create a breach, stir up trouble, disrupt the party and plunge the whole nation into chaos so that they could achieve their sinister purpose of usurping party leadership and state power. As soon as this anti-Marxist wall poster came out, it met with strong opposition from the broad masses of cadres, teachers and students, which was brought to the close attention of the party Central Committee. On the same evening, Comrade Zhou Enlai sent people to Beijing University to seriously criticize the big-character poster. This was a head-on blow at Kang Sheng, who later said: "Once the wall poster came out, the counterrevolutionaries tried to wipe it out," and "I was also under pressure." Kang Sheng realized that Nie Yuanzi had a bad reputation and that the wall poster had been sternly refuted. However, he still said impudently: "I still support her even if she is a bastard." The "Great Cultural Revolution" was carried out under circumstances in which some people made an unrealistic appraisal of the situation and wrongly interpreted revisionism. In addition, the democratic centralism of our party was severely sabotaged, and inner-party life was extremely abnormal. Taking advantage of the situation, Kang Sheng used newspapers and broadcasts to widely publicize this big-character poster, which disrupted the party and harmed the state. This not only paralyzed the party organizations of Beijing University but also harmed the whole party and the entire nation.

Revolutionary practice in our country has proved that party leadership is the basic guarantee for the victory of the revolutionary cause. It is only under the leadership of the party that the mass campaign can develop in a healthy way. Otherwise, it will be misled and utilized by cunning conspirators and careerists. In order to strengthen leadership over the campaign at Beijing University, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the work of the central authorities, sent a work team to Beijing University on 1 June--the day the big-character poster of Nie Yuanzi and her accomplices was broadcast throughout the country. It has been common practice for a long period of time for our party to send work teams to the units to guide the campaign there. In the agrarian reform and the three-anti and five-anti movements, the party sent work teams to guide the movements. It was obvious that sending work teams was our party's working method. In the initial stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution," why was the decision of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and others on sending work teams regarded as a heinous crime, and why should they have been overthrown on the strength of this decision?

At that time, using the power they had seized, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda stirred up trouble. On 2 June 1966, when the big-character posters of Nie Yuanzi and others were published on the front page of RENMIN RIBAO, which was under their control, Comrades Song Shuo, Lu Ping and Peng Peiyun were labeled "black gang elements" at Kang Sheng's suggestion. In a commentator's article personally cooked up by Chen Boda in coordination with these wall posters and some other editorials written under his guidance, the party organizations of Beijing University were labeled "antiparty clique," "revisionist party" and "fake Communist Party," and Beijing University was accused of being the "most stubborn antiparty and antisocialist stronghold." Even the meeting at the International Hotel held in 1965 under the direction of the party Central Committee to discuss the work of Beijing University was slandered as "an extremely serious counterrevolutionary event." The attack was directed against leading comrades of the central authorities. In the meantime, Kang Sheng appointed his wife deputy head of the work team and thereby directly poked his nose into the Beijing University campaign. Kang Sheng and Chen Boda attended to the matter personally and gave direct orders to the work team at Beijing University. On 4 June Chen Boda told the leading group of the work team: "Beijing University has become a stronghold of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and a stronghold of the bourgeoisie for opposing the proletariat. They are training the successors of the bourgeois counterrevolutionaries and renegades. This is a very stubborn stronghold which should be captured from within. We should have our own people to rely upon." Chen Boda pointed out that the Beijing University campaign should be carried out according to the Xiaozhan experience gained during the "four cleanups" movement in Tianjin. What did Chen Boda's so-called Xiaozhan experience consist of? It consisted of the ultraleftist line, which brutally persecuted cadres and masses, concocted a so-called counterrevolutionary ruling clique composed of "landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, enemies, puppet soldiers, gendarmes, police and spies" and produced a diagram of the so-called "reactionary ruling system." Chen Boda ordered the work team to follow this pattern and asked some people to specially draw a diagram of the "reactionary ruling system." Kang Sheng and Chen Boda tried their utmost to bring the "Great Cultural Revolution" of Beijing University into their counterrevolutionary orbit in order to usurp party leadership and state power.

However, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the work of the central authorities, instructed the work team to strengthen its leadership over the campaign and to attach importance to policies, and he said that a distinction should be drawn between those inside and outside the party. Nonetheless, due to the fact that the ultraleftist ideological trend characterized by the practice of "doubting everything and overthrowing everything" was increasingly prevalent at the university, incidents of randomly ferreting out and struggling against cadres and teachers occurred constantly. On the morning of 18 June, when the work team was holding a meeting, a frightful incident involving random struggle against and beating of cadres and teachers occurred. This was a severe case of contravention of the law and a breach of discipline. In the 38th hall of the university, a so-called "center for struggling against demons" was set up, and many arrests were made. A large number of cadres were ruthlessly ferreted out and struggled against. All this set a very bad precedent for the whole country. According to incomplete statistics, at that time more than 60 cadres were crowned with tall paper hats, their faces were smeared with ink and big-character posters were attached to them. In addition, they were forced to kneel, and their hair and clothes were torn to pieces. They were beaten up, paraded through the university and struggled against. What was more disgusting was that there were cases of hooliganism in which woman comrades were insulted. This was the "18 June" incident, which created a furor. Once the incident occurred, the work team immediately rushed to the scene to stop the act of breaking the law and breaching discipline. That same evening, Comrade Zhang Chengxian, head of the work team, broadcast a speech to the whole university in which he criticized the act as a violation of the party's policy. He stressed that the campaign should be carried out under the leadership of the party and that, without the authorization of the work team, nobody was allowed to ferret out and struggle against people at random. He also pointed out that a handful of people (such as hardened thieves and hooligans) had got in on the act of beating and struggling against people at random and had taken advantage of the situation to create trouble and stir things up. Comrade Zhang Chengxian suggested that teachers and students throughout the university seriously discuss the incident and draw lessons from it. After the discussion, most teachers and students realized that the act of beating and struggling against people at random should be opposed, and they supported the measures taken by the work team. The situation at Beijing University was once again stabilized.

Under the conditions in which the ultraleftist ideological trend whipped up by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company was spreading unchecked, the work team inevitably made some "leftist" deviations in exercising leadership over the Beijing University campaign. However, facts proved that the guiding principle and measures adopted by the work team in dealing with the "18 June" incident were in accordance with party policy. On 19 June the work team wrote a brief report to the central authorities on the incident and how to deal with it. Comrade Liu Shaoqi wrote instructions on the report, saying: "The methods adopted by the work team at Beijing University were correct and prompt. If similar incidents occur elsewhere, work teams are advised to follow the methods adopted at Beijing University." These instructions, which were transmitted throughout the country, played a positive role in safeguarding the socialist legal system and preventing illegal acts of beating and struggling against people at random. However, not long after that these instructions became Comrade Liu Shaoqi's main crime of "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line," "suppressing revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country," "attacking the revolutionary activists," "plunging the country into a white terror," and so forth. Facts proved that the masses opposed the act, which was in contravention of the law and a breach of discipline. A handful of students who took part in the incident of beating and struggling against people at random were influenced and hoodwinked by the ultraleftist ideological trend deliberately incited by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company. As a result, their frenzied acts violated party policy. The intention of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's instructions was explicit. He intended to educate and guide those lawbreakers and help them raise their political consciousness so that they would attach importance to the policies. These instructions had nothing to do with an "attack" against or "suppression" of the masses. Even those who had stirred up trouble in the "18 June" incident were only seriously criticized by the work team through the broadcast speech, and no punishment was imposed on them. Does this smack of "attack" and "suppression"? If this is regarded as a "bourgeois reactionary line," it is no different from the act of giving a dog a bad name and hanging it! The history of the 10-year period of chaos proves that it was counterrevolutionary conspirators such as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company who truly suppressed the revolutionary masses and plunged our country into a white terror.

After the "18 June" incident, the work team reported to Chen Boda on the origin and development of the incident. At that time Chen Boda said: "The '18 June' incident was not a simple one. It was a counterrevolutionary event and was engineered by an underground headquarters." Kang Sheng instructed the work team to ferret out the behind-the-scenes boss of the incident. However, a few days later they went back on their word, suddenly changed their attitude and made unfounded countercharges. All this not only exposed their true features as counterrevolutionary doubledealers but also proved that the work team had resolutely acted in accordance with the directives of the party Central Committee and had foiled the plot of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to seize power amid confusion. Eventually they were no longer able to restrain themselves, and they jumped out onto the stage from behind the scenes, instigating the masses to break away from the party leadership and expel the work team. On 19 July, acting on the orders of Kang Sheng, Nie Yuanzi suddenly made a speech opposing the work team. On 22-23 July Jiang Qing, Chen Boda and others came to Beijing University. They held discussions aimed at instigating the masses to debate the "18 June" incident and oppose the work team. On 25 and 26 July and 4 August Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng as well as Chen Boda again came to Beijing University. They presided over a mass meeting attended by 10,000 people to incite people to debate the "18 June" incident and the work team. They delivered a series of speeches and enormously spread the ultraleftist ideological trend. Chen Boda was manifestly unable to detect right from wrong and regarded the viciously illegal "18 June" incident as a "revolutionary event." They even trumped up the case of a girl student who had committed suicide over a love affair and falsely accused the work team of persecuting her and suppressing the masses. The shameless behavior of Jiang Qing and company was immediately opposed by the masses. A classmate of the girl student passed a slip of paper to them, asking: "What are you doing here? Have you no brains? The act of obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence does not conform to Mao Zedong Thought. I warn you: If you persist in doing this, you will cut yourselves off from the masses." However, they still acted willfully and falsely charged the work team with persecuting the girl student. What was even more vicious was that Kang Sheng slandered the work team's report on the "18 June" incident, authorized by Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as a "counterrevolutionary document" and thereby directed the main thrust of the attack at Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Kang Sheng also accused the work team of failing to "rely on the masses, believe in the masses and take the mass line." He incited the masses to "save themselves by relying on their own efforts." Chen Boda accused those students who had opposed repelling the work team of being "influenced by the old society, the habitual forces of the bourgeoisie and the forces of the exploiting class." He viciously incited them to "smash these habitual forces." Afterward they announced at the rally that the work team was an "obstacle" and "a lid suppressing student revolution." They accused the work team of "suppressing student revolution" and "implementing the bourgeois line to suppress the Great Cultural Revolution." Their purpose in doing so was to incite the masses to break away from the party leadership and destroy the party leadership at all levels. Their theory of "encouraging the masses to save themselves by relying on their own efforts" actually was a case of advocating the "theory of spontaneity" and spreading the ideological trend of anarchism to deceive and corrupt the masses. The "habitual forces" which they intended to smash were precisely our party's fine tradition. Their so-called "revolutionary" actions and "brave spirit" were actually an outrageous act of instigating atrocities, breaking laws, violating discipline and wantonly trampling upon party discipline and state law.

After expelling the work team, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda supported Nie Yuanzi in usurping the leadership of Beijing University. Thereafter, Beijing University became their main stronghold for promoting their ultraleftist line and exercising fascist dictatorship. The act of breaking laws and violating discipline became a "revolutionary practice." The practice of criticizing and struggling against people at random, beating, smashing, looting, housebreaking and kidnaping became more and more serious. More and more cadres and teachers were brutally struggled against and ruthlessly attacked. According to statistics, over a period of a few days in late August 1966, the houses of more than 100 people were searched. Books and daily necessities of some teachers were confiscated. Even foreign teachers were raided. Among 2,000 teachers and administrative staff, about 260 were forced to labor under surveillance with black placards hanging from their necks. In the so-called "Paris Commune-type" election for the revolutionary committee of the university, more than 530 people were deprived of their right to vote. To further persecute cadres and the masses, Nie Yuanzi went so far as to set up an illegal court and prisons, arrest people, adopt various kinds of brutal means to extort confession by torture, provoke conflicts and beat people to death. Beijing University was turned into a hell on earth. Under the pretext of "establishing ties," Nie Yuanzi and company spread these reactionary experiences throughout the country. According to incomplete statistics, in the 1-month period from 29 July to 28 August 1966, 2.124 million people came to Beijing University to establish ties. By distributing the tabloid newspaper XIN BEI DA and setting up "liaison stations," Nie Yuanzi and company stirred up trouble throughout the country, ferreted out and struggled against a large number of cadres of the central authorities and local party, government and military units and shattered the party organizations at all levels. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Beijing University was a hotbed and sinister example of subjecting people to random beating, housebreaking, criticism and struggle and a "political showcase" for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company, who directed a farce of usurping party leadership and state power.

To sum up, it is ridiculous to accuse Comrade Liu Shaoqi of "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line" because of the work of the work team at Beijing University. It is not difficult for us to draw the following conclusions:

1. In the initial stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the work of the central authorities, sent a work team to Beijing University and expeditiously instructed the work team to strengthen its leadership over the campaign and implement the policies well, because after the broadcast of Nie Yuanzi's wall posters the party organizations of the university collapsed and the whole university was thrown into chaos. Afterward he wrote instructions on the report of the work team concerning the matter of stopping the act of breaking laws and violating discipline. In so doing he upheld the party leadership and safeguarded the socialist legal system. Facts have proved that it was necessary and correct for him to do so. His action in sending a work team and writing the instructions was connected only with the methods of work and some specific policies in the work. It did not involve the basic principles and

line of the party. In a certain historical period the political line of the party is a basic line for realizing the party's political programs and a matter of principle which has a direct bearing on the whole situation. However, the act of sending a work team and writing instructions was not a matter of political line. Furthermore, it was not wrong for Comrade Liu Shaoqi to adopt the two measures. How could we say that he formulated and pushed a "reactionary line"? The charge brought against Comrade Liu Shaoqi by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company was out-and-out mean and vicious political slander.

2. The act of accusing Comrade Liu Shaoqi of allegedly "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line" was an important step taken by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to usurp party leadership and state power by taking advantage of the "Cultural Revolution." Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a long-tested and outstanding leader of the party and state. For a long period of time in the past he had been loyal to the party and people and enjoyed the love and esteem of the entire party and people of various nationalities throughout the country. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was an impassable obstacle to the plot of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to usurp party leadership and state power. In the initial stage of the "Cultural Revolution," Comrade Liu Shaoqi's actions had defeated their plot to usurp party leadership and state power. As a result, they hated Comrade Liu Shaoqi to the very marrow of their bones and carried out plots and schemes to fabricate charges against him. After expelling the work team from Beijing University and setting up an example of "doubting everything and overthrowing everything," they promptly spread the evils which originated at Beijing University to the whole country. They initiated the campaign of criticizing the "bourgeois reactionary line" and expelling work teams throughout the country. Most of the party organizations were slandered as "stubborn strongholds for the implementation of the bourgeois reactionary line," and the broad masses of party members were slandered as "diehard elements who pursue the bourgeois reactionary line" and "royalists." An adverse current of "giving the party committee the boot to make revolution ourselves" was whipped up, and the party organizations at all levels were shattered. All those leading cadres who objected to the ultraleftist acts and illegal behavior incited by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company were accused of "implementing the bourgeois reactionary line" or were "singed" and "bombarded." What was even more serious was that some of our leading cadres were labeled "dyed-in-the-wool capitalist roaders" and "demons with the heads of oxen and spirits with the bodies of serpents" and were overthrown. The so-called "bourgeois reactionary line" became a magic wand which Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company used to randomly hit out at cadres and party members and sabotage production. All this brought great calamity to the entire party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country.

3. The charges involved in the "bourgeois reactionary line" concocted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company were confused in concept and ridiculous in theory. In the international communist movement there are only two erroneous political lines insofar as their forms are concerned--"left" opportunist and right opportunist. The struggle between the two lines is a reflection within the party of the class struggle in society. Objectively speaking, an erroneous line is beneficial to the bourgeoisie. However, as a political concept

it is different from the bourgeois political line. They are two entirely different things and should not be confused. In the meantime, the struggle between two lines is a kind of struggle within the party. The confrontation between the correct and erroneous lines is different from the confrontation between the revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries insofar as their concepts are concerned. They are also two entirely different things. The fact that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda deliberately confused inner-party struggle with the struggle between the enemy and ourselves and accused Comrade Liu Shaoqi of promoting a "bourgeois" and "reactionary" line completely exposed their vicious intent to destroy Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This was also evidence of their crime of opposing Marxism from the extreme left standpoint.

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WHAT MODERN PRODUCTION DEMANDS OF EDUCATION

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[Article by Gu Mingyuan [7357 2494 6678]]

[Text] As a social phenomenon, education is closely linked to social production. Education plays a vital role in promoting the development of production. However, before the advent of large-scale industrial production, school education was monopolized by a handful of people in the ruling class, and workers could only acquire production knowledge and skills by serving as apprentices. School education was completely divorced from productive labor. Only with the emergence of machine production or large-scale industrial production was there a demand for workers with scientific and cultural knowledge and expertise. With the struggle of the working class for the right to education, universal free education was begun by the capitalist countries in the 19th century. Following the unremitting development of social production, a very great development has taken place in the scale and content of education over the last century. What, then, are the demands made by the development of modern social production on education? The study of this question is of great significance as to how China's education can serve the realization of the four modernizations.

What are the characteristics of modern production? Marx in "Das Kapital" pointed out: "Modern industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually effecting changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the laborer and in the social combinations of the labor process." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, pp 533-534) Although the meaning of production is vastly different from that of the period of the steam engine, the characteristics of continuous changes in the technical basis of production described by Marx are similarly manifested in modern production.

Modern production is based on the extensive use of machines. Only when production was mechanized did science and technology have a direct connection with production. The faster application of scientific and technological achievements in production has caused a rapid development of the productive forces and as a result has transformed the social life of the people and continually altered the functions of the laborers. In the traditional production of the past, the functions of a laborer never changed during his lifetime. However, this is out of the question at present. The functions of laborers are continually being transformed and changed along with production technology. Marx pointed out: "Modern industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labor, fluency of function and universal mobility of the laborer." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 534) Moreover, he held that this variation of labor was a natural law that large-scale industrial production could not overcome. The extensive use of modern science and technology in production has gradually caused the laborers directly engaged in productive labor to shift from direct engagement to a mainly supervisory role over production. In other words, people have handed over all the functions of logical thinking in the accomplishment of production to technical means (computers and so forth), and this has enabled them to be gradually liberated from the direct process of productive operation (but not the general process of production). The ratio of physical labor has gradually reduced, and the ratio of mental labor has gradually increased.

The characteristics of modern production have imposed demands on education which are different from any in the past. Modern production demands that the laborers be as fully developed as possible to adapt to the variation of labor. It requires the laborers not only to engage in manual labor but also to be capable of engaging in mental labor in order to adapt to the use of science and technology in production. The first time Marx mentioned the "fully developed individual" was in his discourse on large-scale industrial production more than a century ago. He said: "Modern industry through its crises necessitates recognition of the variation of work as a fundamental law of production. This in turn necessitates fitness of the laborer for varied work, which in turn necessitates maximum development of his varied aptitudes. It becomes a question of life and death for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law. Indeed, modern industry compels society under the penalty of death to replace the detailed worker of today, crippled by lifelong repetition of one and the same trivial operation and thus reduced to the mere fragment of a man, with the fully developed individual." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 535) In simple terms, modern industry requires fully developed individuals who understand the basic principles of science, technology and production and who can adapt to the mode of the continuous transformation of production technology and variation of labor.

How could fully developed individuals be cultivated? Marx maintained that it could be done by combining education with productive labor. He said: "As Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future is an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 530) From this it can be seen that the fully developed individuals required by large-scale industrial production can only come from the process of combining education with productive labor.

In the past, educational theorists regarded combining education with productive labor as "the dividing line between proletarian education and bourgeois education." This is not comprehensive enough. Not only is it a question of life and death for large-scale industrial production, but it is also a question of law. It plays a role not only in proletarian education but also in bourgeois education. From our observation of modern education in industrialized capitalist countries we can deduce the following: The reason for the rapid development of education in industrialized countries is precisely that their economic development demands education to train technicians and experienced workers with scientific and cultural knowledge. At the same time, the development of education to comply with this demand in turn stimulates the development of the economy.

Naturally, under the capitalist system, combining education with productive labor is only an objective need of modern production. It is a different thing for the proletariat, whose goal is the ultimate realization of communism and, through it, the elimination of the distinction between physical and mental labor. At the same time, as Marx said, because of the inherent contradiction of capitalism or the contradiction between the socialist nature of production and private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie must always keep a reserve labor force for the sake of obtaining cheap labor. Therefore, modern production must, on the one hand, continually vary the functions of the laborers in the wake of the transformation of production technology and, on the other hand, keep a group of laborers unemployed. Consequently, combining education with productive labor can never be completely realized under the capitalist system. It can only be realized after the working class has seized power.

Obviously, combining education with productive labor demands that the content of the students' studies be in line with the scientific and technical knowledge required by modern production and integrated with modernized large-scale industrial production. Combining education with handicraft production or describing the sweeping, cleaning and self-service labor of the students as combining education with productive labor is to distort the meaning of combining education with productive labor and will also make it impossible to genuinely carry out combining education with productive labor.

In organizing education, how can we adhere to this general law of combining education with productive labor in China? Our understanding should be: Combine and adapt education to the whole of the national economy and to production and construction. Train students who can master modern scientific and technical knowledge and skills, adapt to the constant changes in modern production in the four modernizations and become fully developed people. For this reason, the whole educational course should pay attention to the following points.

1. Educational planning must be made an important component of national economic planning. First we must solve a question of understanding. We must understand the role of modern education in modernized production and thereby understand that, without modern education, modern production cannot be carried out and there is no hope for the four modernizations. People have always said that science and technology are the key and education the cornerstone of the four modernizations. This is because we must rely on education for the training of scientists and technicians and a skilled labor force. Education should be put to the fore. Particularly since the training of personnel requires a comparatively long time, priority must be given to the consideration of educational planning. Not only must investment in education provide the labor force needed by national economic construction at present, but it must also anticipate the

labor force required by national economic construction over the next 10 to 20 years. Judging from the experience of industrialized countries, the growth rate of investment in education often outstrips the growth rate of investment in material production, which is very reasonable. For more than 20 years the growth rate of educational expenditure in China has lagged far behind the growth rate of investment in material production, and this has caused our educational undertakings to fall behind the development of the national economy. In addition, because of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," education has also held back the national economy. Therefore, to enable education to keep abreast of the development of the national economy, we must gradually change the ratio of investment in education in relation to investment in the entire national economy and must gradually increase educational expenditure. Naturally, we must take into consideration the financial resources of the country when increasing educational expenditure and act according to our ability. In order not to adversely affect the progress of economic construction, we cannot suddenly increase educational expenditure too much. Only by ideologically paying attention to this question can we gradually make some improvements.

2. There must be a proper ratio on educational undertakings. We must set up a system of education suited to China's national economic development in order to satisfy the demands of various production and construction departments for qualified people. At present there is a special need for reforming the structures of secondary education and higher education. According to statistics, a high-level scientist or technician requires three to five middle-level technicians to assist him. Therefore we cannot only train university and college graduates but must also correspondingly train middle-level technicians. At the same time, most of the middle school graduates will be seeking employment, and secondary education must prepare them for future employment. Practice has proved that ordinary middle school graduates without labor training are not suited to the needs of modern production. Secondary education must change its single system method and set up all kinds of specialized schools, technical schools and vocational schools to satisfy the diversified needs of social life. Society and educational departments at various levels have already paid attention to this question, and experiments have been carried out at selected points, but further investigation and study must be carried out in coordination with labor departments before this can be solved in a planned and systematic manner.

Institutions of higher learning must also be diversified. Apart from the 4-year system of university education, we must also adopt more 2-year systems for university and technical school education. Only in this way can we satisfy the needs of society for all kinds of qualified people and the demands of young people for higher education, and at the same time guarantee the quality of institutions of higher learning and maximize the economic results of the investment in education. There must be a proper ratio between liberal arts and science subjects. The ratio of liberal arts subjects must be increased. Various special liberal arts subjects have their own vocational knowledge that not everybody is capable of assimilating. The organization and management of modern production in particular urgently require qualified people with vocational knowledge. The question of fostering such talent has already become readily apparent and merits attention.

While making a success of full-time day schools, we must simultaneously energetically strengthen spare-time education for the workers. The comparatively low scientific and cultural level of our contingent of workers is restricting the use of advanced technology and equipment. Therefore, the reeducation of the contingent of workers is an important condition for realizing China's four modernizations.

The reform of the structure of education must be combined with the reform of the cadre system and the reform of the labor system. If we only reform the structure of education and do not reform the cadre system or set vocational demands on the cadres, then the qualified people trained by educational departments will be unable to bring their talents into play. China's liberal arts education occupies a very small proportion of the institutions of higher learning. There is actually a shortage of qualified people in the liberal arts. However, in actual life many liberal arts graduates have changed their professions. For example, most of the graduates from the education discipline have changed their profession in the last 10 years. This is because no explicit professional demand has been set for school principals or for directors of educational sections, departments and bureaus. It seems that anyone can hold such posts without professional training. If this practice of paying attention only to class status, family background and record of service and not to academic background and professional knowledge is not changed in the cadre system, even if more liberal arts students were to be trained they still could not bring their role into play. The same also applies to the labor system. If recruitment pays no attention to academic background and professional ability, vocational and technical schools cannot be consolidated. Therefore, reform of the structure of education must be studied, and overall planning must be carried out by the educational department together with the labor, organization and planning departments.

3. The standard of the qualified people trained must be in line with the needs of modern production and the rapid development of modern science and technology. What kind of specialists should higher education train in particular? The professional knowledge of the specialists trained in the past was rather restricted and played a very important role in dealing with specific problems of production. However, with the development of modern science and technology and the continuous transformation of modern production, these specialists can no longer keep abreast with the demands of the situation. The swift and vigorous development of science and technology has caused technical innovation to spread from individual departments or links of production to include the whole department and process of production. This requires the specialists to have professional mobility and adaptability, as well as the ability to keep abreast of the constantly improving professional knowledge we are confronted with.

For example, modern production requires foresight on the part of the administrative personnel. A modern factory takes many years from construction to production, and the products of the factory at the time of production are often not anticipated in the design of the plant. The person in charge must have foresight and promptly make changes in the design. In scientific research it is impossible at present for scientific research personnel to know everything. Therefore, the person in charge must make up for the inadequacies of the scientific research and production personnel in this respect. He must not only be able to see more thoroughly and further ahead than the scientific research and production personnel, but must also have the ability to organize research and production and must have full control of the scientific and technical situation. Therefore, higher education not only must train qualified scientists and technicians but also must produce people who possess both extensive knowledge and profound scholarship.

At present the task of institutions of higher learning can no longer be restricted to merely imparting available knowledge to students. The high degree of development of science and technology and their application to production have imposed on the institutions of higher learning the necessity of developing scientific research. If they do not develop scientific research, they will be unable to keep abreast with the developing situation, improve their scientific level and teaching quality or train qualified scientists and technicians and qualified administrators. At the same time, many subjects of scientific research straddle various branches of learning. Only institutions of higher learning, and particularly universities with more faculties and comprehensive schools, have the amenities for dealing with subjects straddling various branches of learning. Therefore, to adapt the institutions of higher learning to the needs of modern production we must shift the emphasis to running them not only as centers of education but also as centers of scientific research.

4. The content of education must reflect the most advanced achievements of contemporary science and technology. This is an indisputable point. However, we must still investigate and experiment carefully as to how to put this into effect. The experience of foreign countries over the last 20 years or more shows that there are several points which merit our emulation and reference:

1) The study of science at secondary and primary schools must be strengthened. We must compile a complete set of textbooks reflecting the new achievements of modern science which are suitable for primary and secondary school education and books for the students to read out of class. We must strengthen the content of scientific education from primary school onward, so that children can study science and develop a keen interest in science at an early age. Strengthening the study of science does not mean teaching students everything but teaching them the most elementary, essential and advanced things. Therefore, the planning of primary and secondary school courses and the compiling of teaching materials are crucial to improving the quality of primary and secondary school education.

2) In strengthening the study of science we must at the same time strengthen the teaching of foreign languages. There are no national boundaries in modern science. To obtain the latest information on science and technology we must know foreign languages. The foreign language level of a country to a certain extent reflects the cultural and educational level of that country. Because we have not attached sufficient importance to foreign language teaching in the past, the foreign language level of our scientists and technicians is very low, and this has become the stumbling block to assimilating foreign science and technology. We must draw a lesson from this. The teaching of foreign languages should also begin at the primary and secondary schools, and students must pass the foreign language test in middle school before they can devote themselves to the study of specialized knowledge at the university.

3) Secondary schools must strengthen arts and crafts education or comprehensive technical education, so that the students can have an initial understanding of the concept of modern production and the general process of production and master the skills of using the basic tools of labor. This means that we must properly organize the students to take part in productive labor. Where possible, schools may operate factories, workshops or farms to develop the labor concept and skills of the students.

4) Institutions of higher learning must strengthen basic courses, so that the students will have extensive basic knowledge and therefore stronger adaptability. At present, institutions of higher learning in all countries of the world are generally attaching importance to the teaching of basic courses and guarding against narrow specialization (apart from special courses for developing a specialty). Some of the more famous science and engineering colleges in the United States have increased the number of lectures on mathematics and other basic sciences in recent years and are clearly reducing the time spent on specialized courses. For example, in the training program for electrical engineers, basic courses accounted for 25 percent of the teaching time in the 1950's, but the teaching time for specialized courses has been cut from 45 percent to 30 percent and then 20 percent. In recent years, other countries have also been paying attention to the strengthening of basic courses.

For the sake of enabling university graduates to possess extensive knowledge, the mutual infiltration and integration of liberal arts and science subjects is also a current trend of reform in institutions of higher learning. The famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States has also set up a liberal arts department. Undergraduate courses for first- and second-year students total 180 credits, 60 of which are required in natural sciences, 72 in the humanities, arts and social science, 36 in classified natural science and 12 in laboratory work. The science and engineering colleges of the Soviet Union have also been attaching importance to the teaching of liberal arts subjects in recent years. Some have set up courses in history, literature, arts and psychology, and they are demanding that the engineers of the future be familiar with labor legislation and engineering psychology.

5. In the method of development we must pay attention to developing the ability of the students to study on their own. The rapid development of science and technology has led to an "explosion" of scientific information and knowledge. According to statistics, there have been more new discoveries and inventions in science and technology over the last 10 years than in the whole of the last 2,000 years. At present some 5 million scientific papers are published throughout the world, and some 300,000 patents for inventions are registered every year. It is impossible for students to learn all the scientific knowledge in the short space of a dozen years at school. What the students study at school is the most elementary knowledge. The important thing is to develop the ability of the students to study on their own. So long as the ability of students to study on their own is strengthened and the method of conducting independent research is mastered, they will be able to accumulate new scientific knowledge, keep on improving their own scientific level in work and adapt themselves to the new changes and developments in science and technology. Therefore, schools at various levels must pay attention to developing the ability of students to study on

their own and, in particular, must begin at the primary school. Institutions of higher learning must pay attention to developing the ability of students to study and work independently. University courses must be appropriately reduced, and we must change the traditional method of instruction to allow students more time for independent study. In strengthening the teaching of basic courses we must at the same time allow senior students to participate in scientific research and engineering planning to develop and temper their capabilities.

The aforementioned points are only a few opinions concerning the general demands of modern production on education, viewed from the angle of realizing this universal law of combining education with productive labor. The influence of modern production has permeated the entire social life of the people and imposed new demands on all links of the policy, system, content and method of education, as well as the means of education. We must study it as an important problem of education and scientific research. The conscientious investigation and study, reform, practice and exploration of this law will enable China's educational undertakings to make new contributions to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

HOW LITERATURE AND ART SHOULD CORRECTLY REFLECT CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE--EXCERPTS OF SPEECHES BY COMRADES OUYANG SHAN AND OTHERS IN A FORUM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 42-48

> [Text] Editor's Note: Correctly reflecting and portraying contradictions among the people is an important task in developing socialist literature and art. The propaganda department of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and the literary section of RED FLAG invited some writers and literary and art critics in Guangdong to a forum on this problem. Participants in the forum freely aired their views and expressed good ideas by relating this problem to reality. Excerpts of their remarks in the forum are published below.

Chen Yueping (member of the standing committee of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and director of the propaganda department):

In the past few years, literary and art work in our province has been very lively. With the emancipation of the mind and the enlivening of work, many new situations and problems have appeared and require our further discussion and solution. One example is the problem of how literature and art should reflect contradictions among the people. Today we are asking you comrades to discuss this problem. All of you are free to express your opinions and to say whatever comes to mind. Unanimity is not necessary. We can seek common grounds on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. We hope that through discussion we can strive to produce more and better socialist literary and artistic works beneficial to the people.

Ouyang Shan:

Literary works of revolutionary realism have always portrayed both contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. There is no question of whether or not we should write about them. However, people began to talk about this question in 1957. Obviously, on the theoretical level no one was ever against writing about any type of contradiction. However, in the practice of literary creation writers often felt that writing about contradictions among the people causes more trouble. Those unsophisticated literary criticisms branded works which dealt with contradictions among the people as "vilifying the working people" and "presenting a bad picture of socialism" or even termed them "antiparty and antisocialism." This caused some writers to regard portraying contradictions among the people as a perilous undertaking. This type of work almost became a forbidden zone.

During the early period of the People's Republic we had opposed the theory of "writing about reality." This viewpoint held that the brighter side of the socialist society is not real. Only its darker side is real. However, if we think that in socialist society only the brighter side is real while the darker side is not, this is also a distortion of reality. We have committed an error in this area. Later, people were afraid to mention even literary realism or the fact that literary creation must reflect the reality of life. This was a taboo that brought us much harm. Later there was the criticism of the doctrine of the "great road of realism" and the doctrine of the "middle character." In 1963 and 1964, two instructions were issued that were divorced from the real situation, and the rectification campaign in literature and art followed this. Almost all works that dealt with contradictions among the people were criticized and negated.

Not long after the start of the "Great Cultural Revolution," particularly after the issuance of Jiang Qing's "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces," works portraying contradictions among the people became the first target of attack. They were all condemned as big poisonous weeds. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company cooked up the so-called "conspiratorial literature and art," distorted contradictions among the people into contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and slandered the revolutionary veteran cadres as "capitalist roaders." Works like "Counterattack" and "The Joyous Xiaoliang River" were their tools in using literature and art to engage in political conspiracy.

Today, to seriously implement the "double hundred" principle and make literary and artistic creations flourish greatly depends on whether or not we can create an atmosphere conducive to the portrayal of contradictions among the people and sweep away all kinds of restrictions and taboos. We must vigorously advocate portraying the brighter side of our society. That is our sacred duty. However, can and should works portraying the darker side of things among the people exist? According to the original intent of the "double hundred" principle, they can and should exist. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The masses of people also have shortcomings. These shortcomings must be overcome by criticism and self-criticism among the people. To conduct this criticism and self-criticism is one important task of literature and art." Therefore, our principal task is still to continue criticizing the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary line enforced by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and to emancipate our minds. We must not frown the minute we see works touching on the darker side of our society, or even conceal faults for fear of criticism and thus create new restrictions and taboos. This is one aspect of the problem.

There is another aspect to this problem. When we portray contradictions among the people, particularly when we touch on the darker side, we must seriously study the actual conditions and must adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts. We must maintain the political situation of stability and unity and take the social effect of our works into consideration.

First, we must see that the darker side of socialist society is not inherent in the socialist system but a nonessential and transient phenomenon. Through the efforts of our party and the people of the whole country, this darker side is shrinking with each passing day. It will gradually be eliminated and will not be allowed to spring up again. If we consider this darker side as inherent in the socialist system and portray it as a permanent and essential thing, then we are wrong. That will have harmful effects on society.

Second, with regard to our government and its leadership at all levels, we must clearly realize that they are personnel of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must cherish them and respect them. We must not forget how much sweat and blood was expended and how many precious lives were sacrificed to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the personnel of the organs of this dictatorship have shortcomings and have made mistakes, we must enthusiastically criticize them and help them correct their errors. We must not imitate some anarchists, extreme individualists and a handful of antagonistic elements in society by ridiculing, hurling invectives at, slandering and negating them. If a writer regards our government and cadres as the type of government and officials portrayed in Gogol's "The Government Inspector" and fails to distinguish between a revolutionary and a reactionary regime, then what right has he to engage in socialist literary creation?

Third, the CCP is the core of leadership of our revolutionary cause. At present the party is leading us in the new Long March toward the four modernizations. We must not have any doubts or waver in our trust in the party's leadership. Undoubtedly, literary works must portray the great, glorious and correct side of the CCP while also suitably portraying its shortcomings and mistakes. However, we must never seize on those transient, nonessential things to vilify, attack and slander our party. For instance, we must not say that the whole Communist Party does not have a single qualified party member just because there are a few unqualified members in our party; we must not say that a privileged class exists in our society just because some of our cadres seek privileges. If our literary works adopt such a negative attitude toward our party, even the revolutionary workers and the broad masses of people would find them unacceptable.

Then, is it not very difficult to portray contradictions among the people and touch on the darker side of our society while also taking into account the above considerations, that is, insisting on the four basic principles? It is indeed not easy. However, it is not impossible. The key lies in whether or not we can master the Marxist world outlook and stand firmly on the side of the proletariat and the great masses of people.

Chen Canyun:

People understand problems and things differently because of differences in their station and personalities. In the writer's observation of life and contemplation of problems or in his portrayal of contradictions among the people and exposure of the shortcomings and mistakes in the course of social progress and the darker side of society there is a problem of consciousness. If the writer's consciousness is muddled and he fails to grasp the essence of matters, his observation and analysis of life will not be accurate.

We must continue to emancipate our minds and boldly engage in creation. Even if we misunderstand some problems and write some unsophisticated or even erroneous things, that is but normal. We must do things according to the "double hundred" principle and engage in comradely discussions. Both criticism and counter-criticism must be allowed.

Our literature and art must be beneficial to socialism and to the leadership of the party. Our works must be inspirational as well as educational to the people in order to heighten their spirits and foster noble sentiments in them. If a work makes the readers or audience waver in their faith in the party and their confidence in socialism or makes them low-spirited and dejected, then what good purpose is served by this work? A revolutionary writer must never forget his social responsibility.

In the course of reflecting contradictions among the people there is also a question of portraying reality. Undoubtedly our works must reflect real life and the struggle of the masses. But we must discriminate. We must not write about anything we find in life and write in whatever way we like. There must be discretion. A writer who cherishes the cause of socialism will consciously choose those subjects which are inspiring, meaningful, beneficial to stability and unity and promote the building of the four modernizations.

Yu Feng:

We are used to saying "writing about contradictions between the enemy and ourselves" and "writing about contradictions among the people." These terms usually lead to oversimplifications, because these two types of contradictions are not static. They could be interlocked and be transformed into each other. Particularly because literature is the study of man, literary works are often written about man. Man develops in contradictions and struggles, but he is not the contradiction itself. Some works in the past knew only how to make up contradictions by plotting out which is the main contradiction and which is the secondary one, and which is the main theme and which is the contrast. Characters were planted in a certain position in the network of contradictions and were mere puppets. They acted out stereotyped plots according to the writer's wishes. This is graphic politics or graphic policy. It is undesirable. Due to this kind of oversimplified understanding, writers feel that writing about contradictions between the enemy and ourselves is easy, while writing about contradictions among the people is difficult. They think that in the first case the outcome of "contradictions between the enemy and ourselves" is a foregone conclusion. So, naturally, the writer can do whatever he likes in attacking the targets of the dictatorship. He does not have to worry about any policy. This is a total misconception.

Our socialist literature naturally must serve the people and socialism. Portraying socialist modernization is one of the indispensable aspects and a major component part. For this we must sweep away all obstacles on the road of our advance. The "gang of four" has disappeared from the stage of history. But is it not true that their pernicious influence has not disappeared? Is it not true that the ultraleftist line of thinking still exists? Is it not true that some people are still harassing us by switching between "leftist" and rightist means?

And is it not true that bureaucratism and the privilege-seeking mentality, which are heavily tainted with feudalism, still constitute stumbling blocks confronting us? "All forces of darkness which harm the masses must be exposed." The "forces of darkness" we are talking about here are both in the camp of the class enemies and within the ranks of the people. That is to say, exposure applies not only to dealing with class enemies but also to dealing with certain evil things among the ranks of the people.

Today the work focus of the party has shifted. We must indeed again go deep into real life to learn about life. Otherwise, how are we to discover new situations, understand new problems, reflect new contradictions and portray new characters? It is only by going deep into life, plunging into the struggle and grasping the law of development of objective reality in the new period that we can possibly reflect contradictions and portray characters accurately. Then we will know by heart how to expose the forces of darkness and how much to expose.

Hua Jia:

The party Central Committee has now made itself heard. It has indicated that it will encourage and support writers to boldly experiment and explore in their creative endeavors and will not arbitrarily bring political charges against writers because of faults found in their works. This demonstrates its faith in us and heightens our sense of responsibility. We must emancipate our minds, think independently and boldly engage in creative work. Life in socialist society is very complex and rich. Particularly after the 10 years of catastrophe, 3 years of bringing order out of chaos and the start in building socialist modernization, all kinds of conditions and views exist in society. To truthfully reflect these contradictions and struggles, inevitably we have to praise those things which are true, good and beautiful and expose and attack those that are false, evil and ugly.

All literary works have a certain influence on the readers. When a writer produces a work, subjectively he intends it to have a good influence. However, sometimes this good intention is not realized. The opposite social effect might even be produced. Therefore, allowing people to commit mistakes and correct them and encouraging criticism and countercriticism are good methods of promoting emancipation of the mind and enlivening literary creation. As I see it, this new atmosphere is one of stability and unity and vitality and vigor. It will bring about great developments and a flourishing of our literary creations.

Du Ai:

In the developing socialist reality the dominant aspect among the people is the brighter side. However, a darker and backward side also exists. Writers must examine the problems existing in life. Even bad things in their embryonic forms must be exposed and criticized, so that they can be overcome before they have a chance to develop. Both praise and criticism are combat duties of socialist literature. From its very beginning, proletarian literature has always developed by integrating praise for the great communist ideal and criticism of the ugliness of the old world.

The purpose of criticizing the dirty things and attacking the ugly phenomena in the course of reflecting contradictions among the people is to foster noble sentiments in the people, groom socialist new men and safeguard the socialist system. Some people have thought that raising the question of "social effect" is equivalent to bringing in another set of "restrictions" and to ushering in another period of "control." That is wrong. The spiritual products of the architects of the soul have always involved the question of social influence and social effect. The new works produced in the past 3 years or so were mostly good or relatively good. They have made undeniable contributions in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," eliminating their pernicious influence and healing the wounds inflicted on people's minds. We must not panic as soon as we see some problems emerging. Let us return to the question of how to write.

First, there is the question of thinking and sentiment. We are not living in the old society, but in a new society that has shortcomings and that is imperfect. Not everything in life is real. We must not accept literally the word "reality," but must look at it in relation to the trend of development of the revolution. We must look at these problems and reflect them from the thought and sentiment of cherishing socialism and safeguarding the party's leadership. We can write about bureaucratism and privilege seeking, but the purpose of this is to correct and save those cadres who have this bad tendency and not to cause people to lose their faith.

Qin Mu:

The following situation is prevalent in readers circles: Generally speaking, readers pay more attention to short stories than to novels, and literary magazines are more popular than books on literature. Why is this so? Because short stories and literary magazines are faster and keener in reflecting reality, so much so that they have won the affection of the broad masses of people. This is the same reason why plays like "Flowers of Spring" and "Right and Law" were widely acclaimed by audiences. The masses want to be in touch with reality through literary and artistic works. Everyone wants to know about and how to solve some acute real problems. In general, people have a great desire to know about the pace of progress of the cause of modernization in our country, what are the obstacles to it and how to solve problems related to it. If one comes into contact with the masses from all walks of life, one will know that they are generally grieved and agitated by things which harm or obstruct socialist modernization, such as the special privileges of some leading cadres, bureaucratism which hurts the public interest and benefits some individuals and the question of juvenile delinquents. Works that accurately reflect things in this aspect would naturally be popular with the masses.

To carry on and develop the tradition of revolutionary realism, we must emancipate our minds and continue to wage the struggle between the two lines. Realist art must be truthful, but simple truthfulness does not constitute realism in art. Any extreme individualist, anarchist or nihilist can pick up any fragment of a real occurrence in life to propagandize his views and advocate his world outlook. Revolutionary realist art demands that the writers take the stand of the proletariat, that is, face life, sum up life and write works which are both realistic and progressive in order to contribute to the grooming of the socialist man, uplift the spiritual realm of the people and satisfy the people's growing needs in their cultural life. Writers of the revolutionary realist school must be bold in both praising and exposing. They must truthfully praise things that are progressive while also truthfully attacking decadent and backward things. This is because the process of building the socialist society is also the process of continuous growth of progressive things which are compatible with the system of ownership of the means of production, as well as the process of overcoming backward and even reactionary things which run counter to the system of public ownership.

Most of the contradictions we have to expose at present belong to the category of contradictions among the people. However, we must practice discretion in criticizing, condemning, attacking and satirizing each actual thing, depending on the corresponding conditions. Naturally, that method which arbitrarily applies principles in books of politics to all things, in disregard of the actual conditions, is wrong. We can see that the vast sea is blue. But if we think that every drop of seawater is also blue, then we are very wrong. Political books can make an analysis of the nature of a certain class. However, if we arbitrarily apply the conclusion of this analysis to each member of this class, thinking that every one of them will be the same, sometimes we can be very wrong. The actual situation is much more complicated. Otherwise there would not have been the breaking up of classes, changes, improvements and betrayals of people. The general way to handle contradictions among the people is through persuasion and education. However, if we think that the moment we write about this subject we must necessarily be "benevolent as a buddha," tender and kind, polite and pleasant, we could be very wrong sometimes. There are ordinary contradictions among the people, and there are contradictions among the people which are serious and whose nature could be transformed. There is bureaucratism which only involves busying oneself with trivial things and being divorced from reality, while there also is bureaucratism which involves stepping on the head of the people and oppressing them. Would you say you would use the same writing style in exposing and criticizing all of them?

Yi Gong:

Reflecting contradictions among the people in literary works is a longstanding, big and difficult problem. It is "longstanding" because it has been raised several times in the past 30 years but never resolved. It is "big" because it exists abundantly in actual life. It is "difficult" because contradictions among the people are usually related to the party's leadership. The difficulty lies in the fact that writers might not have the correct understanding and might not take the correct stand; the difficulty lies in the fact that it is hard to practice discretion and hard to determine the proper way of reflecting contradictions, because different persons have different perceptions; the difficulty also lies in the fact that after a piece of work is produced it might not pass official scrutiny and might be attacked. It is seldom that works dealing with contradictions among the people, particularly opposition to bureaucratism, are not criticized. In Guangdong, only Comrade He Qiu's play "Before the Coming of the New Bureau Chief" was not criticized, because after Premier Zhou watched the play in 1956 he made the remark that it was "very educational." Works included in the volume "Flowers Blossoming for the Second Time," published last year, previously had all been branded as poisonous weeds. Many of them opposed bureaucratism. After liberation I wrote two works reflecting contradictions among the people. Both were criticized.

The usual charges against works which reflect contradictions among the people include the following:

First, "vilifying and slandering the socialist system." Actually, bureaucratism is part of feudalism, and commandism is related to the patriarchal system. Both are remnants of the old society. The purpose of exposing them is to safeguard and consolidate our socialist system. Socialism is a new system. However, it still has some ills of the old society. It still has to undergo a process of gradual perfection. In the meantime, it has a darker side and it is inevitable that it has some shortcomings and mistakes. The important thing is to expose them in time and seriously try to overcome them.

Second, "being deliberately destructive and not constructive." Actually, the overwhelming majority of literary workers love the socialist motherland. Their intention is constructive. However, being constructive does not mean ignoring shortcomings and faults. On the contrary, failure to expose backward things that exist among the people and allowing them to grow and spread would amount to being irresponsible toward socialism. This would really be destructive.

Third, "vilifying a whole group by painting a bad picture of one." Writers have to use types in portraying one character in order to educate the many and thus warn everyone. One may correct mistakes if one has made any and guard against them if one has not. However, some criticisms insist that the writer has vilified a whole group. That is both funny and annoying.

To correctly reflect contradictions among the people, not only should writers go deep into life to remold their world outlook, but the leadership must also be enthusiastic and give them their hearty support and help. This is very important. They must be like Stalin when he supported "Frontline" and Premier Zhou when he supported "Before the Coming of the New Bureau Chief." When some faults are discovered, we need not be agitated. We must calmly go into the nature of the problem and find its solution through down-to-earth discussions and not through vulgar and dogmatic criticism.

Huang Peiliang:

I believe that works reflecting contradictions among the people must pay attention to questions in the following three aspects:

1. Time. We often make the mistake of thinking that reflecting contradictions among the people involves only "exposing." This is very one-sided. Works reflecting contradictions among the people must fully manifest the spirit of the times in our society. The short story "The Day Factory Director Qiao Went to Office" enthusiastically praised Qiao Guangpu, a modern hero who devotes himself to socialist modernization, while also mercilessly castigating Ji Shen's bureaucratic style. The questions raised in the work were very acute. They touched on a series of important problems, such as production management in modern

enterprises and the cadre system of our country. There were instances of praise and exposes, and the handling of the relationship of struggle among various contradictions was quite realistic. After reading it, one feels that there are great obstacles to the achievement of modernization, yet one is filled with confidence and feels that a bright future awaits us. This work is filled with the vigorous spirit of the times in the new period. It represents to us a valuable example in correctly reflecting contradictions among the people.

Of course, we are not saying that works portraying contradictions among the people must necessarily praise and expose at the same time. But one point must be stressed--even works that expose or that are tragic must not give readers the feeling of hopelessness and pessimism. This is because our social system is essentially different from the old social system. The people are now the masters of history, and our party is able to correct its shortcomings and faults which are caused by various factors and to redress miscarriages of justice in a down-to-earth manner. This fact is of essential significance, and it makes our society basically different from those of the past. Therefore, we say that even tragedies exposing the darker side of our society or dealing with the socialist period must still bear the clear marks of our society. This is what we mean when we say that works must reflect the times.

2. Use of types. One basic requirement of literary creation is truthful reflection of real life. Reality in life is not necessarily reality in art. The reason why some works which reflect contradictions among the people have given rise to controversies might be that the authors have not been skillful in grasping the typicality of the setting and characters in choosing their subjects and composing the plot. Typicality means unfolding the mutual relationship between specific typical settings and typical characters, meaning that what the characters in the works do and why they do such things inevitably are limited by the specific setting they are in (that is, the society). If characters in the work are divorced from the specific setting they are in and can do whatever they like, then the image of these characters loses its typical significance. Works exposing social problems written during the past 2 years, such as "The Class Master" and "Save Her," are representative of some successful examples. The authors of these works were able to correctly handle the relationship between the typical setting and the typical characters. Even though what they created were not heroic characters and the main character might even be a villain, their works still have real significance and were able to play a great educational role.

3. Accuracy. Accuracy means that in the course of observing life and engaging in creation the writer must take the standpoint of the proletariat and accurately reflect the original appearance of things. In reflecting contradictions among the people, particularly in works that expose the darker side, we must pay special attention to the question of accuracy in order to avoid negative side effects.

Xiao Yin:

From the point of view of realism, not only must the bright and developing things be portrayed, but also the dark and dying things. This is because the reality of life means the internal law of development of life, that is, the inevitability of internal contradictions in matter. If we are to reflect this inevitability, not only the new and dominant things, but also the decaying things which oppose the new things must be reflected. Only thus can the true face of life be correctly reflected. For the same reason, aside from fully portraying contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, we must never ignore contradictions and struggles among the people. That view which takes the main trend (or the principal aspect of the contradiction) as the essence or the typical thing is incorrect. In the same manner, that view which holds that the minority is not a typical thing is also incorrect.

Some people blame the tragedies which occurred during the socialist period on the socialist system. This is groundless. The socialist system is a new social system. As this system is being built it inevitably will encounter open or covert resistance and opposition from remnant forces and ideas of the old system. Additionally, our legal system is imperfect and our democracy inadequate. This give them opportunities. Was it not the pernicious influence of the old system which was responsible for the great tragedies of the breaking up of families and deaths during the time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were wreaking havoc? These tragedies taught us a grim lesson: to avoid the repetition of such tragedies, we must never give in to the remnant forces of feudalism and the mentality of the exploiting class. Only through unrelenting struggle with these forces can we achieve a normal legal system and democratic rights, continue to improve the socialist system and put a stop to all manmade tragedies.

Some people immediately have doubts whenever they see a tragedy, as if they are seeing poison. They consider tragedies as something that makes people depressed and sentimental. One time I was chatting with a colleague who is in his sixties. When we recalled the books we had read during our childhood, we clearly realized that we both grew up reading tragedies. It was precisely these tragedies that made us identify with the good people in the tragedy, feel what they felt, secretly weep for their misfortunes and develop deep hatred for the environment that led them to misfortunes and tragedies--the feudal system, feudal characters and ideas. It was precisely this hatred which led us to the road of revolution.

Lu Xun said: "People see that tragedy destroys the valuable things in life." If one only takes the stand of the people and has certain feelings for justice, one will not fail to feel sorry about the destruction of the "valuable things in life" and nurture hatred, indignation and resentment for the system and ideas which caused their destruction. With time, this subtle influence of tragedies will turn indignation into will, resolution and material force.

Generally speaking, literature must provide inspiration to the readers. However, this does not always mean providing inspiration through a direct way. Some works can raise the vigilance of the people through the portrayal of the criminal activities of villains and the exposure of their despicable character and evil schemes. The plots of some works unfolded in a specific setting in which the forces of darkness temporarily held sway. The revolutionaries died as martyrs in defense of truth. Grief and indignation is impressed in the hearts of the readers. With time, this accumulates and explodes into raging flames of hatred. In some works the victims of the bad people's oppression were the helpless masses. Although they were filled with just indignation, they were not able to engage in any effective resistance for the time being. The story ended with a picture of misery. However, the readers are still able to get a clear view of the social roots of the tragedy and nurture the seed of hatred in their hearts. In short, as long as the writer always upholds socialist principles and stands and keeps the basic interests of the people in mind, his works will not make people depressed and sentimental, no matter how tragic the subjects are.

This means that subjects and characters must be diversified. However, this does not mean that any kind of subject and details in life should be written into literary works. At present some authors of short stories and plays are keen only on writing about fantastic plots. They seem to be becoming more and more "modern." Not only have these works aroused great interest in young writers, but even some editors of publications have taken fantastic plots as a criterion in selecting articles for publication. On the other hand, they pay no attention to whether the characters are typical and true to life. In some works the author not only does not seriously select and refine his subject, but also blindly imitates others and goes with the fashion in choosing his theme. Some fantastic and bizarre works which could not even be understood were advertised and enthusiastically propagandized as new "varieties." Is this still a normal phenomenon?

If literary works are divorced from the basic interests of the Chinese people, abandon the four basic principles and only go after that which is novel and extraordinary, the result will not only suit (and propagandize) the views, interests and esthetics of other classes, but will lead us up a blind alley. Never forget that we are performing work in the realm of consciousness. We must persist in occupying this position.

CSO: 4004

PAY ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC RESULTS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 p 49

[Article by Chen Zhaohuang [7115 2507 3552]]

[Text] Over long periods of time we had a particularly conspicuous flaw in pushing agricultural production without paying attention to economic results.

First, when questions arose, many comrades did not make investigations and studies and were no good at comparing economic results. For example, we were frequently asked: Which cropping system is more advantageous--two dryland crops and one of paddy rice, or two of paddy rice and one dryland crop, or one dryland crop and one of paddy rice? In dealing with such a question, if we fail to work things out, we will guide the production blindly.

Second, due to the influence of the ultraleftist line, we only gave prominence to so-called politics but failed to attach importance to economic results. We only paid attention to the so-called orientation and path but neglected management and administration. A few years ago we suffered great losses in the project involving the raising of pigs by collectives, and the economic results were very poor. However, a number of people still stubbornly persisted in running the "pig farm with a hundred pigs" and restricting the commune members' activities in raising pigs. These people wrongly thought that the more pigs the collectives raised, the more correct the orientation and path we followed. As a result, the more losses we suffered in the project.

Third, we only paid attention to increasing production but neglected increasing incomes. The success or failure of production was weighed by the increase in the output of cotton and grain alone but not by the costs of production. In 1975 the output of grain in our country increased by 24 percent and of cotton by 16.1 percent compared with 1965, and agricultural incomes also increased 14.3 percent. However, agricultural expenses rose by more than 40 percent. As a result, the agricultural net output value decreased by 560,000 yuan, with per capita income of commune members dropping by 4.41 yuan.

Fourth, some people only thought of the immediate interests and neglected the long-term ones. They confined their attention to the present and did not care about the future. For example, water and soil conservation were knotty problems of long standing in the water conservation projects. However, some communes and production brigades planted grain, cotton, tule potatoes and water bamboo on the river slopes and river banks. They even dug ponds and scooped up sludge to build docks. Some communes and production brigades were stingy with their efforts and money in planting trees and growing grass. They wrongly thought that in so doing they had gained much. Actually, they only postponed trouble.

Fifth, some people only thought of the direct results and neglected the indirect ones. A number of comrades only thought that they had to spend considerable manpower and waste manure to build methane-generating pits, but they neglected the fact that once the pits were completed they could save firewood and use more stalks and straw as fertilizer for the field. They wrongly thought that planting green manure crops would reduce the output of the first crops, but they neglected the fact that the output of the second crops would increase because of the soil improvement. Such instances are too numerous to mention. All this showed that over long periods of time we were not able to insure the application of the measures for increasing production.

The goal of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of the people and incessantly improve their material and cultural life. If we fail to pay attention to agricultural production costs and economic results, we will not be able to gain more income, even though production has increased. Raising the people's living standard will be nothing but empty talk.

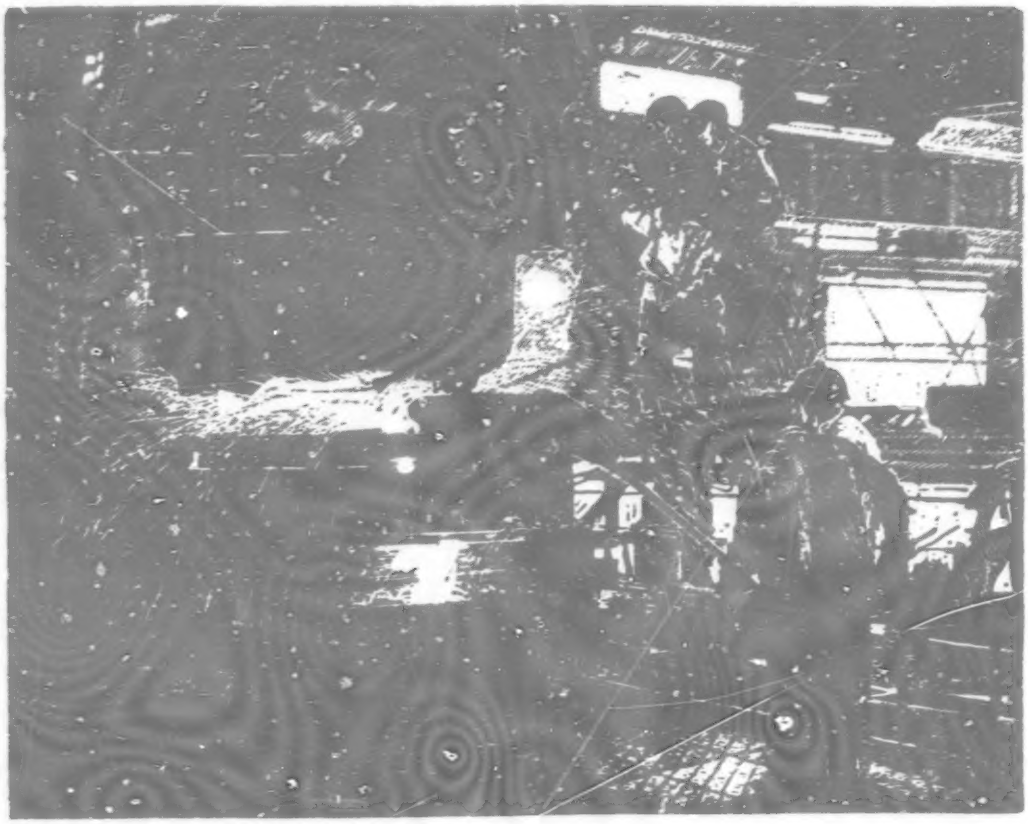
To effectively improve economic results we should gain the maximum economic results by consuming the minimum amount of labor. This should be used as a criterion to judge the success or failure of agricultural production and should be a main principle in formulating production plans and deciding technical measures for agricultural production. Communes or production brigades with high grain and cotton outputs but low economic incomes should not be regarded as advanced units. While pursuing a production system of job responsibility, we should regard production costs as a main aspect of assessment. Under the premise of implementing the state plan, communes and production brigades should be allowed to plant industrial crops which will bring large profits. While adopting technical measures for agricultural production, we should compare several proposals and select the best one with the main emphasis placed on economic results. In the meantime, we should establish and perfect the economic accounting system and do a good job of economic analysis. Expenses and manpower for unproductive purposes should be severely restricted, and production costs should be lowered incessantly. We should go deep into reality, make investigations and studies, carry out economic analysis and assess economic results. Furthermore, cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres, should learn some economics. They should endeavor to study economic management and master basic methods of economic analysis and economic accounting, so that they will gradually become experts in economic work. Those cadres who do not know economic work and fail to grasp business management and are content with being laymen should completely change their attitudes.

CSO: 4004

STEEL CASTING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Wang Weixin [3769 4850 2450]]



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JPRS 77051

23 December 1980

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1980

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JPRS 77051

23 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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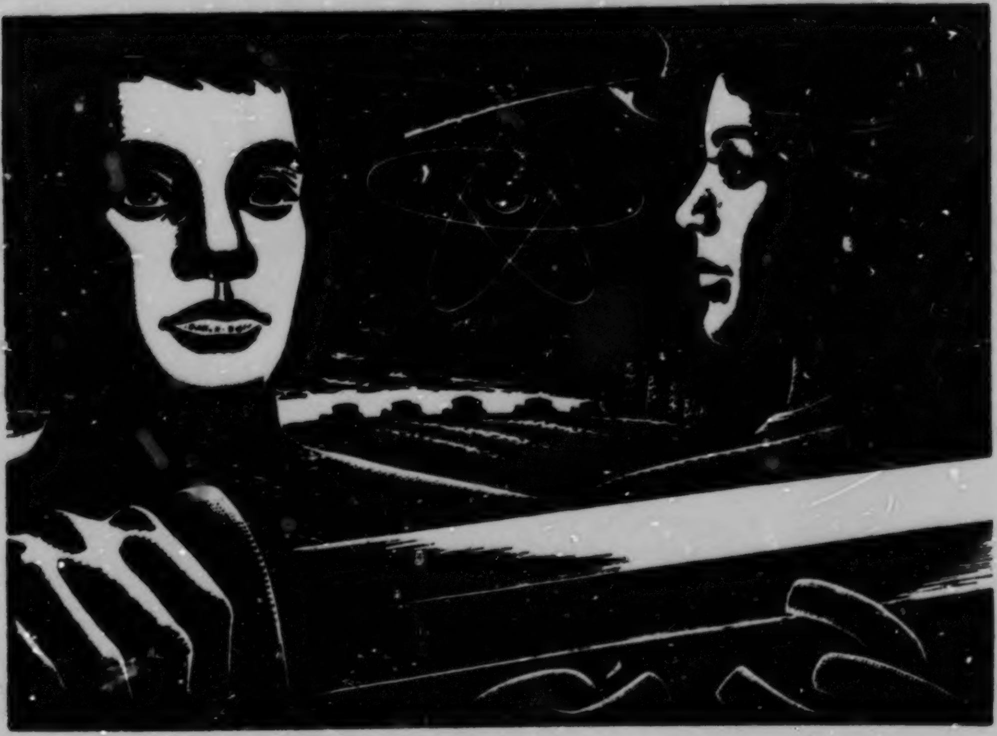
THE VICTORIOUS PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Huang Xinbo [7806 2450 3134]]



CSO: 4004

A NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNITED FRONT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 2-8

[Speech by Zhou Enlai at the Third Session of the Third CPPCC National Committee on 18 April 1962; passages within slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] Today I wish to talk about the new tasks and developments of the People's Democratic United Front in our country. Our People's Democratic United Front not only has won nationwide victory in the new democratic revolution but has continuously scored victories in the course of socialist transformation. Now it faces the great task of socialist construction. Thus, new tasks are put before this organization, this force called the People's Democratic United Front. It must work to create new developments. I said at the NPC session the day before yesterday that it takes time to understand the development of things. This also holds true for the united front. We learned from the relapses during the period of the new democratic revolution, watching the united front being established, broadened, narrowed and broadened again and finally emerging victorious. In the process of socialist transformation after victory in the revolution, the People's Democratic United Front played its role in mobilizing all forces in society that can be united to take part in the work of socialist transformation. Thus our socialist transformation was able to proceed more smoothly and quickly. Now that we have entered the period of socialist construction, the workload of the People's Democratic United Front becomes much heavier. It has to shoulder new tasks (of course, there still remains the task of socialist transformation) and work to create new developments. In other words, on the basis of scoring great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction, it now has to unite with all forces that can be united and mobilize more factors that can be mobilized to take part in socialist construction and broaden our democratic life. These are our new tasks. We must not think that the only task of our People's Democratic United Front is to carry out socialist transformation. It should assert its role not only in socialist transformation but also in socialist construction. We really must shoulder the task of construction.

In order to practice democratic centralism in a still better way, we must first of all broaden and carry forward democratic life. This is also a task which our People's Democratic United Front must shoulder. Within the People's Democratic United Front we still cannot say that all members and forces that have been mobilized agree with the principles and policies of our party and state. There are people who disagree. On this issue we must make a concrete analysis and deal with each case on its own merits. If a person contradicts Chairman Mao's "six criteria," takes a hostile stand toward socialist construction and even carries out sabotage, then he is alienating himself from the people. This is not a contradiction among the people themselves and should not be treated as such. To put it more briefly, the "six criteria" mean that one must accept the leadership of the Communist Party, actively serve socialism and willingly remold oneself. Instead of simply permitting people to hold contrary opinions on specific policies while observing the "six criteria," we should welcome them to do so. Opposing views among the people are good for our progress. It is hard to imagine the People's Democratic United Front as a monolithic bloc in which everyone thinks the same and shares the same view on all problems. If our united front is like this, it will cease to develop, reach a stalemate and even slide back. We do not want to see this happen to any organization or group of people, not even to an individual. In the process of thinking we often engender different ideas about the objective reality of everyday life as reflected in our thinking. We may negate things which formerly we have affirmed, and we may find something correct in one way but wrong in another. Only when we have examined every aspect can we grasp the whole. We understand things we did not understand in the past, and our understanding will further deepen as time goes by. This is how a person develops his thinking and a party perfects its policies; it is also how an organization improves its work. Our united front organization must also forge ahead through such a development process. That is why we say that the two types of contradictions discussed by Chairman Mao, particularly the contradictions among the people, will exist for a long time to come. The correct handling of contradictions among the people is the principle which guides democratic life within our united front. Therefore, we ought to affirm the fact that the united front is now confronted with much heavier tasks and has moved on to new developments. At the same time, we should encourage the airing of different ideas within the united front in line with the principles of the "six criteria." By discussing and comparing notes with each other, we can acquire a better understanding and get closer to the truth and thus continuously advance our cause. Viewed from this angle, our current session is some sort of a beginning in that it has reflected this demand for the first time.

In our meetings over the past 20 days and more, 200-plus committee members have spoken, and over 400 motions have been put forth. We cannot say that every one of us has said what he wanted to say; otherwise we would be looking at things too rigidly. We cannot do that. There still are some people who have reservations, who only said a little of what they had on their minds and are waiting to see if the party and government will accept their views. This approach is permissible. It is only natural, considering the fact that they did not have much chance to speak up and make criticisms in the past. They are encouraged to speak up now, but will this lead to something unpleasant? Regarding people who think this way, we should permit them to reserve their opinions and wait until they are ready to speak up. Indeed, we have to wait and see. Among the many motions that have been put forth, some are good, some can be considered and some are not tenable. Will they be adopted by the party and government organs? Will the suggestions made by the motions examination committee be carried out by the organs concerned? I think we need an observation period. Take, for example, the speech delivered by Mr Hu Xiansu yesterday. I had sent a copy of his speech to the Scientific and Technical Commission and asked Vice Premier Nie Rongzhen to look into it. I, too, would like to reserve some of my opinions and see how things go. I must find out if the commission will truly study the proposal and take action. Therefore, not only do the speakers themselves want to wait and see, but we people who are in charge also want to wait and see. Of course, not all proposals merit prompt action. Some require further deliberation, while others still lack the necessary conditions. However, they must all be studied with great care. This united front of ours must mobilize the most extensive forces to carry forward democracy and take part in construction. This is not the task of the CPPCC alone. All democratic parties, mass organizations, nationalities and sectors must mobilize their people to take part. Only in this way can we mobilize the entire united front. That is why we say this is a beginning. I hope this is a good beginning. Based on this understanding, I would like to discuss with you the following questions:

1. /The question concerning the work of the CPPCC./

From now on the responsibility of the CPPCC will become much heavier. I would say that the CPPCC has done fairly well in the past. The fact that the report on the work of the CPPCC delivered by Vice Chairman Chen Shutong is much richer in content than any previous reports shows that we have made progress in various fields of work. However, we think this is not good enough and want to do even better. First, the CPPCC should make further efforts to organize investigations and study. In order to achieve greater success in our construction we must first of all carry out on-the-spot investigations. Only in this way can we find out about the actual conditions and reflect them truthfully. This is also the only way for us to gather concrete materials and experiences for discussion and study. We should not go down to the lower levels for inspections and visits only when the CPPCC is about to meet. We should do this regularly, say, several times a year. We do not have to go at the same time. In the present stage of readjustment we need to know more about the actual conditions. The CPPCC members should take part in this work. They should go to the cities and the countryside to carry out investigations and study and compare notes afterward. They can exchange views and experiences, whether they are about the work of the Central Committee, the nation or just a locality. In this way we can have vivid examples to discuss at symposiums and public lectures and put forth motions, opinions and suggestions, so that the forces of all quarters can be mobilized. Secondly, instead of laying particular stress on political studies, international activities and the collection of historical accounts of past events, as it did previously, the CPPCC should organize more academic lectures and discussions and make a point of inviting friends from academic circles to take part. During the current session a great deal has been said about this, and the speakers have put forward a good many valuable opinions in this regard. The demands of construction also require us to develop work in this field. For a short while in the past the CPPCC National Committee organized a few academic public lectures, but not enough has been done. In the future the CPPCC should organize more academic lectures and discussions in addition to political studies and the collection of historical accounts of past events. Ours is an organization for political consultation in which different opinions can be put forward at the same time. We do not necessarily have to come to a unanimous conclusion in every debate. We can submit differing views to the parties concerned, such as government organs, scientific research institutions, educational institutions and other academic bodies. The voicing of differing views is a manifestation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." If we have more of these differing views, the executive organs can consider every possibility and settle on the most appropriate program.

2. /The responsibility of the Communist Party in the CPPCC./

We all agree that the Communist Party is the leading party. The leadership of the Communist Party means the collective leadership of the party, that is, leadership by the party Central Committee and the party's leading organs at all levels (such as the provincial, municipal and county party committees). The leading role is played chiefly by the party's principles and policies and not by individuals. Everyone is equal. As far as the nature of our work is concerned, we are all public servants. We should exchange opinions on an equal footing. No individual should place himself in a leading position. An individual is in no position to play the leading role when he is divorced from the collective. The opinions of an individual cannot represent the party's policies. Only when they have been adopted as policies can they be considered the opinions of the collective leadership. Therefore, the opinions exchanged between individuals at ordinary times, including my address here today, are only personal views. We cannot say that every part of today's speech has been collectively discussed by the party Central Committee. Of course, portions of it have been discussed, but some are just my own personal opinions and can only serve as suggestions for reference. Therefore, Communist Party members must first get this straight. Within the CPPCC and in our personal contacts there is no such thing as the one who leads and the one who is led. Only the leading organs and the policies can represent leadership. Otherwise, we will not be able to carry forward democratic life and democratic practices, and feelings of estrangement will grow. This spiritual wall between us will hinder the implementation of democratic centralism. Secondly, in order to bring about democracy in daily life, Communist Party members should make more friends outside the party. Since the united front has been broadened and the Communist Party is playing the leading role here, our party members should sum up the opinions outside the party and present them to the party's leading organs. This requires us to make contacts with friends outside the party and to listen to differing views. Communists will also disagree with one another. However, because they work in the same environment and lead the same kind of political life, their opinions are fairly close on the whole. Since what they present are not quite all-sided, we must listen to the opinions of all quarters to get a complete picture. Similarly, if our friends outside the party are unable to hear the opinions of the Communist Party, they, too, cannot think in an all-round way. Therefore, people inside and outside the party should befriend each other. In particular, communists should take the initiative to make more friends outside the party. Every communist should have a few nonparty friends. In addition to our steady friends, we can make new friends who can reflect opinions and dare to state their views. As Vice Premier Chen Yi said yesterday, we need esteemed friends. These friends should have the courage to express differing views and criticize our shortcomings. Once we know them well, they will not only be esteemed friends but will be friends who can give forthright admonitions. We Communist Party members should listen more to differing opinions. Only in this way can we know more about the opinions of all quarters. Differing views are not necessarily correct, but you must listen to and compare them. Of course, of all the differing opinions, those of the broad masses are by far the most important. These include the opinions of the masses who engage in production in communes, factories and other grassroots organizations, as well as the opinions of people in schools. These opinions which come directly from the masses are most valuable. Since we communists have joined the CPPCC, we must pay special attention to acquainting ourselves with things and people unfamiliar to us. When you are unfamiliar about something, it shows that you are lacking in that respect. You must get in touch with it in order to know what it really is, acquire an intimate understanding of it and benefit from it. Even though that may be opposite or erroneous opinions, you can use them to draw comparisons. If we have the habit of confining ourselves to our small circles, only like to listen to views that are identical with ours while turning a deaf ear to differing opinions and refuse to familiarize ourselves with things foreign to us, the scope of our work will become narrower and narrower. Therefore, we must first require our party members to make more friends. I hope that party members who have come from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous areas to attend this meeting will convey the aforesaid spirit to the party members of their local CPPCC's when they go home. At this meeting some friends have expressed the hope that Communist Party members will make more contacts with nonparty persons. I think this is reasonable. You have the right to make this demand, because this meeting is only held once a year, and this time it has been more than a year since we last met. Now that we have met at last, of course our friends have the right to ask for more opportunities to make contacts, compare notes and hold heart-to-heart talks with Communist Party members.

In short, our party members must admit that there are a lot of things which we do not know and that our knowledge is still very limited. As long as we live we shall always work, study and remold ourselves. Only with this spirit can we make progress. Can we say that all of us have been completely remolded? No, that is not possible. There will always be some dregs, some things which need to be remolded. Only with consciousness can we make progress. In this regard, Communist Party members should set stricter demands on themselves. If everyone is expected to be "strict with oneself and broadminded toward others," then we expect Communist Party members to observe this even more closely. Comrades outside the party should also reprimand us more severely. I think severe reprimanding is a good thing. It is good for the united front. Of course, this should be aimed at improving the conditions of the country and the cause of communism and not at making personal attacks.

3. /The responsibility of various democratic parties./

The responsibility shouldered by various democratic parties is by no means lightened. On the contrary, it is enhanced. Many friends attended the Supreme State Conference and discussed the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Chairman Liu said: The responsibility rests with the Communist Party and the party Central Committee; the democratic parties have no, or few, responsibilities. Chairman Mao also shared this opinion. However, many of our friends from democratic parties said: Democratic parties also have some responsibilities. I think this is a good way of putting it--to take things upon oneself. Well, these were things of the past, and we have learned our lessons. In order to do an even better job in the future, we must share our responsibilities and strive for long-term coexistence and mutual supervision. The democratic parties must shoulder the responsibility of supervision. We have submitted a report on this matter and made a preliminary attempt to sum up experience. From now on we must carry out our commonly agreed policies and tasks. In the course of work the democratic parties must carry out supervision and state their views. That is why we say that the responsibility of the democratic parties in socialist transformation and construction is enhanced rather than lightened. All democratic parties are in the service of socialism. To various parties and their members, serving the cause of communism is a kind of tempering in itself. Among the members of various parties there always are the progressive, the intermediate and the backward, just as there are progressive, intermediate and backward party members. Within their own organizations, various parties must incessantly take serving socialism as their goal and temper their members into people who are true to the socialist cause and egg them on to make progress, so that those in the middle can make progress and shake off their backwardness. On top of the existing members, there will always be new additions to an organization, and a party will grow in size. Among the new recruits there also will always be the progressive, the intermediate and the backward. Therefore, a party must constantly remold its members and act as an impetus for them. Due to the complicated conditions of various classes and strata, we should not regard our socialist transformation as an easy task. For some time in the past we took things too easily. We thought that after the three socialist transformations our society had already achieved ownership by the whole people, or at least collective ownership, as if the socialist transformation would soon be completed. We wanted to convert not only the rural villages but also the cities into people's communes. We wanted to rearrange the streets and alleys and remold their residents. Moreover, some people even thought that we could make the switch from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in no time. These ideas are just not right. In an economically backward, populous, vast and multinational country such as ours, we cannot transform the whole society overnight, even though we have thoroughly carried out the democratic revolution and smoothly brought about socialist transformation. The reason is that our economic level is still relatively low. On the basis of such an economic level, it is impossible to completely transform the superstructure in a short time. Things will always be uneven, and imbalances will always exist. The completion of socialist transformation corresponds with the progress of socialist construction as a whole. If it takes China several decades to achieve modernization, the time it takes to complete the construction of the entire socialist society will be even longer, and then it will be only afterward that we will advance toward a higher stage of communism. We must acquire a more long-term point of view and realize that socialist transformation takes a long time to accomplish. This is not only because of economic reasons but also because we are still under the affliction of old political influence and forces of habit. Although old things which used to play a dominant role have been toppled, old political influence still exists on the strength of old forces of habit. Problems pertaining to ideology and workstyle are even more abundant. This kind of transformation will take an even longer time. Although working people are born with enthusiasm for building socialism, they are also influenced by old habits, thinking and workstyle. This calls for transformation. We must work particularly hard at it, because there are people of various circles and strata in our society. Therefore, various parties must mobilize the sectors they represent to take part in socialist construction and to exert a transformation. They do not necessarily have to represent the same sectors, but if we work on those sectors which are closer to each other, we can promote socialist transformation and enable the whole process to develop more soundly. In other words, we must strive for cooperation among various parties and carry out work according to the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision, not only for the sake of construction but also for the sake of transformation.

4. /The role of trade unions./

Trade unions are mass organizations within the united front. They are the class organization of the workers. As the leading class, the working class not only must educate its members well but must influence other strata. It not only must perfect its own organization but must influence other sectors. In our present readjustment task, we must first of all make some personnel changes within the contingent of workers. In the course of readjustment, the trade unions should do some work on their members. The departments of industry, communications and capital construction and their affiliated organizations, various enterprises and establishments and state farms are within the scope of activity of trade unions. They must do a good job of increasing production and practicing economy. At present, workers still face certain difficulties in their livelihood. How to insure supplies and help the workers solve problems of livelihood is a great responsibility of trade unions. Thus, in addition to tasks assigned by the state, the trade unions now shoulder much heavier and much more complicated responsibilities. They have to do more work than they were required to do in the past. They must work in coordination with the party and the government, because they are principal assistants of the party and are the main force of the united front. They not only must pay attention to solving problems pertaining to the workers' livelihood but must refer these problems to the government. If a poor job has been done in the streamlining of central and local administrative structures, they have the right to point out the problems and play a supervisory role. Of course, they should not set themselves against the government. What they should do is to assist the government in its work. If the government has not done its work well, trade unions may make comments or suggestions. Just as mutual supervision is carried out among different parties, so trade unions and other sectors can also keep an eye on each other. They should regard this as their task, work with one heart and one mind, head in the same direction and do their work well.

5. /The role of the Youth League./

The task of the Youth League is also enhanced. Take students' education, for example. As I said at the NPC session the day before yesterday, some graduates of higher primary schools and junior middle schools may not have a chance to further their studies, because institutions of higher learning and secondary schools will enroll fewer students this year. This is where the Youth League can render a service. It can organize and promote supplemental education in the cities and the countryside, so that the youngsters will not run amuck because they do not have any school to attend. We can also train competent people by helping them study on their own. People do not necessarily have to graduate from regular schools to be able to work in society. Some people who have not gone to college are doing equally well. Many experts among party members of our generation have never been to regular universities. This is the case with our generation. Will everyone finish college or senior middle school in the next generation? Judging from the present economic conditions, I do not think it is possible as yet to expect so much. We may require everyone to at least finish middle school in the future, but right now this is not yet possible. This requires the Youth League to promote self-study. Supplemental education can be sponsored by the government and can be undertaken by individuals. A person may give lessons to several youngsters in his own home and charge them tuition fees. This is permitted and can supplement the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. We should also permit certain handicraftsmen and writers and artists to take apprentices and provide facilities for them.

Last year we began to recruit soldiers in the cities and scored good results. We intend to continue this practice this year, especially in the big and medium-sized cities. The Youth League should properly publicize this. We advocate that "all true men should join the army and make the country their family." Young people who are brought up by the socialist society and have the right to vote should actively enlist in the armed forces and make this a prevalent practice. Children of cadres, in particular, should set an example and take the lead to join up. After joining the army they should not seek any privileges.

6. /The role of women's organizations./

Women's federations must also shoulder responsibilities in certain fields. For example, they should encourage supplemental education in the neighborhood committees and in the countryside and help mothers encourage their grownup sons to join the armed forces. Sometimes when a cadre's son joins up, his mother is unwilling to be separated from him. Of course, this refers to some isolated cases, but it is still worth mentioning. As I said the day before yesterday, it is necessary to promote birth control in the cities and in the densely populated rural areas. We hope that the women's federations will do some promotion work. They have done this in the past, and their work proved to be effective.

7. /The work of federations of industry and commerce./

The responsibility of federations of industry and commerce is also enhanced. On the one hand, we will continue to pay fixed interest to the industrialists and merchants for another 3 years and discuss the matter again when the time comes. On the other hand, the industrialists and merchants are facing readjustment. Among the industrialists and merchants there are the national bourgeoisie, small owners, upper petty-bourgeoisie as well as peddlers. Some of them can go back to collective or privately run commercial undertakings, some can be absorbed by state-run enterprises and establishments, while others are old enough to retire. Although the government is responsible for their placement, federations of industry and commerce can assist the government in conducting investigations on such matters. As things stand now, I think we should strengthen the industrial and commercial administrative bureaus, not only at the national level but also at the provincial and municipal levels, in order to maintain more extensive contacts with the federations of industry and commerce. Industrialists and merchants should be properly placed. For example, those people who are unfit to go to the countryside and who have their homes in the cities should be allowed to remain in the cities. In this regard, there are quite a lot of problems. Among the industrialists and merchants there also are some who have livelihood problems. The federations of industry and commerce may set aside certain portions from the fixed interest to be used as mutual aid funds. If these are not sufficient, the government may render assistance. I have discussed this with Chen Shutong and agreed that we should work out some specific methods. The federations of industry and commerce should intensify rather than relax their efforts in assisting the government in such fields of work as remolding the industrialists and merchants, mobilizing them to take part in socialist construction and making arrangements for their livelihood. The amount of work will only increase; it will not decrease.

8. /Cultural, educational and scientific organizations./

This topic has been discussed in most proposals and speeches heard at this current session. It occupies an important position both quantitatively and qualitatively. Comrade Chen Yi answered many questions on this subject in his speech yesterday. I am not going to discuss them further here. In short, to demonstrate our strength in socialist construction we must further strengthen, expand and improve the quality of our cultural, educational and scientific contingents and improve our educational system. For some time in the past we have not paid sufficient attention to work in this field. In the future we must strengthen not only the government system and the systems of education, scientific research and production but also the system of political consultation. We must adapt the development of culture, education and science to the needs of economic construction, pay attention to quality and science and technology instead of just going after quantity as we did in the past and strive to do a really good job of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in the fields of culture, education and science--not only in form but also in substance. Take the CPPCC, for example. The majority of its vice chairmen are from cultural and educational circles. Yesterday Comrade Chen Yi pledged his willingness to listen to suggestions on these matters. In addition to Comrade Chen Yi, other comrades who are in charge of scientific, cultural and educational undertakings will also do the same. We hope that more attention will be paid to work in this field.

Comrade Chen Yi thoroughly discussed the question of pulling out the white flag and planting the red flag in thought. How do we pull out the white flag and plant the red flag in thought? To be able to solve ideological problems we must gradually raise the level of our understanding and go through a process of self-study, self-recognition and self-remolding. Comrade Chen Yi said yesterday that the CCP Central Committee was not responsible for the presentation of this question, that it came from the lower levels. I must correct him here. Perhaps he has forgotten. Comrade Zhang Jichun from the Culture and Education Office handed me a note yesterday saying that there was indeed such a remark in a Central Committee document. I did some checking today and found that this was truly the case. The CCP Central Committee should shoulder the responsibility. This remark is very stiffly put and can be explained in many ways. How can we pull out the white flag and plant the red flag in matters of ideology? We can never insert things in this way. Sometimes we tend to be rather casual when we evaluate things or talk about a certain situation. The fact that we do not pay attention to our wording may lead to undesirable consequences. We should admit these kinds of shortcomings and mistakes.

9. /The question of relations between fraternal nationalities./

This question has been discussed in the report on the work of the government. Problems pertaining to national autonomous areas must be solved in accordance with government procedures after meetings. They can also be discussed by the CPPCC Nationality Group. The NPC Nationality Committee and the Nationality Affairs Commission also intend to hold a joint meeting to discuss the issues. The government will respect the valuable opinions put forward by the representative figures of various fraternal nationalities and do what it has to do after deliberation and study. There are many shortcomings and mistakes in our handling of questions concerning the administrative structure and the nationality cadres. They must be corrected. However, we are not going to discuss them further here.

10. /The question of religion./

Within the CPPCC there is a unit which handles religious affairs. We have made mistakes in this field of work in the past. Some friends from religious circles have brought them up for criticism. Many of their valuable opinions deserve our attention. We have always looked at the question of religious belief too simplistically. We expect everyone to have the Marxist-Leninist understanding of communists and require everyone to embrace the same outlook on life and on the world. This is impossible. Ideology and understanding can only change gradually. Moreover, questions of ideology and understanding are questions among the people. Religious belief has been a long-standing problem. We only hope that patriotic personages of religious circles who love the motherland will be willing to serve socialism and study hard. In this way the fact that they still have religious beliefs will not present an obstacle to the broadening and consolidation of our entire People's Democratic United Front and to our country's socialist construction.

11. /The question of Overseas Chinese./

With the exception of several CPPCC members who come from Hong Kong and Macao and two NPC deputies who come from Hong Kong, all representatives of Overseas Chinese attending the current NPC and CPPCC sessions worked in China. We maintain contacts with Overseas Chinese through the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. Work concerning Overseas Chinese falls into two parts. One part deals with people living abroad; the other part deals with their dependents in China or those who have come back to work or to study. The policies of the party and the state in this regard have been discussed many times. However, we are still facing some problems now. For example, we have to work out how we should take care of the dependents of Overseas Chinese and how to transfer Overseas Chinese cadres now working in the cities to a lower level. Many people have come from cities, and it is best that we help them settle in the cities. Our Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission should pay attention to these problems. The CPPCC Overseas Chinese Affairs Group should also study them.

The CPPCC also covers other aspects of work, but I am not going to enumerate them one by one here.

In short, our CPPCC includes different parties and mass organizations. It is made up of the members of these units, and through them it maintains contacts with various sectors of the nation, the people of the whole country and even Chinese nationals residing abroad. After this session our united front will be broadened and deepened. Our tasks will become heavier. Through the CPPCC, the government work report approved by the NPC and our principles and tasks have been clearly explained to the broad masses at home. We believe we can achieve the anticipated results. RENMIN RIBAO called on us in yesterday's editorial: "Unite in struggle and strive to win new victories." Now that we have affirmed our achievements, criticized our shortcomings and mistakes and put forward principles and tasks for solving problems, we have greater confidence in our construction and can assuredly overcome the difficulties before us. We are quite sure and confident that we can unite in struggle and strive to win new victories.

CSO: 4004

THE KEY LIES IN CREATING FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR PRODUCTION--ON STRENGTHENING AND PERFECTING THE RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 9-11

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] An important task in rural work today is to strengthen and perfect the responsibility system for agricultural production and do a better job of implementing the system of payment according to work. To arouse the rural cadres and commune members in a better way and make them correctly understand and master the policies and do their work effectively, it is an urgent task to clarify this problem and unify our understanding, so that agricultural production will be further developed and the collective economy further consolidated.

We have established a socialist collective economy throughout the country that is an unshakable foundation on which our agriculture can march toward the goal of modernization. However, after the onset of a new economic form, it is insufficient to solve the problem of ownership alone. Productive relations include various links, such as production, distribution, exchange and so forth. The key to handling well the relations among various links and bringing the superiority of the collective economy into full play lies in doing a good job of management and administration. However, due to the interference of the ultraleftist ideological trend and line in our country over long periods of time, management and administration of agricultural production have always been a weak link. This is an important reason why the superiority of the collective economy has not been brought into full play, the productive initiative of peasants has been curbed and the productive forces in the rural areas have made slow progress.

The responsibility system for agricultural production is not a new issue. It emerged along with the cooperative transformation of agriculture. The collectivization of socialist agriculture is characterized by division of labor and cooperation. Agricultural production is the same as industrial production. Without a strict responsibility system for production, it is impossible to carry out production efficiently. Only by establishing a responsibility system for production, so that every commune member has a definite post on the production front and is fully responsible for his work, can we effectively check up on and supervise every link in the process of production. Only thus can we insure the orderly and continued progress of production, examine commune members' production results, implement the principle of distribution according to work, combine commune members' production results with their material interests, combine the collective interests with those of the individual and enhance commune members' sense of responsibility. The system of "three contracts and one award" (fixed targets for output, labor and cost, with a reward for additional output) in the higher stage of cooperation was established as a result of the requirements of objective conditions. With the application of science and technology to agriculture, the progress made in the modernization of production, the enlarged scope of production and management, as well as the expansion of the division of labor, a stricter demand will be set on the responsibility system for production.

In view of the new situation in our rural areas, the communique of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee stresses that the decisionmaking power of production teams should be respected and that diversified management should be developed in the light of local conditions. The purpose in adopting this principle is to correct the subjective leading method in production and equalitarianism in distribution, so that the broad masses of village cadres and commune members will emancipate their minds, proceed from reality and gradually restore and establish varied forms of responsibility systems for production. These varied forms of responsibility systems can, in brief, be divided into two kinds: First, a short-term labor agreement for field work and compensation is computed in accordance with production quotas; second, a contract for field work and fixed output and compensation is computed in accordance with production output. Various kinds of responsibility systems are suitable for various areas with different productive conditions. Most of these systems have attained the result of increased production. Generally speaking, the responsibility system for production based on output is more effective than that which is not connected with output. In particular, the responsibility system for production of a special line is more efficient than any other forms of responsibility systems. Therefore, it is widely welcomed by commune members.

Various kinds of responsibility systems for production now being implemented in various places should be further strengthened and perfected. What kind of responsibility system is the best? In answering this question we should adhere to the following two principles: First, we should strictly implement the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit; second, implementation of the responsibility system should be based on local conditions, guidance should be provided for different grades and everything should proceed in an orderly way and step by step. Specifically, we should do the following tasks:

First of all, we should select and pursue the responsibility system for production in accordance with local conditions and actual reality. To proceed from reality we should mainly take everything on the basis of the development of productive forces and the collective economy. Agricultural production in our country today relies mainly on manual operations. In a certain sense we still depend on the mercy of heaven. Ours is a country with a vast territory and different natural conditions. The levels of economic, cultural and educational development in various places are unbalanced. Various places differ widely in terms of the cadres' management levels and the masses' ideological consciousness and habits. Conditions vary from province to province. Even within a province, a county, a commune or a production brigade, things are not entirely the same. The responsibility system for production should be in line with the development of productive forces in various places, and varied forms and flexibility should be allowed. In other words, we should on no account impose uniformity or insist on identity. Practice has repeatedly proved that the method of pushing a kind of responsibility system by coercive administrative means in defiance of actual reality and productive conditions does not work. The method of forbidding other kinds of responsibility systems for production or mechanically copying the experiences of other places will also get us nowhere. In the meantime, these methods will bring about detrimental results. In the past we suffered a great deal in this respect.

Furthermore, the key to judging the applicability of a responsibility system for production lies in whether it is beneficial to production. Any form of responsibility system which is beneficial to encouraging commune members to care for the collective and increasing production, incomes and commodity production should be supported and affirmed. It is difficult for a new concept to be without minor defects or problems. The most important thing for us to do is to guide it positively and expeditiously solve the existing problems so that it will be incessantly perfected.

Now people talk a lot about the fixing of output quotas based on the household. From practical experience we know that those communes and production brigades which have managed the collective economy effectively do not demand the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household. Some communes and production brigades were allowed to follow this practice, but the commune members rejected it. However, in those remote mountain and backward areas where production teams "rely on resold grain to feed the villagers, depend on loans to maintain production and need relief to arrange the commune members' daily life," the masses have long since lost their confidence in the collective economy. They have badly needed the implementation of the policy of fixing output quotas based on the household. Under such circumstances, we should support the masses' demand and let them pursue the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household or contracting production down to the household. This is a necessary measure to maintain close links with the masses, restore and develop production and solve the problem of providing the masses with enough food and clothing. The practice of fixing output quotas based on the household is carried out under the unified leadership of the production teams. This practice is not a diversion from the socialist road and is not at all a capitalist tendency. Of course, implementation of the policy of fixing output quotas based on the household will bring about certain changes in the inner structures of production teams. If we fail to do a good job in this respect, the collective economy will be hampered. Therefore, in places where production has been developed considerably and the collective economy consolidated, the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household is not desirable. In some places where the practice has been followed and the masses have not demanded a change, the status quo should be maintained. Subsequently the authorities concerned should provide the masses with judicious guidance based on their demands and the situation and should further organize them through various transitional stages. Some localities have been economically poor and some communes and production brigades have been poorly run over long periods of time. We should realize that this failure can be attributed to various reasons. To solve this problem we should suit the remedy to the case and adopt a number of measures. We should not restrict our remedial measures to the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household alone.

It is wrong to regard implementation of the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household, under the unified leadership of the production teams, in some remote mountain and backward areas as a sign of retrogression, individual farming or following the capitalist road. It is equally wrong to push the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household through coercive administrative means in defiance of the different productive conditions of different areas. It is also wrong to adopt a laissez-faire attitude toward production teams which follow the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household and to neglect to guide them so that they will change to a better responsibility system for production.

In dealing with the problem of selecting a responsibility system for production we should adhere to the practice of voluntary participation by the masses and democratic decisions. Commune members are masters of the collective economy, and they have the right to select the responsibility system for production which is in keeping with local conditions. We should respect their democratic rights and should on no account adopt a merely political and administrative coercive method and impose uniformity on the masses.

In the past we violated the principle of voluntary participation and neglected the fact that productive forces differ from place to place. We did not take into account the needs and wishes of the masses and adopted stereotyped management methods for agriculture. All this severely dampened the commune members' enthusiasm for production and hampered the development of the productive forces in agriculture. In some localities the collective economy was seriously impaired. This was a bitter lesson drawn from our leadership over agriculture. Lenin said: "Vigorous and creative socialism is created by the masses themselves." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 269) In the past we neglected the necessity of proceeding from reality and consulting the masses and wrongly regarded a certain management method as the only socialist pattern and forced the masses to accept it. In addition, we wrongly regarded other methods as nonsocialist and criticized and corrected them at random. As a result, we made a mess of the whole thing. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, why did people put forward various kinds of responsibility systems for production in the rural areas? It was because, after the repudiation of the ultraleftist line, we have become more practical and realistic. Without the campaign to emancipate the mind, such a vivid and lively situation would not have occurred.

We maintain that commune members and the masses may select any kind of responsibility system they desire. Does this mean that leadership over them is no longer necessary? The answer is no. We should not place the principle of the masses' voluntary participation in opposition to the practice of strengthening leadership. On the contrary, the two should be combined. Small-scale peasant economy has existed in our country for several thousand years, and the influence of small-scale production is very deep. No matter what kind of responsibility system for production we adopt, we should correctly handle the relations among the state, the collective and the individual. We should also incessantly educate the peasants in collectivization, persistence in the socialist orientation and the path of common prosperity. In particular, we should do more socialist educational work with the communes and production brigades which pursue the practice of fixing output quotas based on the household, strengthen our leadership over them and correctly handle some problems which may occur. For example, collective property (agricultural machinery, farm tools, houses, trees and livestock) should be properly maintained, and obstruction should not be permitted. Some existing collective enterprises should be maintained and effectively run. These communes and production brigades should resolutely carry out their economic commitments to the collective, promote class brotherhood and give special care to the families of martyrs and armymen, households enjoying the five guarantees and families having material difficulties. The buying and selling of land as well as exploitation are not allowed, and the organizations of production teams should be maintained. Those communes and production brigades which have managed their collective economy well and established a responsibility system for production may also encounter all sorts of problems. They should also make investigations and studies, sum up their experiences incessantly and gradually improve their work. They should not always remain at the same level. As for those communes and production brigades which lie between the advanced and backward areas, we should strengthen our leadership over them, encourage them to establish various kinds of responsibility systems for production in the light of local conditions, strengthen ideological and educational work and make considerable efforts to run their collective economy well. Our purpose in establishing and perfecting the responsibility system for production is to consolidate the collective economy, whip up a new upsurge in agricultural production, gradually enrich the peasants and realize agricultural modernization. Therefore, in the process of pursuing the responsibility system for agricultural production, any idea or practice of slackening leadership is wrong and runs counter to our purpose.

The situation in our country's rural areas is excellent on the whole. We have begun to make smooth progress in the management and administration of the collective economy. So long as we persist in implementing the line, guiding principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session, study and solve new problems arising on our road of advance and strengthen and perfect the responsibility system for agricultural production, our country's agricultural production will develop faster, the collective economy in the rural areas will be further consolidated and peasants will be gradually enriched.

CSO: 4004

INTRODUCING THIS ISSUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 p 11

[Text] The first article in this issue is "A New Development of the Chinese People's Democratic United Front," an important speech made by Comrade Zhou Enlai on 18 April 1962 at the Third Session of the CPPCC. In this speech he pointed out the new task of the People's Democratic United Front: "On the basis of scoring great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction, it now has to unite with all forces that can be united and mobilize more factors that can be mobilized to take part in socialist construction and broaden our democratic life." The publication of this speech is of practical importance in guiding us to further strengthen and improve the work of the united front, accelerating socialist modernization and promoting the transformation of the leadership system of the party and state.

To help our village cadres and the masses effectively establish a responsibility system for agricultural production and implement the principle of payment according to work, we carry in this issue a commentator's article entitled "The Key Lies in Creating Favorable Conditions for Production" and another article entitled "How To Approach the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household." The commentator's article stresses the necessity for strengthening and perfecting the responsibility system for agricultural production and its principle and guiding thought. The article "How To Approach the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household" discusses the conditions, the nature as well as the advantages and disadvantages of the practice of fixing output quotas for each household and the relationship between the practice of fixing output quotas for each household and the responsibility system for production of the specialized trades.

In this issue we also publish two articles, "The Patriarchal System in Feudal Society" and "A Discussion of the Question of Honest Officials," which deal with the problem of eliminating the remnant influence of feudalism. "Integrating the New Era and the New Masses" is an article on literature and art written by Comrade Liu Baiyu. In the "Lecture on Science and Technology" we publish "A Talk on Certain Questions on China's Mineral Resources as Seen From the Formation of Mineral Deposits," a speech delivered by our famous scientist Tu Guangchi at a study meeting sponsored by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee.

CSO: 4004

HOW TO APPROACH THE FIXING OF OUTPUT QUOTAS FOR EACH HOUSEHOLD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 pp 12-15, 35

[Article by Yu Guoyao [0151 0948 5069]; passages within slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] The fixing of output quotas for each household has appeared several times in the past 20 years and more frequently since the collectivization of agriculture in China. Since last year it has again reappeared and developed in various parts of the country. What, actually, is the reason for this? What is its effect on the development of the collective economy of China's agriculture? These questions greatly merit thorough inquiry.

/I. The Conditions Giving Rise to the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household/

Since the collectivization of agriculture in China, the collective economy of many districts has been more or less consolidated, and a great improvement has taken place in the productive forces of agriculture. Initial changes have appeared in the former extremely backward state of production, and there is also an improvement in the lives of the peasants. The collective economy has already become the unshakable foundation for the advance of Chinese agriculture toward modernization. However, the development of the collective economy is unbalanced, and even now production still has not developed in a handful of places, even with collectivization. The living standard of the peasants in some of the communes and production brigades is even lower than it was before collectivization. The production and livelihood of the peasants in these places are still backward and difficult. There are many reasons which give rise to this kind of condition. Some of the poor and backward places have always suffered from frequent natural calamities. Some have taken the road of modernization "along with the main trend" and not because of voluntariness on the part of the local cadres and masses. Since collectivization they have been unable to give play to the superiority of unified management, and production has never been successfully carried out. Some places have made more rapid development in the initial period of collectivization, but during the switch to the people's commune they have been subverted by "the habit of boasting and exaggerating," "the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" and "the habit of giving arbitrary and impractical directions." The recently developed collective economy quickly collapsed and has not recovered since then. In some places the production brigades are organized on too large a scale. They have gone in for "general work" and "political division of labor"; egalitarianism is seriously affecting distribution, and many commune members do not get more pay for more work. The abilities of the cadres in charge of the collective economy are very limited, and some do not participate in collective labor. Corruption, embezzlement and the practice of eating and taking more than one is entitled to have also appeared, and all these have seriously dampened the enthusiasm of the masses. Beside that, the influence of vestiges of feudal ideas and the force of habit of small production remains serious in some places. Class contradictions and the private ownership mentality of small production are also causing confusion in the people's thinking, and outstanding problems cannot be solved. In short, because the collective economy for a long time could not be successfully carried out in these communes and production brigades, the masses have lost confidence in the collective. Moreover, the mistakes of "leftist" ideas and the interference and sabotage of the ultraleftist line in rural work over the years have further aggravated these problems. The fixing of output quotas for each household since collectivization has mostly been carried out spontaneously by the peasants in the aforementioned places. Because the fixing of output quotas for each household has enabled them to cast off the chronic condition of being poor and backward collectives, the latent desire of the commune members to make a success of production and improve their livelihood very naturally is transformed into labor enthusiasm. Although they are still using simple tools and beasts of burden as in the past, because the results of the fruits of labor have a direct bearing on the material interests of each and every household, their labor enthusiasm is heightened, and consequently they are able to rapidly transform the former features of production. This is the reason "all-out work carried out individually is better than disjointed and unwilling work carried out collectively." The outcome of the fixing of output quotas for each household is a marked increase in production. It explains that this form of management is suited to the poor production brigades with backward productive forces and meets their demand for transforming their predicament, solving the problem of food and clothing and developing production. About 10 percent or more of the total number of production brigades in China today are practicing the fixing of output quotas for each household. This is a very small proportion. Its appearance is a reflection of the unbalanced productive forces in the developmental process of the collective economy of agriculture in China.

However, the necessity and rationality of fixing output quotas for each household in some places were never acknowledged in the past. Moreover, it was regarded as "retrogressive" and "a mistake in orientation and road" and was subjected to criticism and correction. Consequently, for a time the fixing of output quotas for each household was "corrected," and the impoverished condition of the commune members in some of the poor production brigades did not change, so when an opportunity appeared they went for it again. Historical facts have explained this truth: only the method of management which can bring prosperity to the peasants will be supported by them. The use of coercive administrative means to forbid the fixing of output quotas for each household after this method has increased production and actually brought benefits to the peasants will naturally be overtly or covertly opposed by them.

Why are some of the comrades afraid of the fixing of output quotas for each household? This is because, in the organization and management of the collective production of agriculture, we have for a long time neglected the unbalanced condition in the development of productive forces and invariably have thought that the relations of production of agriculture could only go forward but not backward, that the degree of public ownership could only rise but not fall, and that the scale of the production brigade could only get bigger but not smaller. We thought that collectivization meant the centralization of labor and the more people working together, the better. We confused the demarcation between the polarization of production under the condition of private ownership and the disparity in income under the condition of public ownership. The guiding ideology of these mistakes has been growing and developing since the tremendous victory scored in the socialist transformation of China's countryside. In the 10 years of catastrophe the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which called for "cutting off the tail of capitalism" in the countryside, carrying out "the pauper's transition to higher stages of collectivization" and criticizing "the three freedoms and one contract," further confused the people's thinking.

Actually, under the condition of absolute superiority occupied by the socialist collective economy in China's countryside, the fixing of output quotas for each household depends on the socialist economy for its existence. So long as our policy is correct, it will not deviate from the socialist course. As for those communes, production brigades and areas which have been successful in practicing collective economy and which have a higher degree of mechanization and level of development in productive forces, there is objectively no need for the fixing of output quotas for each household, and the masses also do not have such demands.

/II. The Character of the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household/

At present the forms for fixing output quotas for each household in the whole country have become varied and more complicated. According to investigations carried out in some areas, the general practice is to implement the "three contracts and one award" method in fixing output quotas on a per capita basis (or man-work ratio) for all or most of the farmland, that is, fixed targets for output, labor and cost with a reward for increased output and a penalty for reduced output. Some areas have required the production teams to carry out unified planning, accounting and distribution, with a reward for the overfulfilling of production. However, facts have proved that many places cannot succeed in achieving unified planning, accounting and distribution, and most have evolved into "large contract work" for each household. Apart from handing in the state purchase quotas to the higher level and providing for the withdrawal and retention of the collective, most of the products are managed by the household. Some of the places call this "guarantee supply to the state, retain enough for the collective and the rest belongs to ourselves."

Views are more divergent on how we should regard the character of this kind of fixing of output quotas for each household. According to the provision of unified planning, accounting and distribution, some people think that it is a form of responsibility system in the collective economy of agriculture. Some think that it is a mere formality and that there has been a return to individual farming. There are also other formulations. How should we actually regard it? After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "In Russia the period of academic debate on the socialist program is over and, I deeply believe, gone forever. Today we can only discuss socialism in the light of experience." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 480) We should also discuss the fixing of output quotas for each household in the light of practical experiences.

As a responsibility system of collective economy, this implies that it should be a system entailing a division of labor, with individual responsibility under collective unified management. Adhering to unified planning, accounting and distribution is naturally a form of responsibility system for the fixing of output quotas for each household. The problem is that many places have not succeeded in doing so, and they have actually changed collective unified management into what is mainly decentralized individual management. Therefore, generalizing the fixing of output quotas for each household as a responsibility system is not in accordance with objective reality.

Why is it that many production teams are unable to adhere to unified planning, accounting and distribution? This is also determined by the backward level of production. Not only are the production teams unable to take out so much money to pay various households for production costs, but after the fixing of output quotas for each household, every household can basically carry out production and decentralize management on its own, enjoys greater independence and no longer needs to share the work and cooperate with others under the unified leadership of the production team. At the same time, because the fixing of output quotas for each family still mainly concerns production to supply the family's needs, there is not much commodity production. Even if part of the output quotas comes under unified distribution, each household often still gets almost the same basic grain ration it is entitled to. Therefore, unified distribution is nothing but book accounting, and there is not much remaining which can be distributed. In the end, the team simply provides for the state requisition and for withdrawal and retention and lets each household distribute the rest on its own. Generally speaking, the peasants who carry out the fixing of output quotas for each household have pinned all their hopes of developing production and improving their livelihood on their own production efforts and conscientious management, and they are also unlikely to ask for adherence to unified planning, accounting and distribution. What is more, the collective unified management of the past had not brought any benefits to the peasants. The peasants themselves said: "We want to increase production and income and to have enough to eat." "We want to break away from the blind commands regarding production given by the upper level, from the heavy burden and from those cadres' seizing the fruits of our labor." These are the objective facts. We must soberly understand this. Otherwise, we will confuse the enthusiasm aroused by taking decentralized individual management as the key factor with the enthusiasm brought into play by the adoption of the system of production responsibility, on the premise of adhering to collective unified management.

To generalize the fixing of output quotas for each household as a form of production responsibility will cause people to one-sidedly exaggerate its advantage and role, and they will not pay enough attention to the new problems brought about by the fixing of output quotas for each household. We must correctly understand that, in the future, only by making an effort to determine how to combine bringing the superiority of the collective into play with arousing the enthusiasm of the individual can we discuss the question of modernizing agriculture and can we genuinely give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of the individual on the basis of bringing the superiority of the collective into play.

We should also make a concrete analysis of the question of whether the fixing of output quotas for each household means a return to or sliding toward individual farming. Although the fixing of output quotas for each household has brought a change from collective unified management to taking decentralized individual management as the key factor, it is different from the individual farming practiced before the collectivization of agriculture. The individual farming practiced before the collectivization of agriculture was a kind of extremely fragile, individual small-scale peasant economy established on the basis of private ownership of the means of production. This inevitably gave rise to polarization and was the soil which gave rise to capitalism. After the fixing of output quotas for each household, the peasants are still members of the collective. Although they have mainly adopted decentralized individual management in production, they still cannot sever their ties with the production team. For example, the principal means of production are still owned by the collective, and the commune members are only entitled to their use. They are not allowed to either sell or lease the land. All large domestic animals are owned publicly and raised privately, and young animals are owned on a percentage basis. The hills and forests are still owned by the collective, and apart from the private plots the rest come under collective unified management. Some agricultural projects of the production teams also come under collective unified management and use. Because of this close relationship with socialist public ownership, there can only be disparity in incomes, and this will not result in polarization. This has been determined by the existing socialist political and economic conditions in our country.

/III. The Advantages and Disadvantages of the Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household/

As agricultural production in China still depends mainly on manual operations and beasts of burden, the enthusiasm of the laborers plays a primary role in deciding whether agriculture can increase production under the present conditions. Because of the interference from "leftist" ideological mistakes and the ultraleftist line, we never paid any attention to the use of economic means to stimulate the enthusiasm of the commune members but instead relied on "farming for the revolution" and arbitrarily popularized the "general work" method for calculating payment. The enthusiasm of the peasants was seriously dampened, and their zeal for labor lost its momentum. This is one of the more common problems, and it is also the main problem we must solve in order to establish and strengthen the various systems of production responsibility and to improve the method of calculating payment for labor. The solution of this problem is the key link in the development of agricultural production and the further consolidation of the collective economy.

We must see that, although the fixing of output quotas for each household, which takes decentralized individual management as the key factor, has many advantages at present, what it represents is still a level of productive forces distinguished mainly by manual and animal traction farming and basically no different from the productive forces of the small-scale peasant economy. Needless to say, it is not only extremely backward compared with the modern agricultural economy armed with modern technical equipment, but also very backward compared with the better production teams in the existing collective economy of China. Therefore, in discussing the advantages of the fixing of output quotas for each household, if we do not make an appropriate evaluation of such unique conditions as the chronic impoverishment and backwardness, the masses' loss of confidence in the collective and the long-term inability to make a success of production, we are apt to unconsciously embellish small production. We must also see that the change from collective unified management to decentralized individual management contradicts the development of the collective economy. New problems have already appeared in some places since the fixing of output quotas for each household, and some of the problems are rather serious. They are manifested mainly in the following: damage to public property, which is quite serious in some localities, such as the indiscriminate felling of trees; and serious adverse effects on water conservancy, agricultural machinery, rural education and family planning.

The fixing of output quotas for each household has its advantages as well as disadvantages, and we must accurately weigh them. In places where production is normal and the collective economy has been successfully carried out, because of the definite development in their collective economy, the fixing of output quotas for each household will be detrimental to giving full play to the benefits of their original public assets and to further improving production conditions and developing productive forces. In the future the development of agricultural production and the realization of agricultural mechanization must rely mainly on the unremitting consolidation and strengthening of the collective economy. This is the orientation we must uphold.

At the same time, we must also see that there are many causes contributing to the chronic impoverishment of some areas. Some must readjust their policy, lighten their burden and actively develop a diversified economy. Some must gradually improve production conditions as well as communications, storage and transportation conditions. Some must adjust the scale of the commune and production brigade, streamline the administrative structure and reorganize the leading body. Some must appropriately increase the proportion of private plots and individual economic assistance for the commune members. Therefore, backward areas also cannot merely seek a way out by limiting themselves to the fixing of output quotas for each household. They must proceed from reality and use every means to solve these problems in a practical and realistic manner.

/IV. The Fixing of Output Quotas for Each Household and the Responsibility System for Production of Specialized Trades/

In the countryside today there is a responsibility system for production entailing a division of labor among specialized trades and payment according to work; it is called, for short, the responsibility system for production of specialized trades. It has appeared at the same time as the fixing of output quotas for each household, but its form of production is completely different in character from that of fixing of output quotas for each household.

Under the principle of upholding the collective unified management and unified distribution of the production team, the responsibility system for production of specialized trades pursues a policy of specialization involving a division of labor based on the different items of production and fixes the work and output quotas (output volume or value) for each group, household and individual (labor).

This responsibility system for production of specialized trades is based on the principle of giving full play to the people's abilities. Labor forces skilled in farming are assigned all the farmland (some are assigned to field management and some to the whole process of production). Labor forces skilled in sideline production are assigned to sideline production, and the "four specialized" concept (specialized team, specialized group, specialized household and specialized individual) is carried out. The production team can unify what should be unified and decentralize what should be decentralized in a manner appropriate to the production process in various kinds of work. A portion of the fixed output quotas is set aside for unified distribution, overfulfillment or underfulfillment of production targets is subjected to reward or punishment, and the form of contract is fixed for 1 year or several years without change. The salient feature of this responsibility system is the simultaneous implementation of collective responsibility and individual responsibility. It is conducive not only to successful agricultural production but also to the development of a diversified economy, and in particular it avoids making the production team a mere figurehead. We can see that at present this is a better form of arousing the enthusiasm of the commune members and developing collective production. It reflects the strengthening and consolidation of the collective economy in China's countryside, and at the same time it will promote the further development of the collective economy.

These two different forms of production--the fixing of output quotas for each household and the responsibility system for production of specialized trades--are in keeping with the levels of productive forces they represent. This responsibility system for production of specialized trades is inseparable from the diversified economy of the production team and the higher management level of the cadres. By contrast, places with only a single grain crop, without a diversified economy and with a cadre management level which is still very poor cannot talk about adopting the responsibility system for production of specialized trades. This can only be a goal they hope to attain through their efforts. Naturally, there is also no unbridgeable gulf between the fixing of output quotas for each household and the responsibility system for production of specialized trades. Production teams now implementing the fixing of output quotas for each household should also consider how they could retain the existing property of the collective, pay attention in the future to gradually developing the economic items of the collective, and combine giving play to the superiority of collective unified management with arousing the enthusiasm of the individual.

As for whether the fixing of output quotas for each household will develop toward the responsibility system for production of specialized trades, this can only be determined by uninterrupted practice in the future. The responsibility system for production of specialized trades must also be tested in future practice. From the great quantity of facts we can see that the responsibility system for production of specialized trades has a strong vitality and will probably develop into the leading form of responsibility system. The responsibility system for production of specialized trades is particularly more suitable for production teams whose cash crops, animal husbandry, fishery, forestry and rural handicraft industry are better developed. Therefore, it is necessary for us to affirm and advocate it. However, the past method of setting rigid rules for popularization and adopting measures across the board must not be repeated. Proceeding from actual conditions, different localities, communes and production brigades and even the same production team must allow diversified forms of management, organizations of labor and methods of payment according to work to exist at the same time. The form of organization and management of production to be adopted by a production team must be discussed and decided upon by the local people in a democratic manner, for it is entirely within the jurisdiction of the collective economy to make its own decisions regarding organization and management. Proceeding from its own material interests, each production team will naturally choose the form which is most conducive to the development of production based on its own actual conditions. In short, the fixing of output quotas for each household exists under specific historical conditions and, in keeping with the law governing the relations of production, must adapt to the character of the productive forces. It will change along with the development of the productive forces.

CSO: 4004

EXPLORING WAYS TO MODERNIZE ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY

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[Article by Wu Jiajun [0702 1367 7486] of the Industrial Economic Research Institute, China Social Sciences College]

[Text] To realize the four modernizations we must strive to grasp modern and scientific management and speed up the modernization of management. Like the four modernizations in our country, which must take their own roads, modern management must also start from the realities of our country and take its own road. This requires us to develop the study of management science, analyze the characteristics of modern enterprise management in the various countries and explore ways to modernize enterprise management to find the one best suited to conditions in our country.

I

Modern management was formed gradually and developed after a very long historical process. There must be management when there is common labor. However, the practice of management is not management science. Management science was formed gradually following the development of capitalist production.

In the course of development the theory of capitalist enterprise management undergoes different stages. How do we divide its stages of development? At present there is no uniform understanding in theoretical circles at home and abroad. For example, some said that it began with Taylor. Others said that it began before Taylor, with Adam Smith and David Ricardo. However, no matter how divergent the versions, they all deem that the great development of management theory began after Taylor.

Many schools emerged in the decades after Taylor. Some foreigners used the term "tropical forest" to describe the enormous number of schools. We certainly can make a minute division if we study these different schools from the angle of the history of management thought. However, I see no harm in understanding it as two big schools if we start from the angle of application, so that we can draw lessons from other people's experiences. These are the "technological organization school" and the "behavioral school." If we analyze the differences in characteristics between these two big schools, we can see two different approaches to management theory and two different theoretical systems.

The technological organization school stresses the role of control management and expending efforts in technology, organization and system. It stresses the use of technological methods and means to set up scientific and strict management systems and methods so as to speed up and increase production efficiency. This school was formed long ago. The Taylor system embodies the characteristics of the technological organization school in the early stage. Its main content involves the study of the mechanics of operation and the rational use of the hours the workers spend in production. This in fact takes human beings as machines and requires everyone to act passively according to methods stipulated beforehand. Following changes in production, the management theory was further developed on the basis of the Taylor system and extended from the study of the mechanics and level of operation to the study of scientific organization, the adoption of scientific, rational labor, production and enterprise organization, the coordinated organization of supply, production and marketing, and so on. For the past 20 to 30 years, following the development of modern natural sciences, engineering technology and the application of computers in management, the study of operation, the study of production organization and labor organization, and modern technological methods and technological means are combined to form a new "modern organization management science." From the Taylor system up to modern organization management science can be regarded as one big school belonging to the same theoretical system.

The behavioral school stresses man's initiative and the study of management from the angle of sociology and psychology, and it pays attention to developing and stimulating man's inner motive force to speed up and increase production efficiency. This school applies the theories of behavioral science in enterprise management and maintains that people's specific behavior is the result of a specific motive and that a specific motive comes from a specific need and from the desire to satisfy a specific need. Therefore, the behavioral school opposes the rigid regulation of things and stresses the study of people's different needs from the angle of sociology and psychology. Some scholars sum up people's various needs in the five big categories of physiology, safety, social contact, psychology and self-achievement, and they think that these are needs of different classes and different stages. After the first and most basic need is satisfied, its stimulating role will weaken or disappear. People will then show concern for further needs of a higher grade. Therefore, these scholars think that modern enterprise management should study and observe the various needs of staff workers under different conditions and ingeniously guide, unify and integrate the needs of employees with the goal of the enterprise, so that the needs of the employees are satisfied and the goal of the enterprise is attained at the same time. This represents an entirely different train of thought from the technological organization school and can be taken as another theoretical system.

A common characteristic of enterprise management is that of absorbing the strong points of both the technological organization and behavioral schools, stressing scientific organization and strict codes and conventions while also making an effort to study human psychology and stimulate people's initiative. Some countries even integrate technological organization and the theory of behaviorism with their national customs and traditions. By applying these they form a management system with national characteristics. This can be said to be the most basic characteristic of modern management.

Certainly the social nature of socialist enterprise management is different from that of capitalist enterprises. Marx said: Capitalist management, as "supervision and command of labor," "is not only a special function which is the result of the nature of the process of social labor and belongs to this process, but at the same time the function of the process of exploitation of social labor. It is thus determined by the inevitable opposition between the exploiter and the material exploited." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 368) The character of this exploitation and opposition no longer exists in socialist enterprise management. However, the socialist system arose after the proletarian revolution on the foundation of the production force developed by capitalism. Great socialist production determines that there are certain times, hereditary features and common points between socialist enterprise management and capitalist enterprise management. Therefore, the correct understanding of the characteristics of modern management mentioned above is of great significance in exploring ways of modernizing enterprise management and improving the management work of industrial enterprises in our country.

II

In the past there often was some misunderstanding, because people considered that modern management consisted only of the adoption of such management means as computers. When modern management was mentioned, we thought only of advanced management techniques and complicated analytical techniques and methods; we did not observe modern management from the viewpoint of integrating the technological organization and behavioral schools. This in fact equates management modernization with analysis by computers and regards the application of a large number of imported computers as the basic outlet for modernizing management. This view should be discussed and considered. We know that the computer plays a very important role in the management of modern industrial enterprises, but it is, after all, only a technological means and not the endall in the modernization of enterprise management. Enterprise management organizes, plans, directs, examines, calculates, supervises and regulates production, technology and economic activities in the enterprises. The questions it seeks to answer involve the various aspects of production forces, production relations and the superstructure and are definitely not purely technological questions. Modern enterprise management science is an economic management science formed through the application of the achievements of modern natural sciences and social sciences in modern enterprise management. People normally regard it as a peripheral science which transcends natural sciences and social sciences. Therefore, it is obviously inappropriate to consider the question of management modernization from the angle of technology and the application of computers alone. We can see that even countries with a relatively high level of development of productive forces and advanced industrial technology cannot rely solely on computers in management modernization. In enterprise management in Japan, for example, although computers are widely used, the basic characteristic does not lie in the use of computers but in the concentration of the strong points of various schools of management theory and their ingenious integration with "familial" national traditions and customs to form a unique, effective method for managing modern industrial enterprises. Technical and economic conditions in our country today are limited; we cannot focus our attention on the use of computers. This is not to negate or underestimate the role of modern management means such as computers but is to realistically start from the actual conditions in our country to modernize management.

Such terminology as behavioral science was not used in enterprise management in our country in the past. However, in practice we stress strict organization, codes and conventions, as well as the stimulation of people's initiative. Since exploitation was abolished under socialist conditions, the basic needs of all workers are the same. Therefore, our superiority in the implementation of a rational organization system and the stimulation of people's initiative is unsurpassed by capitalist enterprises. We have our own theories in this respect and have already accumulated a great deal of excellent experience. In the future we should develop our superiority and continue to map out ways to modernize enterprise management which are suited to the conditions of our country.

How should we start from the actual conditions in our country to modernize enterprise management at present? I think that the several following questions need particular attention:

1. We should utilize and develop the superior tradition of enterprise management work in our country, revive effective methods used in the past and develop them under the new conditions so that they are more systematic.

We cannot ignore traditional experience in modernizing management. We must embrace and develop the strong points of our traditions and properly integrate our fine national and revolutionary traditions with the actual conditions of modern industrial production and management techniques. This is a fundamental question in modernizing enterprise management in our country.

More than half a century has elapsed since we started to run enterprises in our old revolutionary bases. We have accumulated very rich experiences, both positive and negative. Our industrial construction in the past was linked with the building and development of the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases. Therefore, it has fine revolutionary traditions. Since the founding of our country these fine traditions have been further developed. They are integrated with the reality of modern industrial production, and we have acquired further systematic experience in doing a proper job in various management tasks, such as adhering to the various basic management principles of planning, economic calculation and examination, the system of a division of labor, political education and material incentives and the mass line, insisting on party leadership and upholding such systems as that of holding meetings for staff and workers and the responsibility system of factory directors, effectively utilizing the experience of various sectors in the work of supply, marketing and production in enterprises and doing a good job in various basic tasks in industrial enterprises. Owing to the intervention of the "gang of four," these traditional experiences were seriously sabotaged. To raise the level of enterprise management we must first restore order and revive effective methods adopted in the past. Certainly some past experiences will no longer meet the requirements of the development of productive forces. For example, enterprise management was deeply influenced by the supply system, operational habits of small production and the thinking of self-sufficiency in the natural economy. All these should be thoroughly changed. Otherwise, they will hinder the realization of modernized management.

2. We should strengthen management education and start from the present level to raise the technological and operational levels of enterprise leaders and management personnel.

The cultural, technological and working levels of enterprise leaders and management personnel in our country today are relatively low on the whole. The training of management personnel should be put in a very prominent position. In the course of modernizing management we should strengthen the establishment of modern management courses in colleges and speedily train experts who grasp modern management theories, techniques and methods. In the training of currently employed management staff we should infuse them with the knowledge of modern management techniques as far as possible. Otherwise, we cannot meet the requirements of the four modernizations. However, the training of the working cadres must start from reality, follow in proper sequence and make steady progress, and start from familiar questions and make improvements on the basis of summing up our own traditional experiences. If we depart from the actual management foundation and cadre conditions to learn some management techniques and theories which cannot be put into practice for the time being, this will not be of much direct help in improving management work.

Certainly, improving the level of management personnel depends on training. Only through special training will we have a firm foundation so that we can scale new heights. But improvement through practice is more common for the majority of people. Therefore, it is extremely important to set up a responsibility system which will prompt constant improvement in the level of leading cadres and management personnel. After the October Revolution, through the implementation of a responsibility system with "one-man leadership" as the focus, Lenin put the burden of work on leading and management cadres at all levels. The adoption of this system eliminated the chaotic situation in which no one was responsible, as well as trained a great number of management cadres through practice. This quickly settled the problem of backward management. We should also strengthen the system of responsibility of factory directors and strictly implement the various responsibility systems. This should become a constant important factor which prompts the growth of management cadres.

3. We should start from reality and energetically improve management and operation work of the enterprise, and we should not wait passively.

The content of modern management is extremely broad. In addition to correct theoretical guidance, it includes at least three aspects: First, modernization of management organization, which is the use of scientific and rational organizational forms and methods, such as rational enterprise organization, labor organization, organization of the production process, organization of the coordination of supply, production and marketing, and so on. Second, modernization of management methods, which includes the adoption of economic methods and administrative methods. It includes economic and mathematical methods, methods of statistical analysis and systematic analysis and the application of scientific methods in basic management work. It also includes political education, the mass line, use of social and psychological methods, and so on. Third, modernization of management tools, which is the use of computers, automatic control equipment, and so on. If we make comprehensive efforts in these areas, many things can be done, even though we cannot realize scientific and modernized management under the condition of a widespread use of computers. There are great potentialities in enterprise management in our country today. The foundation work for management is still very weak. There still are many new things which can be learned and utilized in the way of mathematical methods and methods of systematic analysis to carry out stipulated analysis of economic management. Many effective management methods in the past have fallen into disuse. They are waiting to be revived and further developed. All these are problems which need to be resolved in the process of modernizing management. The views that modernized management is within sight but beyond reach and that nothing can be done without computers are incorrect. We believe that as long as we have a well-defined goal of using scientific methods and modernization, seek truth from facts and advance realistically we can definitely modernize enterprise management in our country.

CSO: 4004

INTEGRATING THE NEW ERA AND THE NEW MASSES

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[Article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038]]

[Text] Our country has entered the new era of socialist modernization. The Chinese people face great changes. This new and great era needs a literature and art that are in line with the new economic base; it needs countless excellent artistic works which reflect its countenance and its spirit. The new era and the masses have demanded that writers and artists draw the picture and write the scroll of the era, reflect the heroic labor and struggle of the people in building a modern and powerful country, depict the brilliant images of the builders of the four modernizations and extol people's ideals so as to enhance their morale and push their advance. Such a glorious and arduous mission has unshirkably fallen on our writers and artists. If this mission is to be fulfilled, I think it is imperative to solve the most pressing problem at present: writers and artists must resolutely integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses.

I

It is only by integrating themselves with the new era and the new masses that writers and artists can adapt themselves ideologically to the changes of the new era.

A great writer of an era is no doubt the ideological pioneer of that era. In integrating themselves with the new era and the new masses, literary and art workers must first of all stand in the forefront of the era with Marxism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, profoundly understand this era through investigations, practice and study and analyze society and history.

In the early days of the war against Japanese aggression, many literary and art workers, with the lofty aspiration to dedicate themselves to the struggle for national liberation, left pavilions in Shanghai under the control of the Kuomintang for the base areas, where they created a number of excellent works to boost the morale of the people and make them confident of winning victory. Thus, they contributed to the war against Japanese aggression. Nevertheless, quite a number of them failed to understand that the areas controlled by the Kuomintang and the base areas represented two different social systems and different eras. They also failed to understand the importance and urgency of transforming their own world outlook in order to adapt themselves ideologically to the new historical environment. Consequently, they were incompatible with the new era in their thinking and creative activities. This situation was in serious contradiction with the needs of the revolutionary struggle at that time. Referring to this situation, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art": "To arrive at revolutionary base areas means to enter an era unseen for thousands of years in Chinese history, in which the masses of the people become the masters of their own fate. The people around us and the target of propaganda are totally different. The past era has gone forever and will never return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation." Due to the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, the broad masses of literary and art workers integrated themselves with the masses and treated the new era and the new masses with greater understanding and feelings. As a result, the trend of the petty bourgeoisie that existed after the May 4th Movement was reoriented, while the standard of literary and art creation developed into a new historical stage.

Historical experiences merit our attention. Many aspects of the present situation are different from those during the war against Japanese aggression. Yet we are again faced with a similar situation, that is, with a new era and new masses and with the question of how to integrate ourselves with the new era and the new masses.

What is the new era we face today? It is an era in which all of the people are building a modern and powerful country. It is an era in which people are emancipating their minds and are bold in creating new things, which are emerging one after another. It is during this new era that the backward economic and technical situation of our country will be basically changed to drastically increase productivity. At the same time, the relations of production, the superstructure, the economic management system and other types of management also will be changed. With all this, people's thinking eventually will change.

Such changes are epochmaking. In this new era, all endeavors in our country, such as the economy, politics, the military, ideology, morale and social life, are constantly changing. These changes demand that each writer and artist restudy, reunderstand and readapt himself to the new situations. Hence, it is necessary for us to emancipate our minds, persist in dialectic materialism, be practical and realistic, proceed from objective reality, analyze the new situations along the correct ideological line and explore new problems. If we proceed from bookishness and rigidity in our thinking, we will neither be able to make progress nor be able to follow the development of the situations and the era. Eventually we will not be able to create works that are imbued with the spirit of the era.

In integrating themselves ideologically with the new era and the new masses, literary and art workers must fight against two wrong tendencies. One tendency is a rigid or semirigid way of thinking. Some comrades have still failed to completely break with the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Consciously or unconsciously, these comrades regard Marxism-Mao Zedong Thought as rigid and dogmatic. They even regard the line, principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee under the new historical conditions and the creativeness of the masses as "departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy." Or they are not accustomed to this line, principles and policies. Eventually they become "conservative and backward grandmas," as described by Lu Xun. Another wrong tendency is that of seeking bourgeois liberty. These comrades have either been affected by the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" or influenced by bourgeois ideology. They regard the emancipation of ideology as contradictory to the four basic principles and advocate egoism, anarchism and absolute equalitarianism in order to confuse people's thinking, affect stability and unity and hinder the development of the four modernizations. No matter whether it is a rigid or semirigid way of thinking or the liberty of the bourgeoisie, they both represent an extreme ideology that is harmful to the socialist construction of the new era and must therefore be eliminated. Our literary and art workers must simultaneously rid themselves of a rigid or semirigid way of thinking and draw a clear demarcation line with the liberty of the bourgeoisie. Only by so doing will they be able to truly integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses.

II

The basic way for literary and art workers to integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses is to plunge themselves into the reality of struggle unconditionally, protractedly and wholeheartedly.

The people are the mothers of writers and artists. The artistic life of all progressive literary and art workers exists in their flesh-and-blood relations with the people. Therefore, only by plunging themselves into the current of the great struggles of the masses of the new era and cherishing the feelings of the masses can literary and art workers integrate themselves with the new era and the new masses. Otherwise, their integration is nothing but empty talk. Therefore, it is of real significance to stress the importance of writers and artists placing themselves in the midst of the life and the struggles of the masses. In response to the call of the party Central Committee, a number of literary and art workers recently took an active part in measures to realize the four modernizations, and they made good achievements. On the other hand, quite a number of literary and art workers have still not been able to do so for various reasons. It is urgent now that we reiterate the importance of literary and art workers plunging into the struggles of the masses unconditionally, protractedly and wholeheartedly. The leadership at various levels must create conditions for literary and art workers to leave their studies, families and their own little world and join the masses in the struggles for the realization of the four modernizations.

Literary and art workers will be able to experience the life and struggle of the masses and portray them with passion and enthusiasm only if they consciously take part in the struggles for a long time. Life brings passion and enthusiasm to writers, who in turn portray it with passion and enthusiasm. If a writer lacks passion and enthusiasm toward the people, society and nature around him, he will not be able to find the soul-stirring reality that surrounds him. On the contrary, he will turn a blind eye to it. Why is a writer, who once was able to create works with passion and enthusiasm during a certain period, unable to create works of the same standard in another period? No doubt there might be many complicated reasons for his failure, but the main reason is that he departs from life itself. A writer must experience life itself. Some people have denied the importance of going deep into life on the pretext of "depicting the life with which the writer is familiar." It is true that a writer must portray life with which he is familiar, but by immersing himself in life he will experience aspects of life unfamiliar to him. What we mean is that he must plunge into the current of the new era. He must on no account skim over the surface of reality, nor must he gain superficial understanding by resorting to cursory observations. On the contrary, he must join the life and the struggles of his era. He must be familiar with life and able to grasp and portray it. When a writer is able to keep advancing and continues to familiarize himself with aspects of life unfamiliar to him, then he will be able to keep his mind fresh and to acquire new sources for his writings. In fact, this has been proved by many outstanding writers. Life is like a boundless ocean: it never stops moving, it is changing all the time. Therefore, a writer must never depart from life and the struggles of the masses for the rest of his life; he must never stop accumulating writing materials from reality in order to broaden his horizon. Only on this basis will he be able to expand. Thus, by developing his objective world to the subjective world and again from the subjective world to the objective, he is in a position to portray life and have soul-stirring influence.

Artistic works mainly depict people. Therefore, people are the main target for writers in understanding and experiencing life and in conducting investigations. They must be familiar with the history of struggles, families, thinking, work, life, feelings, hobbies, characters, psychology and the lives of various figures. They must grasp the characteristic personality of the figures they are to portray, observe the spirit of the new era reflected in these figures and find the profound changes experienced by them in this era. In this way the writers will be able to reflect the face of the era in their works and to become the spokesmen of the era and voice its needs.

III

The purpose of literary and art workers integrating themselves with the new era and the new masses is to rapidly reflect life and struggle and to make their contribution in building our country into a modern and powerful socialist country.

Literature and art are the mirror of the era. The work of literary and art workers must not be limited to criticizing old things. They must study, depict and create new things. The work focus of the whole party has been strategically shifted. Therefore, it is imperative to encourage writers to use modern construction as the theme of their works and to describe "the new figures and the new world."

In his speech to the Fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Our literary and art workers must strive even harder for greater achievements in portraying and bringing up the socialist new people. We must portray the pioneers and builders of the four modernizations, so that through these new figures we will be able to arouse the socialist initiative of the broad masses of people and inspire their historical creativeness in realizing the four modernizations. The party and the people have urgently placed their hopes on the literary and art workers. This is the duty of writers as well as an important topic for the literature and art of the new era. In creating our artistic works we must strive to explore this new topic so as to attain still better achievements.

It has been a glorious tradition of the proletarian literary and art workers to pay much attention to reflecting the life and the struggles of their era, to portray the new images of the era and to promote the development of the revolutionary cause. In his long feature story "Mother," Soviet proletarian writer Maksim Gorkiy lost no time in depicting the heroic images of the proletariat who had just mounted the stage of history. He was the first writer to depict a communist who had grown up during the proletarian revolutionary movement, Pavel and his mother Nilovna as the leading figures to set a good example for the Soviet proletariat. The book was considered "of great benefit" to many workers who had joined the revolution unconsciously. Lenin praised "Mother" and affirmed it as "a timely book." Famous writers of contemporary Chinese literature such as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun paid great attention to depicting the life of their own eras and reflected the urgent needs of the people in timely fashion. Important criteria for judging the talent of writers are whether they are good at reproducing history artistically, at pointing out a correct road for solving urgent social problems and at promoting with their artistic influence the development of the world around them.

"Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was followed by the broad masses of literary and art workers, who broke through the circles of petty bourgeois intellectuals in their ideology and feelings and came to realize that it was their important duty to portray and laud "the new figures and the new world," and they made important achievements in their works. Hence, there was a basic change in the situation of literary and art creation. The themes of literary and art works concentrated on reflecting national struggle, class struggle and labor production. Thus, with new themes and topics, the broad masses of workers, peasants and armymen became the masters of literary and art works. It was an epochmaking development in the history of our literature.

We must inherit and develop the good tradition of proletarian literature and art and work hard to portray "the new figures and the new world." Our literature and art must serve to praise the great struggle, lofty spirit and heroic dedication of the broad masses of people and armymen in carrying out and defending the four modernizations. Our literature and art must urgently and enthusiastically create vivid and heroic images and criticize feudal, bourgeois and all other nonproletarian ideologies. It must promote the growth of new things and sweep away the decadent obstacles. It must play its powerful role in educating and encouraging people in their struggles. The struggle to restore order in literary and art circles has won a great victory over the past 3 years, and this literary and art garden, with hundreds of flowers, has regained its liveliness and prosperity. New achievements have been made by literary and art works that reflect the construction of the four modernizations. A number of works, such as "The Flower That Ushered in the Spring" and "Factory Director Chiao Assumes Office," have been warmly welcomed by the masses. Nevertheless, we have to understand that both the number and the standard of literary and art works reflecting life and realistic struggle and "the new figures and the new world" still far from meet the needs of the new situation.

It is a basic Marxist theory on literature and art that one must work hard to portray the heroes of the proletariat. Ever since its emergence over 100 years ago, Marxism has joined with the heroic and arduous struggles of the working class and people's revolutions, and in this process it has also nurtured generations of outstanding figures who are dedicated to the lofty ideal of communism, created countless heroic achievements and enabled the working class to gradually change from a class in itself to a class for itself. Marxist theory on literature and art demands that literary and art workers vividly reflect the history in which the proletariat developed, from "Cinderella" to "A Man With Unusual Strength," that they create artistic images of the proletariat, which is the gravedigger for the bourgeoisie and the founder of socialist society. In the early days of the maturing of the scientific world of Marxism, Engels, in order to eliminate ideological obstacles of petty bourgeois socialism and open up a road for the dissemination of Marxism among the workers, sarcastically ridiculed the literature of the petty bourgeoisie as shortsighted, low and vulgar. He wanted literature and art to "extol the all-powerful, stubborn and revolutionary proletariat." Following the failure of the French revolution in 1848, Marx summed up the historical experience of this "first big trial of strength between the two antagonistic classes in modern society" and enthusiastically lauded the uprising of the workers as "absolutely courageous and ingenious." He also hoped that literature and art would vividly portray the heroes of the revolution with strong colors similar to those used by Rembrandt. For over 30 years after the revolution, proletarian revolutionary movements were launched one after another with greater momentum. In particular, the Paris Commune, which exercised the first great practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "showed the radiance of the great social revolution that liberates mankind from class society forever." It was for this reason that, in his letter to M. Harkness, Engels criticized "The City Girls" for depicting the working class as pessimistic masses. He said: "The rebellion launched by the working class against the oppression around them and their hard efforts to restore their position as men should have--no matter whether they were carried out consciously or unconsciously--and must have their place in the realm of realism." Gorkiy also said enthusiastically: "We must understand that there is much phenomena around us that should be ridiculed and fought against. But there are more figures who should be praised.... Really, they need to be extolled!" It is thus clear that it has been the stand of Marxism to portray the heroes of the proletariat and to extoll its brighter aspects. It is also a natural demand placed by the people on literature and art and a natural literary and art reflection of the life and struggle of the proletarian revolution.

A good example has boundless power. A good heroic image can lead a whole generation and influence one generation after another. Such power has been proved in the history of literature. A heroic image touches people's feelings of beauty and their very souls, influences their world outlook and enables them to find themselves in comparison with artistic images and to attain power, and thus encourages them to surge ahead. In a critical movement a heroic image encourages people to throw themselves against the embrasure of the enemy's blockhouse, to blast pillboxes and to sacrifice themselves for the sake of communism. In daily life a heroic image leads people to establish a correct outlook on life and death, hardship and happiness and glory and disgrace. It inspires people to love their life and to pursue a magnificent ideal. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, armyman Huang Jiguang carried with him a comic book about Matrosov, a Soviet hero during the war of defense, as he threw himself against the embrasure of the enemy's blockhouse, while during the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam, Huang Jiguang, Dong Chunjui, Qiu Shaoyun and Wan Cheng became heroic images in literary and art works and set examples as fighters dedicated to their country. Are not these facts a good inspiration for us literary and art workers? The reason for stressing the importance of portraying heroic images is that such creation is aimed at encouraging people to carry out the current historically unprecedented causes and the arduous work of realizing the socialist modernization heroically. Of course, writers must be encouraged to portray various figures, because good literary and art works with various figures will be able to educate people. But this does not mean that it is not necessary to stress the importance of depicting the heroic images of the proletariat. The examples set by heroic images cannot be replaced by other images.

The question of portraying heroic images has been a topic of debate in literary and art circles since the founding of new China. With regard to this question, we hold that it is imperative to completely criticize the theory of "basic task" peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their series of ideological fallacies about creating the "No 1 figure," the lofty and talented savior on the model of the "three prominences" they advocated. We also oppose the wrong view which denies the existence of heroic images in reality and opposes the portrayal of "nonheroic deeds" of heroic images. Heroic figures come from actual life. They are historical, realistic and concrete; they are not fabricated. The heroic images we are to portray are the pioneers and builders of revolution and at the same time ordinary laborers; they are fighters with revolutionary ideals, foresight and sagacity and at the same time ordinary people. They have taken root among the masses and serve as examples for the masses. Why should we not portray the great creators of history, since we believe that history is created by people? A heroic image is one of the masses; he is not isolated from them. He does not stand aloof; he exists in mutual relationships with intermediate, backward and negative characters. There is no absolutely perfect man in reality. The "gang of four" forbade people from depicting the shortcomings of heroic figures. The heroic character develops and grows in revolutionary struggle, but each heroic character differs. We must describe the processes by which heroes transform their own subjective world when they are transforming the objective world in various different environments. Such is the reality of the tens of millions of heroes in our life, and it is their living images that bring vigorous impetus for the realization of the four modernizations.

The creators of the literature and art of the new era face a broad road. Let us work with one mind and dedicate ourselves to the early realization of the new era and early integration with the new masses in our efforts to meet a new upsurge of literature and art of the new age!

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A DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF HONEST OFFICIALS

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[Article by Liu Zehua [0491 3419 5478] and Wang Liansheng [3769 6647 0581]]

[Text] Before the "Great Cultural Revolution" our country's academic circles held heated debates on honest officials, on the nature and role of honest official ideology, on the conditions giving rise to this thinking and its significance in actual life. On the whole, three opinions were reflected at that time. The first opinion held that honest officials were liberators of those who were oppressed, humiliated and wronged and that they bravely struggled against the forces of evil and hence deserved to be emulated and publicized. The second opinion held that there was no difference between honest and corrupt officials in nature. The third opinion held that honest officials were positive characters but were subject to class limitations. A healthy development of this debate would help us draw a clear demarcation line theoretically between feudalism and Marxism. However, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan later took advantage of this debate to carry out political persecution. They put the labels of agents of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism on those comrades who praised honest officials as positive characters and dealt merciless blows at them.

Political persecution could silence people but could not solve any academic problem. It was entirely correct for our party to politically rehabilitate the persecuted comrades after the downfall of the "gang of four." However, political rehabilitation and theoretical correctness are two different matters. Numerous articles discussing the question of honest officials have been published in newspapers and other publications over the past 3 years. Some make an in-depth analysis of honest officials and the honest official ideology and put forward some convincing opinions. Others carry opinions which are open to discussion. For example, some comrades hold that the theory of honest officials is a component of the Marxist theory on the appraisal of historical personages. Other comrades suggest rehabilitating honest officials. In the arena of literature and art, plays about honest officials are highly praised. What deserves particular attention is that some images of "modern honest officials" have appeared in some newly created literary and artistic works and that leading cadres who carry out the party's correct line are called honest officials. Some newspapers and magazines have carried commentators' articles calling on judicial workers to emulate Bao Zheng and Hai Rui, who were honest officials in ancient China. Many articles also discuss the practical significance of honest officials.

We do not share these views.

Should the expression "honest official" be regarded as a scientific concept in appraising historical personages? What is the background to the emergence of an honest official? What is the nature of the honest official ideology? How should we estimate the influence of this thinking on our actual life? We would like to express the following views.

I. The Expression "Honest Official" Should Not Be Regarded as a Scientific Concept in Appraising Historical Personages

In the past people used the expression "honest official" to praise some feudal officials. In the literary and art field this was reflected in plays about honest officials and novels about complicated lawsuits. But should we continue to use the expression "honest official" to appraise historical personages? We do not think so.

One of the main reasons why people regard honest officials as positive characters is that they were free from corruption. In the past there were indeed some officials who were involved in little or no corruption. However, it is worth noting that these officials collected great amounts of taxes for their governments. For example, in the last years of the Northern Song Dynasty, Han Jinqing, chief of a prefecture, was described in some historical records as an honest official who "was fair and unbiased in selecting candidates for official posts and never distorted facts to suit his private ends." However, he was the one who "was promoted to be minister of justice because he excelled over other officials in collecting taxes." ("Biographies of Upright and Benevolent Officials" in "History of the Song Dynasty") During the Yuan Dynasty, Lin Xingzu "was known as an honest and benevolent official." During his tenure of office as chief of Daozhou Prefecture he "called off construction of unnecessary projects, gave alms to the poverty-stricken people, assigned less corvee labor to the people and reduced the amount of taxes to be collected from them. As a result, the prefecture was in great order." He was an honest official all right. However, "in a provincial grading of service of officials in terms of taxes collected, the chief of Daozhou Prefecture ranked first." ("Biographies of Good Officials" in "History of the Yuan Dynasty") These officials had clean personal records but at the same time were able to collect huge amounts of taxes for the state. Is the expression "honest official" enough to show their complicated nature? The rulers of the past also favored honest officials and condemned the corrupt ones. However, they held that there were things more important than honesty and corruption. What the Kangxi Emperor of the Qing Dynasty said affords food for thought: "A good official is one who takes no ill-gotten gains and serves his country heart and soul. There are officials who are men of moral integrity but are incompetent in their work. They just act according to instructions from their superiors but are continually unable to fulfill their tasks. What good are these officials to the state?" ("Imperial Instructions of Shengzu, Emperor Ren of Qing Dynasty," Vol 46) This shows that one's ability to serve the ruling class was a matter of primary importance. Today, when we appraise a feudal official, we should first consider the part he played in historical development and social reform. For example, during the Ming Dynasty, Zhang Juzheng "became more biased once he held sway. He demoted or promoted officials as he pleased. Many of his assistants accepted bribes." ("Biography of Zhang Juzheng" in "History of the Ming Dynasty") He was not an honest official. However, we should not confine our scope to this aspect and deny the role he played in conducting political, economic and military reforms. We do not mean that honesty should not be affirmed. We should see that honesty did not exist by itself but was connected with other problems during feudal times. We cannot clearly explain the question of the nature of an official simply by considering whether he was corrupt or not.

The second reason why people regard honest officials as positive characters is that these officials "executed the laws impartially." In our opinion, we should not draw such a simple conclusion on this question. Laws were not applied equally to all during feudal times. An important role played by feudal laws was to protect the feudal hierarchy. For example, Shang Yang made laws for the purpose of "clearly specifying different orders and ranks and requiring officials to build their estates and make robes for their families according to their orders and ranks." ("Biography of Shang Yang" in "Records of the Historian") Feudal laws were characteristic of the rules aimed at distinguishing between different orders and ranks. Since all were not equal before the law during feudal times, how can we use the expression "executing the laws impartially" to describe the functions of and the role played by the executors of the law?

Viewed from another angle, feudal society existed at a time when the emperors had supreme dictatorial power which overrode the law. During the Western Han Dynasty, Du Zhou often sent others to jail on the emperor's instructions. Asked why he did not uphold the law, he said: "Where do the laws come from? Some emperors made laws. Other emperors later made other laws. We should apply the laws that are currently valid. Why should we cling to the ancient laws?" ("Biography of Du Zhou" in "Annals of the Han Dynasty") His words reflected the actual relationship between the emperor's will and the law. In the history of Chinese law, imperial decrees and instructions were above the law. This situation was more serious after the Song Dynasty. Since there were no laws applicable to all, how could they be executed impartially? Therefore, the expression "executing the laws impartially" cannot correctly reflect the nature of honest officials who executed the laws.

Another piece of evidence showing that honest officials were positive characters is that they pleaded for the people and took good care of the people.

Among the honest officials cited by the people, Bao Zheng and Hai Rui did plead for the people. However, this was one side of the question, because they pleaded for the people in order to prevent people who were victims of famine from rising in rebellion. The other side of the question was that there were facts showing that the honest officials also asked the emperors for permission to kill some people. For example, when "bandits" arose in swarms in Jizhou and Yunzhou prefectures of Jingdong Province, Dezhou and Bozhou prefectures in Hebei Province and Suzhou and Bozhou prefectures in Huainan Province, Bao Zheng forwarded a memorial to the emperor saying that "the bandits in all these areas must be wiped out so as to remove the cause of future trouble." ("Collection of Bao Zheng's Works," Vol 5) Like Bao Zheng, Hai Rui pleaded for the people and also asked the emperor for permission to kill some people.

Some people said that honest officials sometimes played a role, which corrupt officials could not play, in suppressing and cheating the peasants. This view was not ungrounded. Zhang Gang, one of the "eight outstanding officials" during the reign of Emperor Shun of the Eastern Han Dynasty, shocked the imperial court by forwarding to the emperor a memorial accusing Liang Ji, the emperor's in-law who was commander in chief of the army, of the evil he had done. He was doubtlessly an honest official. However, when Zhang Ying led tens of thousands of people in Guangling Prefecture to rise in rebellion, "killing some leading local officials and creating havoc in the area of Yangzhou and Xuzhou for more than 10 years, and when the government army could not suppress them," it was this Zhang Gang who personally "visited Zhang Ying in his camp," "telling him about the emperor's intention to pardon him" and "showing concern for the welfare of his men." Coupling threats with promises, he succeeded in "enlightening Zhang Ying" and making him surrender. ("Biography of Zhang Gang" in "Annals of the Later Han") He suppressed the peasants' uprising without resorting to force. Yang Xinmin of the Ming Dynasty and Yu Chenglong and Liu Qing of the Qing Dynasty were honest officials who were actually more sinister than Zhang Gang. They deceived and killed the leaders of peasant uprisings.

Is it justifiable to say that these sanguinary facts were a result of the honest officials' "pleading for the people"? The honest officials only pleaded for the docile people who had not yet been enlightened and were longing for the government's pity. However, they did not plead for the revolutionary people but asked for the emperor's permission to wipe them out or to suppress them. So they were assigned two different tasks. Why should we hide their wrongdoing and praise their good deeds?

Yet another piece of evidence showing that honest officials were positive characters is that they attacked the bullies and corrupt officials.

We do not entirely object to this view. However, this view also reflects one side of the question. The other side of the question is that the honest officials also protected the bullies. Shen Shihang of the Ming Dynasty said: "Good officials of the past also wanted to attack the bullies. But they had to consider the matter carefully and strike a blow in good time. This can be likened to trussing up a tiger, an attempt which should not be taken lightly. If a bully has not committed an unpardonable crime, his case should be settled by making a compromise. This is a way to save the face of the local gentry." ("Square and Honest Officials," Vol 97 of "Notes on Information Acquired by Xi Yuan") Hai Rui also said: "In handling a dispute it is better to sacrifice the interests of the ordinary people than those of the local gentry so as to preserve the general interest." ("Collection of Hai Rui's Works," p 117) That was to say, the honest officials attacked the bullies to a certain extent but were not deadly enemies of the bullies. Marx said: "Hypocritical liberalism is often expressed in this way: When forced to make concessions, it sacrifices its tool--man--and preserves the essence of the matter--the existing system. Thus, it diverts public attention." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 5) During the times of feudal autocracy, before hypocritical liberalism came into being and when the public was more stupid and feeble, honest officials could easily preserve the essence of a matter by punishing one or two bullies or corrupt officials. For this reason, those who unanalytically praise honest officials for attacking bullies and ridding the people of a scourge are far from getting to the heart of the matter.

For the above reasons, we object to use of the expression "honest official," a concept which cannot reflect the essence of the question, to praise some feudal officials. In our opinion, a scientific concept for appraising historical personages can be obtained only by considering what the historical conditions were, the social status they held and the role they played in resolving concrete contradictions. Those who were called honest officials should be appraised according to the historical environments in which they lived and the nature and magnitude of their contributions.

II. The Soil Engendering Honest Officials and the Feudal, Autocratic Nature of the Honest Official Ideology

By saying that the expression "honest official" is not a scientific concept in appraising historical personages, we do not mean that there were no officials worthy of the name of "honest official" and that previously the honest official ideology did not exist. The distinctions between "honest" and "corrupt" officials and between "good" and "bad" officials came into being along with the appointment of officials. Books and records of the times before the Qin Dynasty carried different expressions to describe officials, such as "law-abiding officials," "law-bending officials," "good officials" and "wicked officials," and different expressions to describe a ruler's ministers, such as "docile ministers," "flattering ministers," "loyal ministers," "usurping ministers," "traitorous ministers," "remonstrative ministers," "argumentative ministers," "censorious ministers," "meritorious ministers" and "virtuous ministers." After the Han Dynasty the expressions "honest," "honest and upright" and "clean" were used frequently to praise officials. For example, Dong Xuan, Diwu Lun and Zhou Ju of the Later Han Dynasty, Wei Shu, He Xun, Hu Wei and his son of the Jin Dynasty, Fan Xiu of the epoch of the Southern Dynasties and Li Huaiyuan of the Tang Dynasty were known for their honesty and uprightness. Honest officials proliferated after the Song Dynasty.

What we now need to study profoundly is: What kind of soil engendered people like the honest officials? What was the nature of the honest official ideology? How should this idea be appraised?

The honest officials, as the term suggests, were a group of officials. They were not rare in each of the past dynasties. This would suggest that the emergence of honest officials was not fortuitous but was determined by necessity. What was the necessity? Some comrades formerly tried to determine the root causes for the honest officials by going into the contradiction between the "legal rights" and "customary rights" of the feudal landlord class. They showed sound judgment in their explanations. (Xing Yu: "On 'Honest Officials,'" carried by RENMIN RIBAO 29 May 1964) However, these root causes have to be further traced from the economic relations and the functions of a feudal country.

To maintain and strengthen their rule, the exploiting classes must give the people under their rule the minimum conditions of subsistence. Expressed in terms of the Marxist theory of political economics, these conditions mean giving the laborers the necessary products of their labor. Xun Zi said: "The king can be likened to a boat; the people can be likened to water." ("King's Decrees" in "Xun Zi") If the ruling class allows the laborers to have the necessary conditions for their subsistence, the boat will not capsize in the water. Otherwise, waves will arise from the water to sink the boat. Political tactics and lulling the people's thinking are not the fundamental means of maintaining a balanced relationship between the water and the boat and of preventing the boat from capsizing. The basic requirements for maintaining this situation are that the laborers must retain the necessary products of their labor and that the ruling class must limit its exploitation to the surplus products of the laborers or a little more than that. This relationship between the boat and the water can be called the safety mark for the boat (the exploiting class) and the subsistence mark for the water (the exploited people). However, the exploiters are insatiably avaricious. They are never satisfied with grabbing the surplus products of the laborers. They even want to deprive the laborers of the necessary products of their labor and adopt the policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Thus, the laborers' living standard sinks below the subsistence mark. When the "water" becomes turbulent, the "boat" is no longer safe and may even capsize.

However, not all rulers are fools and recklessly adopt the policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. To safeguard the long-term interests of the exploiting class as a whole, some exploiters come forward to probe the question of how to maintain the balance between the boat and the water. In their own words, they want to create a situation in which "the ruler is content with his position and the people live and work in peace." Ancient Chinese statesmen and political thinkers might have been unaware of the necessary labor and surplus labor and their political meanings. But this objective fact forced them to probe this major problem which affected the existence of the ruling class and to balance both sides. Confucius said: "When there is sufficient food and sufficient military equipment, the people will have confidence in their government." ("Yan Yuan" in "Analects of Confucius") "To rule a country there must be reverent attention to business, sincerity in handling business, economy in expenditure, love for the people and employment of the people at the proper seasons." ("Xue Er" in "Analects of Confucius") "Economy should be practiced in funeral affairs." ("11th Year of Duke Ai" in "Zuo's Commentary") "Kindness helps the ruler employ the services of the people." ("Yang He" in "Analects of Confucius") He talked about how to maintain the balance between antagonistic classes. Mo Zi pointed out that the ruler should practice economy, be cautious in inflicting punishments on the people, feed the people who are hungry, give clothes to those who are cold and allow those who have worked hard to rest. Then there will be "harmony between the ruler and the people." ("Practicing Economy in Funeral Affairs, Part 2" in "Mo Zi") This question was pointed out more incisively in "Government and Social Order" by Guan Zi: "The earth's resources are exhaustible and people feel fatigued from hard work, but the ruler is insatiably avaricious. If the exhaustible and the fatigued are to feed the insatiably avaricious ruler without limits, the ruler and the people will be hostile to each other.... A country, though small, enjoys peace if its ruler takes from the people and employs them within certain limits. Whereas, a country, however large, will face danger if its ruler takes from the people and exploits them without limits." The "limits" mentioned here mean the demarcation between the amounts of surplus labor and necessary labor. Xun Zi advocated "making the country rich" and stressed "making the people well off." He held that if a country sought to enrich itself at the expense of its people it would be in great danger when it really became rich. Similar statements were made by people of various dynasties. They were not fantasies but reflected a certain rule predominant in people's minds. This rule meant the line between necessary labor and surplus labor. It was the basis on which honest officials came into being. Historical study shows that most of the words and deeds of the honest officials reflected their attempts to balance this line of material gain.

The existence of honest officials was geared to the functions of a feudal country. To protect the rule of the landlord class, a feudal country relied mainly on violence. However, the landlords had learned from experience that excessive violence and exploitation were the root causes of disaster. After summing up historical experience and lessons, they came to the conclusion that a government crumbled when it lost the people's support. Some farsighted people of the ruling class pointed out that to consolidate its political power the ruling class should not only be "fierce" but also be "lenient" and should combine fierceness with leniency. "Leniency" meant carrying out the policies and measures needed to mitigate class contradictions. The honest officials were the officials who came forward to perform the duty of mitigators for the state.

Another question which deserves to be pointed out is that the reputation of honest officials was, to a large degree, the result of propaganda carried out by the feudal ruling class. Generally the honest officials were unworthy of the title. A saying goes: "After serving 3 years at his post, a prefecture chief lines his pockets with 100,000 liang of silver." The Kangxi Emperor also said: "In judging whether an official is honest we should consider only the major aspects of his behavior. Zhang Penghe is an honest official. He was impeached when he was governor of Yanzhou Province. Zhang Bohang is also an honest official. He has published many books. A pretty sum of money is needed to publish a book. Where did he get this money? I do not want to go into these matters. The officials in charge of salt production in areas north and south of the Huai River sent gifts to their superiors. I am not unaware of that. I do not want to go into that matter either." ("Imperial Instructions of Shengzu, Emperor Ren of Qing Dynasty," Vol 46) Why did he "not go into the matter"? Because these unclean "honest officials" were very useful propaganda. They were described as representatives of mankind. This created an illusion among the suffering people: the administrative system is flawless. The question lies with man. People will not be wronged and bullied when there are "good officials" or "honest officials." This kind of propaganda transcending classes was more prominent after the Song Dynasty.

The honest officials during and before the Sui and Tang dynasties, such as Ximen Bao, Zhuge Liang and Wei Zheng, were known for their benevolence in handling administrative affairs. After the Song Dynasty, however, in drawing the political physiognomy and artistic features of the honest officials, people usually played up their fairness in executing the laws, their unselfishness in handling lawsuits, their lack of fear of the powerful and influential families and their willingness to plead for the people and redress unjust verdicts. Propaganda about the honest officials was carried to extremes, so much so that their stories became legends and their achievements in handling administrative affairs were neglected. Take the plays about Bao Zheng, for example. We have gone through more than 20 plays and novels about Bao Zheng, ranging from "Dream of the

Butterfly" by Guan Hanqing to "Two Butterflies" of the Qing Dynasty. Most of them tell about the judgment of lawsuits. One noteworthy point is that, with the exception of a few which talk about human relationships, most of these plays and novels give accounts of how Bao Zheng dealt with ghosts and deities. This shows that, as far as the artistic image is concerned, Bao Zheng was a supernatural being rather than an honest official, a man who had become a deity. This shift in the focus of propaganda demonstrates an important point, that is: After the Song Dynasty the ruling class publicized honest officials chiefly for the purpose of covering up the nature of its administrative system and disseminating a viewpoint that transcended class.

We do not deny that the peasants who worked as slaves under the feudal autocracy also trusted the honest officials and had high expectations of having their wrongs righted and their grievances redressed and of seeking their means of subsistence. Can this be taken as the basic origin of the honest official ideology? No. In our opinion, the peasants' trust in honest officials and the publicity about honest officials by the feudal landlord class are two different matters. The publicity about honest officials by the feudal landlord class was geared to the strengthening of its rule and was therefore an action which it took consciously. The peasants' trust in honest officials was a result of their being fettered by the feudal relations of production and poisoned by the landlord class and was therefore an expression of feebleness and inability. Peasant uprisings broke out on hundreds of occasions in our country. There were occasions when different groups of peasants joined forces. Generally the peasants lived within the framework of the natural economy, where they worked in scattered groups and supported themselves according to the feudal relations of production. This simple production was very weak in nature and could easily be trampled upon and destroyed by the ruling class. Although the policies and measures adopted by the honest officials were aimed at insuring the safety of the ruling class, they brought the peasants from the verge of death to the subsistence level, so that the peasants were satisfied with them to a certain degree. Therefore, the honest officials were praised by the landlords and the peasants. The landlords praised them for their contributions to settling political crises. The peasants praised them because they obtained through them the conditions of subsistence, although as slaves. These two kinds of praise were different in essence.

During feudal times the overstaffed bureaucratic apparatus, the draconian criminal laws and the massive army tightly fettered the peasants. Corrupt officials ran wild, and the bureaucrats protected one another, giving the peasants no choice. The images of honest officials loomed large in the minds of the peasants. This only showed that the peasants' hope for honest officials was a result of their being fettered by the feudal relations of production. It reflected the peasants' inability to master their fate under feudal economic and political oppression and was an unusual behavior of the peasants, who submitted themselves to the feudal public order.

During feudal times, because of the great difference in the possession of land and wealth, the peasants naturally cherished equalitarian ideas and opposed unequal distribution. The class-transcending honest official ideology was acceptable to the peasants because it tallied with their equalitarian ideas to a certain degree.

In our opinion, the honest official ideology was actually not an idea cherished by the peasants but a special expression of feudal, autocratic thinking. This is seen clearly in the plays about honest officials. The plays about Bao Zheng and Hai Rui have the same clearcut theme, describing the high-handedness of the corrupt officials and the dignity of the honest officials, underscored by the inability of the people, who were nobodies. Take, for example, "The Case of the Chalk Circle," a play of the Yuan Dynasty. When Zhang Haitang, the heroine, was wronged and jailed, she sang in despair: "I cry and cry, but heaven is too high above to hear me. How I look forward to the coming of an honest official." When she was released and came to Kaifeng, the capital, she chanced to meet Bao Zheng. Thanks to Bao Zheng's prestige and wisdom, her case was redressed. The moral of this play was: Just as an ass can only choose between a stick and a bundle of hay, one who is wronged can only choose between an honest and a corrupt official and there is no other way out for him.

Another expression of the close link between the honest official ideology and feudal autocracy was the honest officials' pleading for the people who placed their hopes in honest officials. The plays about honest officials might differ from one another in portraying the achievements of the honest officials in their work, but they invariably ended with the description of the people's obedience and gratefulness to the honest officials. The honest officials might have made great achievements in their work, but they never exceeded the limits of the feudal social order. The reason why Bao Zheng pleaded for the people was very simple: "The people are the foundation of the country. Revenues come from them, and the safety of the country lies with them." So he had to plead for them. ("Collection of Bao Zheng's Works," Vol 7) Hai Rui pleaded for the people because he opposed the policy of "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs." ("Collection of Hai Rui's Works," p 53) He Liangjun, Hai Rui's contemporary, explained the question very clearly: "Hai Rui did this for the people. Serving the people means serving the emperor." ("Notes by Si Yu Zhai," Vol 13) The purpose in giving publicity to the honest officials who pleaded for the people was to get the people to follow the government's instructions. Throughout feudal society, which lasted more than 2,000 years, no official who acted "against the will of the people" was called an honest official.

Pleading for the people reflected the fact that the people's fate was not in their own hands and that they could do nothing about their fate. The peasants begged for leniency, benevolence and sympathy from the honest officials, just as slaves begged for the same from their owners. The honest officials were "great" because they gave the peasants what they begged for. The honest officials' pleading for the people explained this principle: The people place their hopes in one man; one man can save the people; there is a savior in the world. This was exactly a portrayal of the tragic fate of the peasants. How can we condone the honest official ideology as cherished by peasants who could not master their own fate, could not envisage their own future and could only place their hopes in a "savior"? How can we regard it as a progressive idea? How can we take this outmoded idea--which is diametrically opposed to Marxism--as a Marxist viewpoint?

III. Propagation of the Honest Official Ideology Has a Negative Effect

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," many comrades have written articles supporting honest officials and the honest official ideology. They hold that honest officials like Bao Zheng and Hai Rui are lacking in our socialist political arena. They call on cadres of the party and the state to prove themselves modern Bao Zhengs and Hai Ruis. In our opinion, they have misunderstood our actual life. It is true that the 10 years of catastrophe created by the "gang of four" brought about seriously unhealthy tendencies in our society. How are we to overcome these unhealthy tendencies? Should we hope for the emergence of one or two honest officials like Bao Zheng and Hai Rui, instead of applying the party's correct policies to gradually improve the socialist system? Bao Zheng and Hai Rui did some good deeds, but they were insignificant when compared with the hardships the peasants and other working people suffered under feudal oppression. During the times of feudal autocracy the rulers treated human life as if it were not worth a straw, and political, economic and cultural persecution could be found everywhere. Historical records show that the emperors killed millions upon millions of innocent people as they wished. Who would take an interest in this matter? Who would care to rehabilitate these people? This shows that there is a wide gap between the oppressed people's needs and the harsh reality. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," has our party not redressed millions of cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed? Which of the honest officials can be compared with it? Therefore, it is inappropriate either to expect our party to act like an honest official or to portray the party's leadership as honest officials.

The idea of becoming an honest official is also absurd theoretically. It is incompatible with the socialist thought which guides us and runs counter to our efforts to develop socialist democracy, to exercise collective leadership, to perfect the legal system and to emancipate the mind. It does not propagate the people's emancipation and strength, does not encourage the people to take their fate into their own hands and, in particular, does not say that the people are their own masters under the socialist system. Instead, it spreads blind faith in heroes and "saviors." Gone forever are the times when officials made decisions for the people. Why do we cherish the memory of the honest officials of feudal times? Of course, socialism is not anarchism. It needs "officials." But these "officials" must be elected democratically by us people and really speak for the people. They are servants of the people. Once an "official" goes against the interests of the people, the people have the right to dismiss him. They will not tolerate him or hope for the coming of an honest official as the people of feudal times did. During the socialist period the people are the real masters of the house. Therefore, any attempt to lead the people to place their hope in the coming of an honest official who will plead for them is incompatible with the spirit of our times.

Why should some comrades today keep praising honest officials and the honest official ideology? In our opinion, this situation is inseparable from the conditions of our country. In our country, feudal society was predominant for a long period of time, and the socialist society was born out of the historical conditions of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Here we will not go into the economic conditions caused by the underdevelopment of the productive forces. Take the influence of traditions alone, for example. Many things characteristic of feudal autocracy inevitably exist in varying degrees in all spheres of social life. Under given conditions they may spread unchecked and create a disaster. They find expression in such things as life tenure of office, patriarchal behavior, rule by the voice of one man alone, the privilege mentality, nepotism, bureaucracy and modern fetishes. Poisoned by these feudal things, we have often failed to distinguish between feudalism, capitalism and socialism. We have sometimes mistaken some feudalist ideas as correct and erroneous things as scientific and publicized them. The modern fetishes which we have been upholding over the past few years are strong evidence of this. In our opinion, taking the honest official ideology as a progressive, correct idea is also an example.

Some people may say: You should see how people love to see the plays about honest officials and how they long for the emergence of a greater number of honest officials in real life! Yes, we have noticed this fact. However, can this be taken as evidence of the real significance of the honest official ideology? No. On the contrary, we hold that the vestiges of feudalism still have widespread influence over the people and that the task of wiping out the pernicious influence of feudalism is still very heavy. We should work hard to completely wipe out these historical vestiges. It is entirely justifiable to eliminate the idea of entrusting fate to the hands of an honest official. First, an ideology similar to that of the honest official ideology of feudal China also existed during the Middle Ages in the West. However, this ideology is no longer prominent or prevalent in capitalist countries where the revolution has been carried out thoroughly. Why, may we ask, is the proletariat incapable of achieving what the bourgeoisie has achieved? Second, we have Marxist thinking as our guide. A basic Marxist viewpoint is that the people are makers of history. It is impermissible to adopt the method of setting off the greatness of an individual by putting it in bold relief against the stupidity, backwardness and inability of the masses. Is there any reason why we should not wipe out this idea of letting the honest officials make history? Is there no useful weapon in the arsenal of Marxist theories so that we have to seek help from the honest official ideology? We should know that we will be in a really deplorable state if we just sit and wait for a hero to come and save mankind.

In our opinion, when we stage an old play about an honest official, if we do not induce the people to see the root causes, limitations and dangers of this historical phenomenon and to negate this play by elevating it to a higher theoretical plane, and if we just confine ourselves to this feudal thinking and simply call for rehabilitating the honest officials, our theoretical work will lose its fighting power. News has it that "County Chief Tang Examines the Imperial Mandate," a Henan opera, has aroused the interest of the audience. Tang Cheng, the county chief, has this motto for himself as an official: "If I do not speak for the people, I had better be a potatomonger." Although he thought that he "spoke for the people," he did not put an insurmountable barrier between an official and a potatomonger. He deserves praise for cherishing this idea despite the predominance of autocratic thinking. However, his motto has not gone beyond the bounds of autocracy and therefore should not be regarded as a democratic idea. Only when his motto is changed to read "If I do not serve the people, I must go home and be a potatomonger" will it approach our principle. Of course, we are not asking him to change his motto. We just take this as an example to distinguish between the honest official ideology and socialist democratic thinking.

In conclusion, we want to say that we do not mean to oppose plays about honest officials. As a historical legacy, plays about honest officials which have positive meaning may be staged at any time, just as plays about ghosts and deities which have positive meaning are staged today. People may appreciate a play according to the characteristics of the time in which they live and according to their level of understanding. We simply say that, theoretically, the expression "honest official" is not a scientific concept to be adopted in appraising historical personages, the honest official ideology is not a progressive ideology and publicizing this ideology in real life has a negative effect.

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THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN FEUDAL SOCIETY

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[Article by Zheng Changgan [6774 2490 3227]]

[Text] The patriarchal system permeated the entire feudal society. Its characteristic features were: Members of the feudal ruling class, from the emperor down to the bureaucrats, used their power to allow their relatives and members of the same clan to enjoy special political and economic privileges, mainly in the forms of conferring titles of nobility, appointment as officials, award of property and exemption from taxes and corvee. These privileges were often hereditary. The various dynasties formulated a series of institutions to protect these privileges. The patriarchal system had a history of several thousand years in our country. Precisely because it had a long history, it has become an obstinate, traditional force of habit with far-reaching influence. Although we have abolished the feudal system of land ownership and overthrown the landlord class, and although the patriarchal system no longer exists as a political system, the concept of clan and relationships deriving from this system still exert their influence in many aspects.

I

In our country a relatively comprehensive patriarchal system was developed during the Western Zhou Dynasty. After Wu Wang Keshang and the Duke of Zhou had conquered the east, they occupied vast territories in the east. The rulers of the Zhou Dynasty believed that only their relatives were reliable forces in maintaining the rule of the Zhou Dynasty. Therefore, they continuously conferred titles of nobility on their sons and younger brothers so that they could build vassal states in the east, rule the inhabitants of the newly occupied territories and join in efforts to protect the Zhou court. This was called "establishing feudal princes to shield the imperial court." ("The Fourth Year of Duke Ding" in "Zuo Commentary") According to incomplete statistics, vassal states established during the early period of the Zhou Dynasty numbered 71, 53 of which were ruled by nobles of the Ji clan. Xun Zi said: All descendants of the Zhou Dynasty, unless they were insane or idiots, became prominent princes. ("Chapter on the Effects of Confucianism" in "Works of Xun Zi") These princes, in turn, appointed their sons and younger brothers as high ministers or ministers and granted them "property allotments," land or slaves. The titles of nobility were hereditary, and the rule of primogeniture was applied in inheritance. Other sons and younger brothers could also obtain high positions and property through the system of "grants." Therefore, the patriarchal system, termed the system of "being intimate with those who are one's close relatives," "respecting those who are revered" and "honoring those who are noble," was actually a system which regulated the inheritance and distribution of positions, power and property among the nobility. Its purpose was to maintain the special privileges of the nobility.

After the Period of the Warring States, the traditional system of clans and nobility declined. However, the patriarchal system was not abolished, because the rising aristocracy and nobility also needed it as a means to safeguard their political status and power. Liu Bang originated from a peasant family. After he became emperor, he believed that the territory he had conquered belonged to the Liu family. Therefore, he appointed many of his sons and nephews as princes to partake of this family property, and he even declared that people with a different surname could not become a prince. His purpose was none other than to use this as a means of consolidating the political power of his clan. Subsequently, this system remained basically unchanged throughout the Wei Jin Dynasty, the Northern and Southern dynasties, and the Sui, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties.

Zhu Yuanzhang originated from a peasant family. After he became emperor, he also thought that the empire was the property of the Zhu family. He appointed his sons as princes of the first order. The princes enjoyed not only great economic special privileges, but also great political and military power within their domains. Although the princes were prohibited from interfering in administration after the establishment of the Chengzu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, their special privileges continued. For instance, the position of the prince of the first order was hereditary and based on the rule of primogeniture. Other sons and descendants were appointed as princes of the second order and to various positions of nobility, such as Zhenguo Jiangjun, Fuguo Jiangjun, Fengguo Jiangjun, Zhenguo Zhongwei, Fufuo Zhongwei and Fengguo Zhongwei. They received extremely high salaries. During the early Ming Dynasty, princes of the first order were granted not only farmland but also "grazing land." They grabbed thousands of qing of land from civilians. After the middle of the Ming Dynasty, grants to princes of the first order grew even more. For example, the son of the Shizong Emperor, Prince Jing, and the son of the Shenzong Emperor, Prince Fu, were given up to 40,000 qing of land. ("History of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 120) Aside from land grants, they were also given "rice grants." From the prince of the first order to the Fengguo Zhongwei, each were given 10,000 to 200 dan of rice each year.

The Qing Dynasty continued to enforce the patriarchal system. Descendants of the nobility were appointed as princes of the first and the second order, Beile, Beizi.... They enjoyed even greater privileges. When the Empress Dowager Cixi signed the humiliating treaty of 1900 between China and the eight-power allied forces, she shamelessly remarked: "I would rather give to foreigners than to domestic servants." She indeed looked at China as the private property of the family of the Qing emperor.

From the Zhou to the Qing Dynasty, the feudal rulers appointed civil and military officials and most of their in-laws as princes and made their positions hereditary in order to consolidate their "family rule." This was an extension of the patriarchal system. The system of appointing princes during the Western Zhou

Dynasty was not limited to the clan of the emperor. It was extended to nobles of other clans. Members of the Jiang clan, who became the in-laws of the Ji clan and formed a military alliance with it, were appointed as princes of the states of Qi, Lu, Shen, Xu and others. During the early Zhou Dynasty, those who rendered meritorious military service were also appointed as ministers. For example, the Han, Zhao and Wei clans of the state of Jin did not belong to the same clan as the prince of Jin.

The appointment of in-laws as princes was most widespread during the Western and Eastern Han dynasties, and the damage brought about by in-laws of the emperor was worst during that period. During the early Western Han Dynasty, there was the autocracy of the Lu clan. By the end of the Western Han Dynasty, Wang Mang usurped the power of the emperor. Beginning with the reign of the Hedi Emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the entire Eastern Han Dynasty was characterized by autocratic rule alternating between the in-laws of the emperor and the eunuchs.

From the Wei Jin Dynasty to the early Tang Dynasty, the nobilities and prominent families in power gave great prominence to the feudal patriarchal system. During the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, both the political status and privileges of the royal family, the in-laws and officials who were appointed for meritorious service were weakened, but these were strengthened again during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Although there was no problem of in-laws wreaking havoc during the Ming Dynasty, there were a great number of people who were conferred titles of nobility. They occupied lands and enjoyed great privileges. The Taizu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty executed a number of officials who had been appointed because of meritorious service, but those who remained, such as the duke of Wei, Xu Da, the duke of Zheng, Chang Yuchun, the duke of Xin, Tang He, the duke of Wei, Deng Yu, the Chengyi earl, Liu Ji, and the Xiping marquis, Mu Ying (although they rose and fell) all enjoyed hereditary titles of nobility until the fall of the Ming Dynasty. During the Ming Dynasty, even the positions of middle- and low-ranking military officers, from commandant to petty officers like Qiansui or Baisui, were hereditary. This system was changed only in the latter part of the Ming Dynasty.

II

After our country was unified during the Qin and Han dynasties, a political system which combined autocracy and bureaucratism was enforced over a very long period of time. It was not enough to rely on a handful of nobles for the unified dynasty to rule a vast territory with a large population. A large number of bureaucrats at various levels were also necessary. Therefore, the patriarchal system inevitably permeated a bureaucratic system. The most important evidence of this was that when an official reached a certain rank his consanguineous relatives, such as father, grandfather, mother, wife and children, could enjoy the same privileges as he could. Two situations were possible:

First, the appointment of sons. During the Han Dynasty, an official who reached the rank wherein he received 2,000 dan of rice or more as salary could recommend one son as senior secretary. During the Tang Dynasty, sons or younger brothers of an official with a rank higher than third grade could be recommended to attend the Imperial Academy of Learning, not long after which they could fill vacancies in the bureaucracy. The system of "benefiting the son" was even more rampant during the Song Dynasty. High officials in power not only could help their sons and grandsons to become officials, but could even do so for their relatives and their hangers-on. They could recommend as many as eight or nine people at one time. Regulations during the Ming Dynasty provided that officials of a rank higher than seventh grade could help their sons and grandsons to become officials. "Officials of the full first grade could name their sons as officials of the full fifth grade." Those of second grade could name their sons as sixth-grade officials, and so on and so forth. Grandsons could be recommended for positions one grade lower than sons. ("Informal Talks on the Early Years of the State" in "The Yehuo Compilations on the Wanli Years") Later, because there were too many officials, this system was restricted. Sons were usually recommended to be "government scholars" or secretaries of the council, not long after which they could fill official vacancies. During the Qing Dynasty, officials stationed in the capital of Manchu or Han descent who had reached the rank of fourth grade and officials in the localities who had reached the rank of third grade could send one son to the Imperial Academy of Learning as "honorary students." After passing an examination they could also become officials. The Imperial Academy of Learning, the Imperial College and the Imperial Academy during the Tang, Song and Ming dynasties became schools for descendants of nobles and bureaucrats. Actually, they were preparatory classes for bureaucrats. Even if descendants of bureaucrats did not become officials through the influence of their parents, they were still "noble sons" and "young lords." Their status was definitely different from that of the ordinary civilian. Some capitalized on the influence of their fathers to commit all kinds of outrages, while local officials usually protected their fellow officials and shut their eyes to such evildoings.

Second, after officials rose to a certain rank they could request "conferments or grants" for their fathers, grandfathers, mothers and wives. This practice started during the Tang and Song dynasties and was most widely engaged in during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Fathers and grandfathers could be conferred the title of high minister or senior board secretary, and mothers and wives could be conferred the title of lady of the first rank or lady, depending on the rank of the official in question. Although these were only honorary titles, they indicated the special status, position and privileges of the titleholders. This was what was meant by the saying "mothers rose in status because of their sons," "wives rose in status because of their husbands" and sons became noble when their fathers held a high position. Indeed, the situation was such that when one person became an official his relatives rose in position with him. Some high-ranking bureaucrats also built ancestral halls and composed clan genealogical registers to "glorify their ancestors."

Furthermore, nobles and bureaucrats and their consanguineous relatives--fathers, grandfathers, mothers, wives, sons and grandsons--had the special legal privilege of commutation of prison sentence or even exemption from penalty. The "law of the Tang Dynasty" included the so-called "eight grounds of privilege": When officials above the fifth rank committed a crime punishable by death, the emperor was the one to pass judgment. Penalties for officials of the sixth and seventh rank who had committed crimes punishable by exile could be commuted by one degree. This privilege of officials above the fifth rank also "extended to their grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters, wives, sons and grandsons."

If these relatives committed crimes less serious than those punishable by exile, their penalty could be commuted by one degree. Even concubines of officials above the fifth rank enjoyed the privilege of atoning for a crime less serious than one punishable by exile. ("Explanations of the Laws of Tang," Vol 22) During the Song Dynasty, "the legal system followed that of Tang, and it could be changed any time." It also followed the spirit of "penalty must not apply to the gentry" begun during the Zhou Dynasty. When "descendants of the royal family committed a crime," they were only to be "reprimanded as a sign of humiliation," and penalties were not to be applied. When high officials committed crimes, there were usually only investigations, and they were not punished. Furthermore, both incumbent and retired officials were only punished by dismissals or "returned to civilian life" at most and were never sentenced. Even if their crimes were punishable by exile, they were "exempted from flogging and tattooing on the forehead." ("Chronicle of Criminal Laws" in "History of the Song Dynasty") Members of the "eight banners" during the Qing Dynasty enjoyed even greater privileges. When a bannerman violated the law, he was not imprisoned in department and district jails but was put in "vacant quarters of the imperial clan court" or the "detention halls of the department of the imperial household." ("Qing Hui Dian") The severity of punishment also varied depending on the person. One rule said that "prisoners guilty of serious crimes must be tattooed. Bannermen are to be tattooed on the arm, while ordinary people are to be tattooed on the face." "Bannermen are punished by wearing a cangue for 1 month and receiving 100 lashes, while ordinary people are punished by being flogged 100 times and exiled to a distance of 3,000 li for engaging in illegal trade." ("Qing Tong Dian") This was because the eight banners of Manchuria had traditional clan relations with the emperor.

III

What we have just discussed above was the political manifestations of the patriarchal system. On the other hand, the patriarchal system also penetrated various aspects of social life. Therefore, it had quite a broad social base.

The prominent families and nobilities were very keen on status and social position in order to maintain their special political and social positions. Even the marriage of their children had to be between families of equal social position. After the Eastern Han Dynasty, prominent noble families occupied a greatly superior political position. They not only oppressed the peasants but also bullied landlords of ordinary families. For instance, because he came from an "obscure family" and "his ancestors were not of exemplary origin," famous Eastern Han thinker Wang Chong was discriminated against and even ridiculed during his "career as an official." He greatly resented this and sharply criticized the practice. He said: "No bird is born a phoenix, no beast is by origin a unicorn." "The rich might not always be wise, the poor might not always be ignorant." Those who were low in position and status might not be so because they were wanting in ability. During his lifetime he made friends regardless of their "lowly" social status, as long as their behavior was noble and unconventionally graceful. ("Chapter on Self-Discipline" in "Lun Heng") Thus, we can see that the reactionary theory of blood lineage could stifle many really talented people.

Prominent families and nobilities during the Eastern Jin Dynasty and the Northern and Southern dynasties were even more despotic. They claimed that they were of noble descent, composed clan registers and discriminated against the "poor families" and "obscure clans." "Even those people who came from obscure families and worked hard to gain an important position in government dared not compare themselves with those from the prominent families." ("Random Notes on the 22 Books of History") Yuan Can looked down on the Xiaowu Emperor of the Song Dynasty. He once "ridiculed him for coming from an obscure family." ("The Biography of Yuan Can" in "History of the Song Period") During the Song period of the Southern dynasties, Xiao Daocheng was appointed as Sanqi imperial assistant, Zhonglingjun commander in chief and Zhenjun general and conferred the title of duke. His position was indeed very high. Yet when he wrote to people like Yuan Can he referred to himself as "your subordinate, an ordinary person." Later he became the first emperor of the Qi period of the Southern dynasties. In his last will and testament he still said: "I was originally from an obscure family. I never thought that I could reach a position as high as that which I am occupying." ("History of the Qi Period" in "Imperial Chronicles") Ji Sengzhen, a favorite official of the Wudi Emperor of Liang, asked to be among the ranks of the gentry. The emperor answered that Jiang Xiao and Xie Yue were the people who could decide this. Ji went to see Jiang. Jiang refused to sit with him. ("Biography of Jiang Xiao" in "History of the Southern Dynasties") Hou Jing led a great army to go over to the side of Liang during the Southern dynasties. He wanted to marry women from the Wang and Xie clans. The Wudi Emperor answered: "The Wang and Xie clans are of too high a status. They are not your equals. I can inquire about families below the status of the Zhu and the Zhang clans." ("Biography of Hou Jing" in "History of the Southern Dynasties") The Wang and Xie families were descendants of Wang Dao (an official credited with the founding of the Eastern Jin Dynasty) and Xie An (who was the commander in the battle of Feishui River). They were first-class prominent families south of the Yangtze River at that time. Hou Jing was not equal to them.

The Northern dynasties also attached great importance to prominent families and nobilities. Families of equal social position were required in marriage. This practice continued until the Tang Dynasty. Seven clans and 10 families composed of the Li clan of Longxi, the Wang clan of Taiyuan, the Zheng clan of Xingyang, the Lu clan of Fanyang, the Cui clan of Qinghe and the Li clan of Zhaojun intermarried for a long period of time. All six daughters of Prime Minister Li Linfu married descendants of noble families. During the Tang Dynasty, Yuan Zhen wrote the "Hui Zhen Ji" (the title was changed to "Xi Xiang Ji" or "Story of the West Chamber" during the Yuan Dynasty). In that story, Cui Yingying's mother reneges on the marriage plans for her daughter because the Cui family was a prominent clan in the north at that time and she did not want to marry her daughter off to a poor scholar. This resulted in the ill-fated lovers' being unable to get married. After the Song Dynasty, this tendency died down to a certain degree, yet it became rampant again during the Ming and Qing dynasties. This resulted in many tragedies due to forced or unhappy marriages.

Since the Han Dynasty, the practice of several generations living under one roof and members of a clan living together had been on the rise. The concepts of "rank and position," "family lineage" and "having common ancestors" were given more and more importance. Within one family or clan, patriarchal relations were maintained. This type of patriarchal family extended the patriarchal system to every aspect of relationships within the clan. This became the deep-rooted foundation of feudal rule which was carried on until the modern period. Since the Song Dynasty, this patriarchal system had been advocated by the idealist Confucian philosophers and was greatly developed. A patriarchal ideological framework embodying the powers of the clan developed. The husband and the gods merged with political power. Idealist Confucian philosopher Zhang Zai of the Northern Song Dynasty advocated "the formulation of a law of the imperial clan" "in order to restrain the hearts of the people, bring the clans under control and popularize good customs." ("Complete Works of Zhang Zi" in "Ancestral Laws") Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Wang Yangming and others all advocated similar things.

Patriarchal families were all subjected to the strict restrictions of the patriarchal mode of relationships within the clan. The clans usually had common properties. These properties were actually controlled, monopolized or even usurped by the powerful bureaucrats and landlords in the clan. Clan elders often used clan rules and family regulations to oppress peasants of the same clan and bully the "obscure families" (or "miscellaneous clans") in the same or neighboring village. They relied on their power to bully orphans and widows in the clan or to grab property, engage in trading of women or arrange marriages. They even had the power to execute members of the clan who violated clan rules, and this power was protected by the feudal rulers. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: The four authorities--clan, political, religious and masculine--are "the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants." ("Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan") This patriarchal structure of clan relations had an impeding influence on social progress.

From the above discussion it is clear that the patriarchal system and concept in feudal society was the system wherein inheritance of privileges was perpetuated in accordance with the closeness of consanguineous relationships; wherein social position was extremely important in contracting marriage; wherein the evil tendency by those in high places to exert influence on those beneath them was rampant and people in high places supported each other; and wherein political power and influence was used by officials to protect each other. The result was nepotism in appointing officials and the stifling of many really talented people. It also led to increasing corruption in feudal politics. Families of nobles and bureaucrats inevitably used their power to enforce despotic rule in their villages and to oppress the ordinary people, plunging the people into great misery. It had an extremely grave effect on the politics and society in our country for thousands of years. Its pernicious influence has not been eliminated. People must be concerned with this problem and strive to overcome it.

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ON THE DECADENCE OF CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

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[Article by Qiu Qihua [0092 2796 5478]]

[Text] In his treatise "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin pointed out that imperialism was decayed and rotten capitalism. The subsequent development of capitalism proved that Lenin was entirely correct. However, after World War II and in the 1950's and 1960's, production and technology in the principal capitalist countries progressed rapidly. Economists among capitalist circles then claimed that Lenin's diagnosis of the decadence of imperialism was a thing of the past. Even certain comrades among us were likewise skeptical and thought that contemporary capitalism was "decaying but not yet rotten." In my opinion, this view was not justified.

The decadence of imperialism which Lenin mentioned encompassed many aspects. Stagnation in production and in technological development was but one of its maladies. Since people are now paying attention to this problem, this article is intended to study it seriously and to comment on other related problems as well.

The reason for this skepticism on the part of certain of our comrades is that they misinterpreted the decadence of capitalism as meaning that capitalism could not develop rapidly. Hence, when capitalism appeared to be developing rapidly, they were naturally inclined to negate its decadence. Unfortunately, this interpretation did not correspond to Lenin's original ideas. When Lenin discussed the decadent tendency of imperialism, he clearly pointed out: "It is erroneous to believe that this tendency toward decadence rules out the possibility of the rapid development of capitalism. No! In the period of imperialism, individual industrial departments, individual capital classes and strata and individual nations displayed, in varying degrees and on different occasions, one kind of tendency or another. In the main, the development of capitalism was much faster than before." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 842) Only in having a thorough understanding of Lenin's dialectics and overcoming the absolute metaphysical viewpoint on this problem can we avoid being confused by this temporary phenomenon of capitalism's rapid development, and only then can we truly understand the decadence of contemporary capitalism. For this reason, I believe that we should correctly grasp the following two theories of historical materialism:

First, in the contradictory but unified composition of production relations and the productive forces, the productive forces are the principal part of the contradiction and play the decisive role. They are the most revolutionary and most active factor in production. They are forever developing. Due to many factors, the development of production and technology tends to accelerate. These factors are: Man's increasing accumulation of knowledge and knowhow in the course of production struggles and scientific experimentation and his increasingly penetrating understanding of the laws of nature and nature's development; the material tactics employed by man in his production struggles and in scientific experimentation, which are increasing in kind, quantity and efficiency; the increasing possibility of more and more accumulation due to the expanded scale of production and the rise in the productivity rate of labor, and so forth. The full development of such a tendency may perhaps be hindered by the production relations of monopolistic capitalism but cannot be eliminated altogether. It is erroneous to believe that, if production relations are suited to productive labor, then production and technology can develop and that, if they are not, production and technology cannot develop.

Second, on the question of the reaction of production relations to the productive forces, they must be supported by a dialectical viewpoint. Actually, it is not in accordance with reality to hold the viewpoint that, when capitalism is ascendant, production relations and the productive forces are completely suited to each other and that, when capitalism is on the wane, production relations and the productive forces are completely unsuited to each other. The real situation is that in a capitalist society production relations and the development of the productive forces may or may not be suited to each other. Hence, the reaction of production relations to the productive forces assumes a dual character, namely, to promote the development of the productive forces and also to impede their development. However, when capitalism is ascendant, production relations are suited to the development of the productive forces and play a major role in their development. On the other hand, when capitalism is on the wane, production relations are not suited to the development of the productive forces and likewise play a major role in hindering their development. For example, when capitalism is in the ascendant, free competition stimulates technological advancement. On the other hand, it is possible that, because of the capitalists' desire to safeguard technological secrets, the further progress of technology is impeded. The basic contradictions within capitalism at the time may not have been as serious as in the later stages, but they are already acute enough to cause the eruption of the economic crisis of overproduction. In the meantime, when capitalism is on the wane, while monopoly may cause the stagnation and decadence of production and technology, simultaneously it may promote their development. Lenin pointed out: "Monopoly can never rule out completely or for a prolonged period competition in the world market.... Obviously, the adoption of improved technology may lower production costs and increase profits, and this possibility is a factor which accelerates various changes." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 818) Lenin further pointed out: "Large banking corporations with vast amounts of capital funds can also employ hitherto inconceivable tactics to promote the advancement of technology." (Ibid., p 766) It can thus be seen that Lenin saw the dual character of the reaction of production relations to the productive forces. While emphatically pointing out the main role of production relations in impeding the productive forces in the imperialist period, at the same time he pointed out the role of production relations in promoting the development of the productive forces.

An understanding of the above two theories of historical materialism helps in the analysis of the two trends of development in production and technology found in advanced capitalist nations after World War II. It helps to reveal the nature of the stagnation and decadence of capitalism against the background of the rapid development of capitalism.

The rapid increase in capitalist production over a certain period after World War II was indivisible from the scientific and technological revolution in the history of capitalism's development which took place during the period. The revolution was comprehensive in character. It comprised the entire front of natural science and the various domains of production technology and thus brought about enormous changes in the position of labor tools, laboring objects and man in the process of materialized production. In addition, this scientific and technological revolution assumed more and more the role of direct productive power, and the interval between scientific and technological invention and its practical application in production was greatly shortened. These special characteristics of the scientific and technological revolution made possible the rapid increase in production. As a matter of fact, after the war the speed of production development in the principal capitalist nations was still low compared with the vast potential provided by the scientific and technological revolution. It can thus be imagined that, if the special trend of the stagnation and decadence of imperialism were not prevalent, the speed of production development certainly would have been much faster.

After World War II, monopolistic capitalism developed to the stage of national monopolistic capitalism. As a matter of fact, national monopolistic capitalism is one stage of monopolistic capitalism, or rather, is part of the whole but has eroded in character. In this stage the production relations of monopolistic capitalism, which in effect grew out of the joining together of the monopoly capital of both the state and private individuals of the capitalist class, played a dominant role in the various phases of social and economic life in the advanced capitalist nations, and the adjustments and interferences in the economy exercised by the capitalist states, which were built on an economic foundation of national monopolistic capitalism, permeated to the various sectors of capitalist production as well as the various departments of the national economy and the various kinds of economic component units of the capitalist social structure (including the monopolistic sectors and nonmonopolistic sectors). This partial change in character of the production relations of monopolistic capitalism engendered twofold effects on productive labor. On the one hand, it symbolized the further socialization of capital relations, which provided room, though extremely limited, for the further development of productive power. On the other hand, it not only could not solve the basic contradictions of capitalism and other contradictions which capitalism had kept under control, but also further intensified these contradictions in the course of development and thereby aggravated the trend of stagnation and decadence of imperialism.

The chief manifestations of the promotional function which state monopolistic capitalist production relations exerted on productive power within a defined period and defined area are as follows: The state's massive participation in scientific research, which promoted the development of science and technology; the state's interference in the economy, which makes possible the expansion of the capital accumulations of the society; the state's direct investments in newly established departments and in so-called "basic measures" which greatly promote economic growth; competition in the world market of monopolistic structures of various countries with the support of their respective governments, which provided vital force to pushing forward the progress of production and technology; the state's readjustment of the economy, including the "anticrisis" measures, strict adherence to planning and plans, militarization of the national economy, and so on and so forth. All the above stimulate the growth of the economy and to a certain degree ease the contradiction between production and consumption. In turn, they alleviate the market problems of capitalism and, within a stated period, reduce the severity of the periodic economic crises caused by overproduction, thereby enabling production to attain a more rapid growth within a stated period.

It was precisely the factors of the third scientific and technological revolution and the limited promotional role exercised in a limited period and within a limited sphere by national monopolistic capitalism that brought about the situation of rapid growth in production for a stated period in the principal capitalist nations after World War II. However, we must not allow this phenomenon to blind our eyes or to prevent us from perceiving that this type of production relations in national monopolistic capitalism fundamentally impedes the development of productive power and aggravates the trend of stagnation and decadence of production and technology under capitalism. Let us turn to the following:

1. Not only did the stagnation trend in technology caused by monopoly continue to exist, but there also appeared new special characteristics, namely, simultaneous with the progress in science and technology made by the relevant departments of arms production, science and technology in civilian production departments remained in a state of stagnation. Stalin once pointed out: "When new technology shows a sign of massive profits, capitalism salutes and embraces it; but when new technology no longer indicates such huge profits, capitalism will turn against it." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 569) Chasing after the maximum amount of profits impedes the extensive application of new technology in production. For example, for a rather prolonged period after World War II, because the advanced capitalist countries had managed to obtain petroleum supplies at a cheap price, scientific and technological research work on the development of coal resources and other energy resources fell behind. Certain technologies, though already invented, could not be extensively applied (take, for example, the peaceful use of atomic energy). In particular, under national monopolistic capitalism, the development of scientific research and the adoption of new technology were both connected with the large monopolistic organizations which had close relationships with the state and whose objective was to pursue the maximum amount of profits from monopoly. Such large monopolistic organs belonged mainly to the so-called military-industrial complex. It can thus be concluded that capitalist nations would customarily grant large amounts of scientific research funds to those departments related to arms production which could bring to the military-industrial complex large amounts of profits from monopoly. They would organize huge amounts of manpower and material resources

to help these departments to conduct their scientific research work and would, without compensation, turn over the results of the research to them for their use and adoption. They would also formulate various kinds of systems providing preferential treatment to these departments to use the new technology. By contrast, as for the scientific research work of those civilian production departments which could not produce especially large amounts of monopoly profits or which could not make use of the new technology, the state would give little or no support at all. I may cite the example of the United States to explain my point, because the United States has now become the center of scientific and technological development of the capitalist world, and although individual nations in individual sectors of research may have surpassed the United States, generally speaking the United States still occupies the leading position, and its scientific and technological development has immense effects on the entire capitalist world. In the United States, of the gross state appropriations for scientific research and invention, the proportion used on military objectives (including the Defense Department, Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration) was 91.6 percent in the 1954-1959 period and 75 percent in the 1966-1971 period. In the six departments related to arms production (including the manufacture of airplanes, guided missiles, electronic and communications equipment) the federal government was responsible for 58 percent of the total amount of funds expended on scientific research, discoveries and inventions during the period 1958-1969. During World War II the U.S. Government instituted a 5-year accelerated depreciation system applicable to military industrial departments. The system remained in force even after the end of the war and continued in effect until 1959. It insured that the monopolistic organs could rapidly renew their fixed assets, could put to use new technological achievements in timely fashion and thereby reaped huge profits. On the other hand, the investments of the U.S. Government in scientific research work conducted by civilian production departments were insignificant compared with its investments in munitions production departments. During the 1958-1969 period the government was responsible for but 6 percent of the total spent on scientific research and discovery work by seven civilian industrial departments (including petroleum extraction and processing, primary metals, food products, textiles and paper manufacture). As a result of the weak support from the government and impediments to the adoption of new technology, in which case priority was given to the monopolist group, in many of the civilian industrial departments in the United States the technological equipment became antiquated. Naturally, this is not meant to say that in these departments science and technology basically did not develop. What is meant is that their development was far behind the realm of possibility viewed from the progress of modern science and technology. It can be imagined that, if the expenditures devoted to scientific research in the arms production departments had been spent on the civilian production departments, the development of science and technology in general would certainly have been much faster than is the case today. But the interests of the military-industrial complex, which are closely related to those of the state, have impeded the scientific and technological progress of the civilian production departments. This is an important indication of national monopolistic capitalism's aggravating the trend of stagnation in production and technology.

2. The trend toward stagnating production had been in evidence all along. It was found while the tendency toward rapid development had the upper hand, but

since the trend toward speedy development could not last long, the stagnation trend ultimately gained the upper hand. Past experiences have verified the following: Even during the period from the end of World War II to the 1970's, when the tendency toward rapid development was evident, there were frequent eruptions of economic crises of overproduction among the principal capitalist states, and between 1973 and 1975 the most serious economic crisis of the capitalist world erupted. After this crisis the economies of the advanced capitalist states entered a period of either stagnation or a very slow pace of development. From 1973 to 1978 the average annual GNP growth rate of the advanced capitalist states was only 2.2 percent, or only one half of that in the 1960's. During the same period the annual growth rate of industrial output was only 1.3 percent; the unemployment rate increased by 100 percent compared with the 1960's, and the number of unemployed people rose to 17 million; there was a huge surplus of productive power, the equipment utilization rate was only 80 to 85 percent, and the equipment utilization rate in certain important departments (iron and steel, shipbuilding, petrochemical industry and textiles) was even much lower. This type of economic stagnation was in reality one form of slow depression. We may recall that between 1929 and 1933 the capitalist world experienced a particularly large economic crisis, followed by a prolonged period of depression. On the surface the situation in the 1970's was not as serious as that in the 1930's. However, in reality it was much more serious. This was because in the 1930's the economic crisis developed under conditions of a general type of monopoly capitalism, whereas the crisis and stagnation in the 1970's developed under conditions of national monopoly capitalism. The actual nature of the interference in the economy by capitalist nations was in the artificial use of national power to expand the market capacity or to depress production and thus to ease the sharp contradiction between production and the market. The mechanism whereby the state's adjustment measures kept the economic crisis from disrupting the productive power and thus forcefully eased the contradiction between production and the market increased the accumulation of the contradictions of production capacity exceeding the market capacity. This in turn created the conditions for the eruption of an economic crisis of even greater magnitude. Even after the crisis subsided, because of the massive surplus of productive power, the inability of the enterprises to operate at full capacity, and the insufficiency of fixed capital investments, production could not but become stagnant. The eruption of the serious economic crisis in 1973-1975 and the subsequent long-term business stagnation proved the bankruptcy of the state's measures to regulate the economy as well as the bankruptcy of the tenets of "Keynesianism." It also proved that under a capitalist production pattern the state's readjustment of the economy could not prevent the occurrence of serious economic crises and could not keep production from becoming stagnant. This inefficacy of the state's readjustment measures illustrates the aggravation of the decadence of capitalism under conditions of national monopoly capitalism.

3. Under conditions of national monopoly capitalism, certain phenomena never seen before took shape. These phenomena further illustrated the aggravation of the trend of stagnation and decadence already in existence under monopoly capitalism:

First, the steady and serious rise in commodity prices. The crises and stagnation of the 1970's developed under conditions of a steep rise in commodity prices. The rise in commodity prices differed from a rise of a short-term duration which had occurred in individual periods in history and in individual nations. It was the result of the adoption by the states of the "currency inflation policy" of "Keynesianism" as an anticrisis measure. It had two special features never seen before, namely, regularity and huge magnitude (steep rise; increase reaching two-digit figures). The occurrence of this type of commodity inflation not only exposed the aggravation of capitalism's decadence but, since it was interwoven with the economic crisis and stagnation, also created a state of "sustained inflation" which rendered it all the more difficult for the state to break out of the crisis and stagnation. This was because these two forms of economic malady kept each other in check. Thus, in order to shake off the crisis and stagnation, it was necessary to carry out the policy of inflation as a stimulus to the economy. This further intensified the rise in commodity prices. Conversely, in order to check the rise in commodity prices, it was necessary to pursue a policy of retrenchment. This aggravated the state of stagnation and incited a new economic crisis. The appearance of "sustained inflation" is an obvious sign of the aggravation of the decadence of capitalism.

Second, a serious state of loan economy. The crises and stagnation in the 1970's developed under conditions of a loan economy. In the past, capitalist nations had never taken the floating of government loans as a long-term or regular financial measure, although corporations or individuals might resort to loans to a limited extent as a method of meeting urgent financial or livelihood needs. But under the conditions of national monopoly capitalism, raising loans either for the state or for the individual was an anticrisis measure. Both the federal government and individual states in the United States resorted to the floating of loans, while private companies also frequently borrowed money from the banks. At the same time, due to the prevalence of the practice of consumer credit and loans, the amount of consumer debt kept increasing. By the end of 1978 the total amount of public and private debt in the United States had reached $3.9 trillion. Compared with the $558 billion at the end of 1953, this represented a sixfold increase. Spending borrowed money is tantamount to expending future purchasing power in advance. Although it may temporarily expand current purchasing power and thus alleviate a crisis, it reduces future purchasing power and in this way deepens the contradiction between production and the market in future months or years and may ultimately bring about an economic crisis of even greater magnitude.

It can thus be seen that under conditions of national monopoly capitalism the trend toward stagnation and decadent production not only is not weakened but is deepened.

The decadence of contemporary capitalism is certainly not manifested only by the trend toward stagnation and decadence in production and technology. It is also shown in other directions, as follows:

First, the parasitic character of capitalism has deepened. In his book "Das Kapital," Marx pointed out: "With stock companies making their appearance, capitalists who hold executive functions become pure and simple managers, namely, controllers of others' money, whereas owners of capital become pure and simple owners only, namely, pure and simple money capitalists.... In this way the ownership of capital is completely separated from its functions in actual reproduction, just as the functions in the hands of managers are completely separated from the ownership of capital." "A new category of financial aristocrats is thus born--a species of parasites, promoters, founders and so-called directors." ("Das Kapital," Vol 3, pp 493-494, 496) Monopoly capital enterprises today are generally managed by agents. Noting this stage of development, some economists among the capitalist class have made the statement that at the present moment the power of control over the enterprises is no longer in the hands of the capitalists but rather in the hands of a "technical structural stratum," that is to say, managers, researchers and technicians who possess specialized technical knowhow. They seemed to imply that the aim of capitalist production was no longer to seek the maximum amount of profits. In reality, this precisely revealed that big capital owners were completely divorced from the production process and had become parasitic financial aristocrats.

Second, the phenomenon of social labor being expended extravagantly is becoming more serious daily. First of all, the national economy is militarized. On the one hand, this meets the needs of the policy of aggression and the war policy. On the other, it is an important part of the measures of governments of the capitalist class, under conditions of monopoly capitalism, to keep in check the eruption of economic crises and to stimulate the economy. It is also one of their tactics to reap high profits from monopoly. The large amounts of manpower, material power and financial power thrown into arms production are all constituent portions of the labor of society, but the great proportion of the products which in their production have consumed much labor of the society do not enter into the reproduction process but are expended extravagantly.

Next, after World War II, advanced capitalist nations evolved the so-called "high-consumption" economy. "High consumption" was a slogan used by monopoly capitalists to confuse people's minds and to increase the sale of their goods so as to reap high profits from monopoly. In reality, "high consumption" represents an enormously extravagant use of the labor of society. This point has been admitted even by economists of the capitalist class of the United States. For example, Hansen said: "A massive portion of our production resources is wasted on needs which man artificially created. Motor vehicles with a body weight of 2 tons or more and equipped with engines of 3,300 horsepower [as published] are the standard transportation means of the individual--a typical situation seen on any American highway. This wastes not only materials and manpower but also important and limited energy resources. We are not turning out durable, high-quality products which are valued more and more with the passage of time. Instead, we are producing certain goods which we ourselves will not like and will reject before long--since the kaleidoscopic changes in taste of the society will soon condemn such articles as being out of date." (A. H. Hansen: "Economic Problems in the Sixth Decade of the 20th Century") This passage fully portrays the serious waste of labor of society in countries like the United States.

Next, in the contemporary national economies of advanced capitalist countries the ratio occupied by material production departments of industry and agriculture has declined, whereas the ratio occupied by nonproductive departments has increased heavily. Among the rising and expanding nonproductive departments, some may be considered essential to social reproduction and to the people's livelihood, but a rather large number are of the parasitic type, such as private detective agencies, security guards, publishers of "yellow" papers and magazines, "recreational" trades of a questionable type, and so on. Manpower, material power and financial power expended on parasitic trades are useless and harmful to purposes of social reproduction and to the people's livelihood. Obviously they are a waste of the labor of society. At the same time, government bureaucratic organs are occupying an increasing amount of labor power. For example, the ratio of American Government personnel in the gross number of personnel under employment rose from one-twenty-fifth in the early part of the century to one-sixth at present. A rather large portion of this labor power represents an extravagant use of society's labor.

Third, the extent of the social crisis is deepening. The trend toward stagnation and decadence in the economy is further reflected in the upper stratum of the society and is manifested in decaying ideologies and cultural life. A serious social crisis is thus in the making. For example, in the United States and certain other advanced capitalist countries, gambling is prevalent, many people are drug addicts, crimes continue to increase, social morals are in very bad shape, spiritual life is lacking, religious and superstitious beliefs are rampant, and so on and so forth. Reports of this kind are constantly found in the papers, and we shall not enumerate them here.

Some economists of the capitalist class have already noted that the trend toward stagnation and decadence of contemporary capitalism is unavoidable, but due to their own capitalist stand they are unable to find a way out. The noted American economist Samuelson, in his dissertation entitled "World Economy at the End of This Century," submitted to the world conference of economists in August this year, had the following to say: "Sustained inflation is the inherent special characteristic of a mixed economy." By "mixed economy" I take him to mean, in substance, what we call "national monopoly capitalist economy." And what is the solution offered? In Samuelson's opinion, fascism would offer a solution. But he did not think fascism was a good thing. His dream was to make national monopoly capitalism perform better; that is to say, "while simultaneously maintaining the efficiency of the market mechanism, to retain and promote the humane character of a mixed economy." He then followed up with the admission that this would be utopia. However, he still claimed that "to seek in a rational way the achievement of this objective would be challenging to economists of this era." Clearly the logic behind his exposition was somewhat confusing. First, he admitted that it would be utopia and then suggested pursuing it. This kind of self-contradictory argumentation precisely illustrated the feelings of capitalist economists, who, facing the daily deepening decadence of capitalism, with its special feature of "sustained inflation," were unable to find a way out.

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A TALK ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF CHINA'S MINERAL RESOURCES

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[Lecture on science and technology by Tu Guangchi [3205 0342 3589]]

[Text] Mineral deposits is a term referring to mineral resources in the earth's crust that can be utilized by the national economy. They are an important material base for the development of social production.

In this article we analyze the conditions of China's natural resources and the existing problems with the formation of mineral deposits and the characteristics of the geological development in China. We also put forward some proposals concerning the development of the mineral resources industry in our country.

1. The Formation of Mineral Deposits and Their Dispersion in Time and Space

Mineral deposits are a component part of the earth. Mineral products are composed of minerals, and minerals are composed of elements. The earth and celestial bodies of the solar system are composed of more than 100 elements of the same type. The elements of the solar system were formed about 5 to 5.8 billion years ago, and the earth and various celestial bodies of the solar system emerged about 4.6 billion years ago. The earth is divided into three layers. The thin crust of the outer layer, called the earth's crust, has a thickness ranging from several to 70 kilometers and has an average thickness of 33 kilometers. The large, thick layer in the middle, called the earth's mantle, has a thickness of about 2,900 kilometers. The inner layer is called the nucleus, and its radius is 3,470 kilometers. The earth's crust is made up mainly of basalt, granite and silt, and the earth's nucleus is composed mainly of metals such as iron and nickel. The composition of the earth's nucleus is a mixture of the compositions of the earth's crust and mantle. Apart from silicon, oxygen and aluminum, the content of iron, magnesium and nickel in the earth's nucleus is remarkably greater than that in the earth's crust.

In the primeval formation stage, the earth was a chaos which was not divided into layers as it is today. With the passage of time, heavy matter gradually sank and light matter floated to the top. It was after a long period of segregation that the earth's nucleus, mantle and crust took shape. According to our present knowledge, the earth's crust took shape about 3.8 billion years ago, although it was thin at that time. Over time the earth's crust became thicker and thicker.

Just at the time of or a little later than the initial formation of the solid earth's crust, the hydrosphere and aerosphere took shape, although the earth's atmosphere at that time was different from the present one. At that time the atmosphere contained a large amount of carbon dioxide, nitrogen, and so forth as a result of the eruption of volcanos but a meager amount of oxygen, which accounted for only several ten-thousandths of a part of the entire contents of the atmosphere. It was after the emergence of organisms as a result of photosynthesis that the amount of oxygen in the atmosphere gradually increased.

The term mineral deposits means that the amount of useful matter (metals and nonmetals) the deposits contain greatly exceeds that of the surrounding rocks and meets the requirements for utilization in industry and agriculture. Any stone we pick up at random may contain several thousandths or several hundredths of a part of iron, but it cannot be called iron ore. A stone can be called iron ore only when the iron it contains exceeds 30 percent. Therefore, the formation of a mineral is determined by geological elements which cause the content of metals or nonmetals to reach a certain percentage.

Mineral deposits are comprehensive products which resulted from varied geological activity over the past several million, several 10 million or several 100 million years. Some mineral beds were formed on the surface layer of the earth. In other words, metals and nonmetals which made up the minerals concentrated in the hydrosphere, aerosphere and biosphere of the outer layer were gradually turned into minerals. These kind of minerals are called exogenous mineral deposits and include oil, natural gas, coal, bauxite and salt as well as fairly large portions of iron, manganese, phosphorus, and so forth.

Some exogenous mineral deposits which are concentrated in low-lying catchpits are called sedimentary deposits. Sedimentary mineral deposits have comparatively pure sources, and their sedimentary segregation is carried out in accordance with gravity, solubility or particle size, so that some metals and nonmetals can be enriched tenfold or a hundredfold and become valuable mineral deposits. A considerable number of salt, iron and manganese mines were formed in such a way, such as China's Zigong salt mine, the Xuanlong iron mine, the Xiangtan manganese mine, and so forth. Another kind of exogenous mineral deposits is produced by weathering, and these deposits originally were general rocks or blowouts. After they were exposed to the earth's surface, some of their unstable and useless matter was gradually removed due to the protracted exposure to wind, rain and sun. However, some other stable and valuable metals, instead of being washed away, were enriched and turned into minerals. Some major rich iron and manganese mines in the world are deposits produced by weathering.

In the process of formation of some exogenous mineral deposits such as coal and oil, organisms played an important role. As for other exogenous mineral deposits, the enrichment was probably due to the metabolism of organisms. For example, some people believe that the formation of a considerable number of striped iron ores formed 2.5 billion years ago had something to do with iron bacteria. Other people think that the formation of a large number of manganese nodules on the seabed was also connected with organisms.

Some mineral deposits were formed inside the earth. The enrichment of metallogenetic elements is connected with the partial melting, crystallization and segregation of the earth's crust and mantle. These mineral deposits are called endogenetic deposits. For instance, the vanadium-titanium-magnet-bearing iron mine in Panzhihua originated from magma as a result of the partial melting of the inner part of the earth's crust and the upper part of the mantle. When magma became cool and crystallized, metal minerals which contained iron, titanium, vanadium, copper, cobalt and nickel sank because of their heavy gravity and were concentrated into minerals. Sometimes the partial melting, cooling and crystallization of the earth's crust can generate granite. The remaining fluid will be turned into wolfram, tin, niobium, tantalum and other light volatile flux and deposited in the cracks on the surface and around the granite. The well-known arterial wolfram mine in southern Jiangxi was formed in such a way. When the amount of volatile flux (water, fluorine and carbon dioxide) was excessive and the external conditions were stable, some large crystal pegmatite deposits were formed. Mineral deposits of lithium, beryllium, niobium, tantalum and muscovite in Altay, Xinjiang, are examples of pegmatite deposits. Some other endogenic mines were formed as a result of the melting of magma and the reaction of the remaining fluid on the adjoining rocks of the contact zones, such as the iron mine in Daye and the tin mine in Gejiu.

The formation process of some mineral deposits was more complicated, including both the endogenic process and epigenetic action. This resulted in mineral deposits of various origins. The first kind of these mineral deposits is called sedimentary metamorphic deposits. They were exogenous mineral deposits formed on the surface of the earth and were subsequently buried due to the movement of the earth's crust. They eventually became metamorphic mineral deposits under high temperature and pressure. Owing to recrystallization, they were turned into a new mineral association and structure. Striped magnetite deposits (Anshan-type iron mine) are sedimentary metamorphic deposits. The second kind includes some mineral deposits which were transformed (endogenic process) to a certain degree after sedimentation (epigenetic action), such as lead and zinc mines in Fankou, Guangdong Province. The third kind was originally exogenous sedimentary deposits which were repeatedly expanded because of endogenic magnetic assimilation, such as the Baiyun Ebo rare earth iron mine in Nei Monggol and the Ganshan manganese mine in Hunan. Some are epigenetic deposits, such as the Guanmenshan lead and zinc mine. A number of mineral deposits of various origins are eutaxic deposits. In other words, they are controlled by strata.

Exogenous mineral deposits and endogenic mineral deposits as well as mineral deposits of various origins basically account for the formation of mineral deposits and their enrichment forms. Now I would like to talk briefly about the origins of minerals.

Some sedimentary minerals accumulated in catchpits were formed due to protracted weathering and movement of the continent. Minerogenetic matters in the depths of the earth were moved to the surface of the earth and became mineral products because of vulcanism and the cracking of the earth's crust. Some metallogenetic matter, such as the elements of the chromium and platinum families, of diamonds, and so forth, probably originated in the earth's upper mantle. In addition, sedimentary strata might also produce major sedimentary matter.

The earth is evolving and so are mineral deposits. Different geological periods are marked by different geological characteristics. A number of mineral products were produced in certain specified periods but were rarely seen in other periods.

The so-called striped black iron deposits, such as those in China's Anshan, Benxi and eastern parts of Hebei Province, can be found throughout the world. They had already emerged about 3.8 billion years ago. Iron was probably brought to the surface of the earth from the depths after fierce vulcanism. Apart from iron mines, vulcanism also generated gold mines, which produce gold for us. Gold and iron were the earliest mineral products formed on the earth. They were already important mineral products even 2.5 to 3.8 billion years ago. Generally speaking, during the early period of the evolution of the earth the mineralization was comparatively simple.

About 2.2 billion years ago, sedimentary deposits which contained both gold and uranium emerged in Africa, Canada and some other areas. Gold and uranium were found in silicarenite. What was interesting was that mineral products of uranium and pirite sulfides were in fragmental shapes. These minerals were very unstable on the surface of the earth and could easily be oxygenated and destroyed. However, they were moved a long way and buried in catchpits, because at that time oxygen in the atmosphere was subnormal. Due to the fact that the amount of oxygen in the atmosphere gradually increased, no such mineral deposits could be found in the subsequent geological periods. As time went on, mineralization became more and more complicated because of the thickening of the earth's crust, the repetition of magmatism, vulcanism, sedimentation and metamorphism, the growing amount of ionizing oxygen in the atmosphere and the existence and considerable reproduction of organisms.

For example, the number of striped black iron deposits dropped considerably, and they were replaced by red iron ores which contain more oxygen. About 2 billion years ago, oolitic sedimentary red iron deposits were found in China's Longxuan and in South Africa. About 1.6 to 1.7 billion years ago, copper ores in dolomite--Dongchuan-type copper ores--emerged in the eastern part of China's Yunnan Province and in Zaire. About 600 to 700 million years ago, large phosphorus mines were formed in China and the Soviet Union. Some of China's major bauxite mines took shape about 250 to 300 million years ago. Most of China's key salt mines were generated about 300 million years ago.

The above-mentioned examples explain the evolution of sedimentary deposits and sedimentary metamorphic deposits in geological history. Endogenic mineral deposits also evolved, although their evolution was not as marked as that of exogenous mineral deposits. For instance, wolfram and tin mines which are closely connected with granite were formed about 200 million years ago throughout the world, and 200 million years is only one-twenty-third of the age of the earth.

The evolution of mineral deposits shows that the dispersion of mineral deposits is uneven in terms of time and space, because the textures of the earth's crust and mantle are themselves uneven. As a result, the dispersion of minerals is not at all even. For instance, iron deposits are dispersed mainly in the southern part of Liaoning, the eastern part of Hebei and the western part of Sichuan, but they are rarely found in the northwest and southern part of China. Wolfram and tin deposits are dispersed mainly in Hunan, Jiangxi, Guangdong, Guangxi and Yunnan provinces, but they are rarely found in north of the Changjiang River. Sedimentary phosphorus deposits are dispersed mainly in Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan, Hubei and north China, but they are rarely found in the northeast. It is safe to say that not a single mineral is evenly dispersed. Although the Soviet Union, whose land area is much larger than that of China, is rich in coal, iron, oil and natural gas resources, its wolfram, tin and antimony deposits are meager.

2. A General Survey of China's Mineral Resources

(1) China Is Rich in Mineral Resources

After the liberation we achieved marked success in geological work. Deposits of 132 kinds of minerals have been verified to date. Ours is one of the few countries in the world which is abundant in a great variety of minerals and which has considerable deposits. We should be able to say that China is a country which is rich in mineral resources.

The reserves of more than 50 kinds of metals in China have been verified, with the deposits of wolfram, antimony, zinc, rare earths, lithium, and so forth ranking first in the world. The deposits of wolfram metals in China are more than three times greater than the total reserves of various countries in the world. The reserves of rare earths in China's Baiyun Ebo rare earth mines are four times larger than the total reserves of various countries in the world. China's deposits of antimony make up 44 percent of the world's total reserves, and its deposits of copper, tin, lead, iron, molybdenum, mercury, manganese, nickel, and so forth also rank first in the world.

The deposits of more than 70 kinds of nonmetal minerals have been verified, with the reserves of troilite, magnesite and boron ranking first and the reserves of phosphorus ranking second in the world.

(2) We Should Adopt an Attitude of Dividing One Into Two To Deal With China's Mineral Resources

While recognizing the fact that China is a country rich in mineral resources, we should realize that there are some existing problems in our natural resources, and certain problems are very serious.

First, a fairly large number of our minerals are lean ores, and only a few of them are rich ores. China claims to have more than 40 billion tons of iron reserves, which are second only to those of the Soviet Union and Brazil. However, a larger number of our iron ores are lean ores with 30 percent tenor, and only a few of them are high-grade ores with 50 percent tenor. In addition, rich ores in our country are widely scattered, which is detrimental to their exploitation.

Such is also the case with our manganese ores, although their deposits rank third in the world.

The conditions of our copper ores are almost the same.

China's bauxite deposits rank fifth in the world, but they are mainly liquid bauxite, which contains a low percentage of aluminum and silicon and is difficult to smelt.

Second, China has a considerable number of associated minerals. Minerals in China are usually associated ones. In other words, several kinds of minerals are mixed together in ore bodies. It is a good thing to have associated minerals. However, they are difficult to sort out and smelt. For example, although China's reserve of vanadium leads the world, yet only 9 percent of its vanadium mines contain primarily vanadium, and the rest contain vanadium mixed in with other minerals. As a result, the recovery rate is very low.

Third, at present some minerals are relatively scarce in China.

Generally speaking, China is rich in mineral resources. However, some problems exist in the estimation of our mineral deposits and the percentage of rich ores. Calculating on a per capita basis, we find out that our mineral resources are not sufficient because ours is a populous nation.

3. A Discussion on Several Questions Concerning China's Mineral Resources

China's deposits of wolfram, tin, rare earths, lead, zinc, niobium, mercury, antimony, and so forth rank first or second in the world, but we have an extreme lack of rich iron resources. In the meantime, some other mineral resources are insufficient. This situation is attributable to various factors.

(1) First of all, we should admit that, although we have exerted considerable efforts in geological prospecting work since the liberation, more work has to be done in the eastern area, and there are a number of gaps in the western area. Only half of our geological map with a scale of 1:200,000--a basic and indispensable map for geological prospecting work--has been completed to date. The level of geological research in our country is not high enough, and a number of basic projects and comprehensive analyses must be speedily carried out. Some new technologies and methods must be imported and popularized. With the enhancement of the level of our geological research and geological prospecting work, I believe that we will discover more mineral resources. In a few years we might have a sufficient or even abundant supply of minerals which are now rare.

(2) As I mentioned above, the dispersion of natural resources in our country is uneven. This is also the case with diamond and chromite deposits. Take diamonds as an example. At present the industrially significant diamond deposits have only been found in some central and southern African countries such as South Africa and Zaire and in Soviet Siberia, but they have not been discovered in the whole of Europe, South and North America and Australia. The dispersion of chromite deposits also is not even. They are found mainly in South Africa, the Soviet Urals and the so-called Mediterranean areas (Albania, Turkey, Pakistan, China's Xizang, and so forth) but are rarely discovered in other areas. These two examples do not mean that diamond and chromite deposits cannot be or are rarely found in China because of their uneven spatial dispersion. Actually, they have been found in China, although their reserves are meager. More efforts

should be exerted in this work. Some favorable geological conditions and areas beneficial to the formation of diamond and chromite deposits exist in China. For instance, the rifts of Tanlu are beneficial to the formation of diamond deposits, and some suture line areas in Xizang and in the western part of Sichuan are beneficial to the formation of chromite deposits.

(3) China's characteristics of geological development determine the time and spatial dispersion of its mineral resources and affect to a great extent the reserves of various minerals.

Why does the southern part of China abound in nonferrous metals and rare metals?

The southeastern part of China is located in the western Pacific. About 80 to 190 million years ago, acute magmatism of granite occurred in this area, which brought a considerable number of wolfram, tin, molybdenum and tantalum deposits to south China, Thailand and Malaysia. Most certified rich wolfram and tin deposits in the world are located in these countries.

Describing a stubborn person, we often say that he has a granite-like skull. Actually, granite is very active. It has brought us a large number of minerals, such as wolfram, tin, molybdenum and tantalum, as well as some amounts of lead and zinc. In China, most lead and zinc are produced in eutaxic deposits. A number of carbonate-rich areas in China (northern part of Guangdong, western part of Hunan, Guizhou and Yunnan) are abundant in eutaxic deposits. The world's largest eutaxic antimony deposits and some large-scale eutaxic lead and zinc as well as mercury deposits developed in carbonate strata at different times in south China, the southeast and the Qing Ling area.

It was because of the increasing amount of granite in the late geological historical period and eutaxic carbonate deposits in the strata that the six provinces in south China--Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Hunan, Hubei and Guangdong--are rich in wolfram, tin, antimony, zinc, mercury and lead, with their reserves ranking first or second in the world.

Why does China lack rich iron resources?

We believe that this problem is connected with the characteristics of the geological development in China.

From the experience of various countries, we know that the richest iron deposits are the so-called residuum-type iron ores. This type of iron ore is characterized by enormous quantity, few impurities and broad scale.

Judging from the considerable experience of the Soviet Union, India, Australia, Brazil, the United States and other countries, where large-scale residuum-type rich iron deposits can be found, we know that this kind of rich iron ore was produced by protracted weathering and the removal of impurities. In most cases, primary lean iron ores were produced from nonmetamorphic or slightly metamorphic thick silicate iron which emerged in enormous quantities about 1.8 to 2.5 billion years ago. These are the material bases for the formation of residuum-type iron ores. Such material bases are poor in China. In south China we have not yet discovered strata which were surely formed about 1.8 to 2.5 billion years ago. Although we have discovered this kind of strata in north China, their emerged parts are not large enough, and the reserves of lean iron ore are thin and meager. Under such poor material conditions, large-scale residuum-type iron deposits could not be formed even if weathering and preserving conditions were good. Most of China's lean iron ores were formed about 2.5 billion years ago. They were deeply metamorphical and stubborn and had a strong capability to resist weathering. It was difficult for them to become rich iron ores in the later period.

This is the main reason why residuum-type iron deposits are rarely found in China. Obviously, it will not be possible to discover more large-scale residuum-type rich iron deposits in east China. However, some of the so-called skarn-type and migmatite-type rich iron ores, as well as sedimentary rich iron ores, possibly can be found, but their deposits are generally comparatively small.

What are the prospects for China's gold, uranium and potassium salt deposits?

Compared with diamond and chromite deposits, the dispersion of gold, uranium and potassium salt deposits is more even. Many countries produce gold, and a large number of uranium reserves have been discovered in Canada, the United States, South Africa, Australia and France. Potassium salt deposits have been excavated in a number of countries (Canada, the Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, France, Israel, Laos and so forth).

These three kinds of minerals are good prospects in China as seen from our geological conditions. Ancient metamorphic rocks and volcanic rocks of the Mesozoic and Cenozoic periods greatly developed in China, in addition to a considerable number of ancient alluvial gold mines. All these are favorable conditions for our exploration of gold mines.

China also has very good prospects for the mineralization of uranium deposits. We have various types of uranium and desirable conditions for the formation of uranium deposits. Prospects for uranium deposits of volcanic rock type are also very bright in China. Granite-type uranium usually grows together with granite-type wolfram, tin, niobium and tantalum on a large scale. We have a large number of granites in south China, and wolfram, tin and tantalum deposits are highly developed there. Therefore, the prospect for the development of granite-type uranium deposits is also good. We have not yet made a breakthrough in the exploration of malmstone-type uranium, but some progress can be noted in this respect, because red beds are abundant in China. In addition, prospects for the exploration of uranium of the carbonate, siliceous-rock and mudstone types are also good.

China is rich in sodium salt (halite) deposits. Normally, after further volatilization and concentration of the basins where halite is present, sodium salt deposits will be formed. Therefore, China is not lacking in good prospects for the exploration of sodium salt.

Objectively speaking, we will encounter certain difficulties in our efforts in the exploration of gold, uranium and sodium salt. No marked indications of sodium salt can be found in the earth's crust. Apart from that, it is very active and can be easily undermined. Certain technological means should be applied to explore impalpable gold deposits.

In a word, China has favorable prospects for the exploration of gold, uranium and sodium salt as seen from its geological conditions. However, we have only truly strengthened our efforts in gold exploration since the smashing of the "gang of four." In addition, we also lack studies of the problems, such as the auriferous possibility of other minerals, the existence of forms of gold ore, and so forth.

With regard to the problem of the exploration of sodium salt, we should review the world history of the exploration of sodium salt deposits. There is an experience which merits our attention. In other words, several key sodium salt deposits were discovered in the process of exploring for minerals other than potassium. For example, a sodium salt deposit in France with a reserve of 500 million tons was discovered in the process of exploring for coal. In the 1960's a colossal sodium salt mine was discovered in Canada in the process of a general installation of oil rigs. Under certain geological conditions the intergrowth of coal, oil, gas and salt in the natural world is possible. However, in China, due to the harmful influence of one-track minds, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry dealt only with oil and gas, whereas the minister of coal industry only looked after the coal mines. In the process of installing drilling rigs, they never cared about the possibility of discovering sodium salt. The departments in charge of the exploration of potassium concentrated on the affairs of potassium alone. In this way we got very little for all our efforts, and our endeavors in the exploration of potassium were adversely affected.

We believe that, after proper measures have been taken to deal with the matters of system and coordination, our work for the exploration of uranium, gold and sodium salt will be improved.

In accordance with the analysis mentioned above, we also believe that China (south China in particular) has bright prospects for the discovery of nonferrous and rare metal resources as well as rare earth metal and nonmetallic resources. At present we should especially do a good job of solving the problem of utilization and popularization. China has favorable geological conditions for the development of gold, uranium and sodium salt deposits. However, the possibility of discovering large-scale residuum-type rich iron ores in east China is comparatively small.

What are the general trends for the development of mineral resources in the world? To put it in a nutshell, the present trends in development are richer variety (more than 150 kinds), lower requirements on tenor, larger types and higher levels of comprehensive use. In addition, the utilization of seabed resources has been put on the agenda. Therefore, there is no need for us to adopt a pessimistic attitude. However, we should also realize that we need more and more mineral resources as the four modernizations develop and that we have not yet adopted effective measures to stop the waste of mineral resources. Within a certain period of time we shall lack some mineral resources. Therefore, we should not only save natural resources but also stockpile necessary amounts of some strategic materials for which complete plans have not been worked out.

4. Some Proposals for the Development of China's Mineral Industry

To accelerate the four modernizations, we should decide our mineral resource policies and measures in light of the practical conditions of China's mineral resources and the existing problems. The key lies in acting according to natural laws rather than according to administrative decrees.

(1) Strengthening Comprehensive Exploration, Comprehensive Assessment, Comprehensive Exploitation and Comprehensive Utilization

A number of minerals are subject to geological conditions, and some minerals grow together. This objective reality demands that we carry out comprehensive exploration and assessment. However, we have too many specialized mineral exploration departments. Apart from the Ministry of Geology, which carries out comprehensive exploration work, other related ministries have set up specialized mineral exploration teams. The Ministry of Petroleum Industry is in charge of the exploration of oil and gas; the Ministry of Chemical Industry explores for phosphorus, sulphur and salt; the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry explores for ferrous and nonferrous metals, the Ministry of Coal Industry explores for coal, and so forth. Recently the state has established specialized gold prospecting teams and departments. In the natural world minerals are an entirety, but we artificially separate mineral prospecting and assessment teams. Although this division of labor may, for a short while, bring us benefits in the exploration of specific minerals, it may not necessarily be a reasonable measure in the long run. This practice replaces natural law with administrative means and objectively encourages the tendencies of concentrating on one thing only and brings us difficulties, unnecessary repetition and waste in terms of manpower, material and financial resources. It is worth dealing with conscientiously.

We also face a number of problems in the comprehensive exploration of minerals. Some mining operations only exploit minerals designated by the higher authorities, but they pay no attention to other coexisting minerals. Some metallurgical mines only exploit lead and zinc ores but never care about the coexisting chemical industrial materials such as troilite and so forth. Some coal mines ignore deposits of clay minerals and siderite in hanging and bottom walls. Some mines even pursue the practice of exploiting the richer, thicker and larger deposits and abandon the poorer, thinner and smaller ones. All these have brought us a severe waste and sabotage of mineral resources.

Another existing problem in the comprehensive use of minerals is our substandard technology for the selection and refinement of minerals. Some mines subjectively do not pay sufficient attention to technical problems and do not want to take the trouble to do so. The key to making a mine produce varied minerals and to making the best use of everything lies in comprehensive utilization.

(2) Enacting a Mineral Resources Law To Truly Insure the Protection of Mineral Resources

Unlike agricultural, forestry and biological resources, mineral resources cannot be reproduced. This fact determines that our policies for mineral resources should be characterized by paying more attention to unified planning and an all-encompassing arrangement as compared with our policies for agricultural, forestry and biological resources. In addition, our policies for mineral resources should also be characterized by careful calculations and strict budgeting, giving full play to strong points and avoiding the weak ones, and by serious planning.

However, at present the work of protecting mineral resources in China has not been put on the agenda. It seems that not a single department has been assigned to take on the task. There are many departments which are engaged in mineral exploitation, but not a single department is in charge of the protection of mineral resources. Apart from the above-mentioned problems in comprehensive exploration and utilization, bad practices of randomly exploiting and excavating minerals still exist. Even precious blue asbestos was randomly excavated, as if it were ordinary asbestos. Numerous cavities are being bored by local people around a state-run mine; this actually hampers the rational exploitation of the mine. The work of protecting mineral resources brooks no delay. There should be a department in the central government which is in charge of the protection, exploitation and utilization of mineral resources. This department should also coordinate the work of various industrial departments and enact and enforce mineral resources law. In the meantime, we should strengthen the division of labor and coordination among various departments and establish and perfect mineral resources protection organizations in the various ministries and provinces concerned.

(3) Giving Full Play to Strong Points and Establishing China's Metals (Nonferrous Metals, Rare Metals and Rare Earth Metals) Industries and Nonmetallic Industries

The reserves of some nonferrous metals, rare metals, rare earth metals and nonmetals in China rank first in the world. This is the state of China's mineral resources. We should strengthen research on this subject and the work of geological exploration and mine exploitation, as well as the selection and utilization of minerals and so forth so that favorable conditions can truly be formed.

As for the iron and steel industry, due to the fact that China lacks rich iron deposits and has a considerable number of lean iron deposits, our emphasis should be placed on internal development and the utilization of lean iron deposits. We should strengthen our research on exploitation, selection and smelting operations so that we can speedily solve the problem of utilizing lean iron deposits.

(4) Establishing Regional Mineral Bases

In accordance with the practical conditions in which the dispersion of mineral resources is uneven, we should pursue the principle of promoting strong points and avoiding the weak ones, bring the geological strong points of certain areas into full play, form favorable conditions and balance them with other parts of the country. For example, we may establish rare metal and nonferrous metal bases in south China and phosphorus bases in Hubei and Guizhou. We should not defy practical geological conditions and emphasize that every province should be self-sufficient in mineral resources. With regard to the exploration of mineral resources, joint operations between provinces and municipalities can be carried out to rapidly form favorable conditions and promote the practice of helping supply each other's needs.

(5) Actively Carrying Out Fundamental Work and Comprehensive Studies on Mineral Resources

From a long-term point of view, this is the key to the settlement of the problem of establishing mineral resource bases. It is worth learning from the way Western Europe and Japan strengthen their fundamental work and comprehensive studies and from their experience in increasing their efficiency in mineral exploration work. These are countries with limited territory, highly developed industry and technology and a high level of geological research. People generally thought that it was impossible for them to discover new mineral deposits. However, in the past 10 years or so, France has discovered a considerable number of uranium and wolfram deposits, Austria has discovered large wolfram deposits and Japan has discovered a number of nonferrous metal deposits. All of these were the result of careful fundamental work and comprehensive analyses. Their methods are also suitable for a poor country such as ours.

(6) Truly and Conscientiously Readjusting the System of Mineral General Survey and Exploration

According to our existing system, the Ministry of Geology and some other industrial departments, such as the ministries of metallurgical industry, petroleum industry, coal industry, chemical industry, and so forth, have their own geological survey and prospecting teams. They are eager to engage in exploration work, because in so doing they can easily attract state investment. They vie with each other in exploring mineral bases. As a result, fundamental geological survey and general investigation work have been neglected. We propose that the Ministry of Geology strengthen its geological survey and general investigation work and its geological research. As for the exploration of mineral resources, we suggest that some transdepartmental and transregional geological exploration corporations be set up in accordance with geological laws rather than according to the administrative system. In this way we will not only strengthen fundamental geological work and general survey and exploration but also avoid unnecessary repetition, waste and futile efforts.

Ours is a country with a vast territory and a relatively low level of geological work. As long as we strengthen the work mentioned above and properly readjust our system and policies, the prospects for China's mineral resources will be bright.

CSO: 4004

WE CANNOT 'LIVE ON SENIORITY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 p 49

[Random talks on ideology by Su Yonggong [5685 3057 7230]]

[Text] The idea of "living on seniority" is still prevalent among some comrades. They wrongly think that they have excellent qualifications and records of service as well as rich experience. They are satisfied with just doing a passable job and reluctant to acquire new knowledge and master new skills. They are resting on their laurels. Some other comrades even wrongly believe that they have excellent qualifications and records of service and that "even if their contributions to the revolution were discounted, they had done hard work." As a result, they think they are entitled to enjoy privileges. They abuse their authority, defraud the public to enhance themselves and pursue unhealthy practices. They judge people only by their seniority. People with seniority and status are always regarded by them as having excellent working ability and rich experience and of being able to exercise control over everything. They are qualified to shoulder heavy tasks or occupy important positions. Junior people with meager experience are always regarded as tender carrying poles which cannot be used to carry heavy loads, even if they have real ability and learning. When they are used, various restrictions are imposed on them so that they cannot "jump" daringly, and it is difficult for them to spread their wings and "fly." All this has greatly hampered the implementation of the party's line and policy for cadres in the new period, the practice of boldly discovering and utilizing talented personnel and accelerating the four modernizations.

We should make a specific analysis of seniority and experience. Generally speaking, those people with seniority and records of service have been doing revolutionary work for a long period of time and have accumulated rich experience. This is a good thing. However, if they capitalize on this, rest on their past achievements and never think of making further progress, they will negate the good they have done. Although the accumulation of knowledge has something to do with a rise in seniority, the two are not in direct proportion. The incessant development of practice promotes the growth of people's understanding. Some past experiences are not necessarily applicable to the new situation at present. Therefore, we should keep on studying and making progress. Our cadres made contributions to the party and the people, and they are, of course, respected and esteemed by the masses. However, past achievements can only mark their past contributions, not the new ones. The more they are esteemed and respected, the more modest and self-effacing they should be. They learn and accept more new things, increasingly enrich their knowledge and enhance their ability. If they indulge in self-exaltation and complacency and refuse to make progress, they inevitably will lack knowledge and working ability and eventually will be cast aside by the new situation.

Why is it so difficult to eliminate the idea of "living on seniority"? It is because feudal ideology is still deeply rooted in our country, and its pernicious influence is still doing mischief. "A New History of the Tang Dynasty" said: "During the first 18 years of the rule of the Tang Dynasty, Pei Tingguang, adviser to the emperor and director of the civil personnel department, made stipulations concerning seniority and qualifications. The concept of wise and inefficient officials was based on seniority and qualifications. The promotion of officials had to be decided by the higher authorities in accordance with their tenure of office. Any selection and promotion of officials which went beyond the stipulations concerned was not allowed." These stipulations meant that the rank and authority of officials was determined by their seniority and qualifications, not by their talent and ability. At that time the so-called qualifications meant the differences in rank and seniority. The fact that we still lopsidedly emphasize the order of seniority and arrange people's posts according to their seniority is partly due to the influence of feudalism. This is a very abnormal thing. Normally, in a socialist country such as ours, the assignment of leading posts should be based on the candidate's moral character and ability. However, in actual practice things are usually just the opposite. A number of leading posts have been assigned to people on grounds of seniority, regardless of their working ability and ideological level. As long as one has been in office for many years and has been promoted to a certain level, one is entitled to a corresponding leading position, no matter what. As a result, a leading position is wrongly regarded to represent a person's seniority, and some comrades pride themselves on such and wrongly regard "living on seniority" as both natural and right.

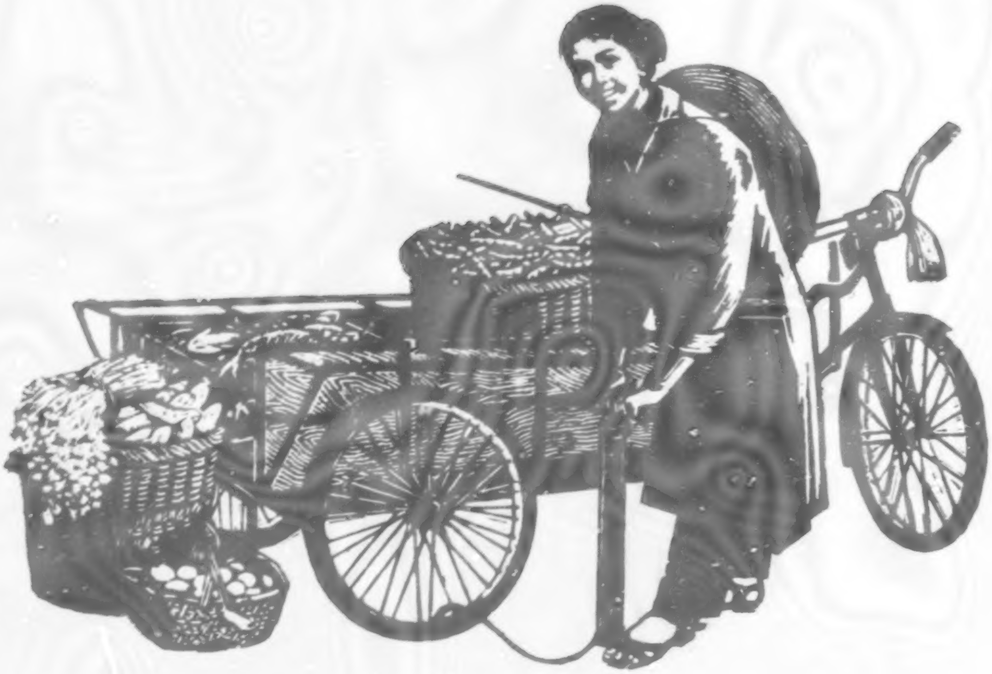
The key to a conscientious reform of our present cadre system lies in improving our system for the selection, recruitment, appointment and removal, examination, impeachment and rotation of cadres. In addition, we should educate those comrades who "live on seniority" with antifeudal ideas, so they will understand that on the road of socialist modernization it is objectionable to retain the remnants of feudal ideology. No comrade is allowed to rest on his laurels with his seniority and qualifications and be intoxicated with self-satisfaction. They should adopt a new attitude and keep forging ahead.

CSO: 4004

A GOOD LOGISTIC WORKER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Zhong Zhenlin [6945 2182 2651]]



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